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TRANSLATED BY

G. BOOTH, ESQ.

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BOOK XV.

PREFACE.

HAVING, throughout the whole work, used the common and accustomed liberty of an historian, we have both praised the good, and condemned the bad, as they have fallen in our way, to the end that those whose genius and inclination prompts them to virtue may be the more encouraged to noble actions, in hopes of having the glory of their names continued to all succeeding generations; and, on the other hand, that they who are bent to wickedness may be curbed and restrained from the heat, at least, of their impiety, by those marks of dishonour and disgrace fixed upon them.

Since, therefore, we have brought down our history to the times wherein the Lacedæmonians fell by the sudden and unexpected slaughter at Leuctra, and the like again not long after at Mantinea, whereby they lost the sovereignty of Greece, we judge it part of our province to keep close to the former course and method of writing, and therefore by the way in the first place to blame and reprehend the Lacedæmonians, who justly deserve it: for who cannot but judge them worthy of censure, and that justly, who, having a well-settled empire and government descended to them from their ancestors, and by their valour supported and defended for the space of above five hundred years, should now in a moment ruin it by their own folly and imprudence? For they that were before them preserved the grandeur and glory of their conquests by their lenity and tenderness towards their subjects; but these, their posterity, by their cruelty to their confederates, and pride and ambition in making war upon the Grecians, most deservedly lost all by their rashness and inconsiderateness. For, those that hated them for the injuries they had be-

fore suffered, greedily took the advantage, now they were low, to revenge themselves on them as their enemies. And they, whose forefathers were never before conquered, were so much the more despised, by how much they deserved the greater contempt, who, by their vices, had stained the virtue and glory of their ancestors.

The Thebans, therefore, (who for many ages before were forced to stoop to them as their superiors), having now (beyond all men's expectations) conquered the Lacedæmonians, were made chief commanders of Greece: but the Lacedæmonians, after they had once lost their hold, could never after recover their antient glory and dignity. But, enough of this; we shall now return to the course of our history.

The preceding book, the fourteenth in order, ends with the ruin of Rhegium by Dionysius, and the taking of Rome by the Gauls, which happened the year next before the expedition of the Persians into Cyprus, against Evagoras. We shall here begin this book with that war, and end it with the year next preceding the reign of Philip, the son of Amyntas.

CHAP. I.

Artaxerxes's expedition against Evagoras, in Cyprus. The actions there at sea and land. The Lacedæmonians begin new quarrels in Greece: as first with Mantinea. Dionysius gives himself to poetry. Peace concluded with Evagoras by Orontas the Persian general. Teribazus brought to his trial. Judgment upon corrupt judges. Teribazus acquitted.

IN Athens, Mystichides was archon; and at Rome, three tribunes were invested with consular authority, Marcus Furius, Caius, and Æmilius, when Artaxerxes, king of Persia, began his expedition against Evagoras, king of Cyprus. The king had spent much time in preparation for the war, and raised a great number of forces both for sea and land from all parts: for his land-army consisted of three hundred thousand horse and foot; and he equipped a fleet of above

three hundred gallies. Orontas was made general of the land-army, and Teribazus, a man highly honoured among the Persians, admiral of the fleet. These headed their armies at Phocea and Cuma, and descended to Cilicia, and from thence passed over to Cyprus, where they very vigorously bestirred themselves for the carrying on of the war.

In the mean time Evagoras entered into a league with Acoris, king of Egypt, who supplied him with a great number of men, being himself then at war with the Persians. He was also privately furnished with money by Hecatomnus, the governor of Caria, to help him to hire foreigners. And several other enemies of Persia, some secretly, others openly, confederated with him in the war. He had, likewise, many cities of Cyprus under his command, with whom joined Tyre in Phœnicia, and other places. Moreover, he had a navy of ninety sail, of which twenty were from Tyre, and the rest of Cyprus. His land-army consisted of six thousand of his own subjects, but those from his confederates were many more: besides, being richly supplied by them with money, he hired abundance of mercenaries. And the king of Arabia, and other princes, who were jealous of the king of Persia, sent him great forces. Being thus supported, he applied himself to the war with great courage and resolution.

And, in the first place, with his privateers (of which he had many) he intercepted the enemy's transport-ships, laden with victuals and provisions, and sunk some, disabled others, and took several besides; so that there began to be great scarcity and want of corn in the Persian camp, in regard the merchants durst not sail to Cyprus, where that great army and body of men were got together. And this occasioned a great mutiny in the army; for the mercenaries, for want of bread, knocked some of their officers on the head, and filled the camp with mutiny and tumult to such a degree, that the Persian colonels, and admiral of the fleet, called Gaos, could scarcely quell it. The fleet, therefore, was sent to Cilicia for provisions, which returned with a great quantity of corn from thence, by which the camp was ever after plentifully supplied. But, as to Evagoras, Acoris sent to him, out of Egypt, money, corn, and all other things necessary, sufficient for his occasions.

Evagoras, finding that his navy was far too weak for the enemy, furnished out threescore ships more, and sent for fifty besides from Acoris, so that now he had a fleet of two hundred sail. And, having his navy thus bravely furnished and equipped ready for a battle (after he had some time trained and exercised his men, not without terror to his enemies) he prepared for a fight at sea. But it happened that, as the king's fleet passed by towards Citium, falling sud-

denly upon them, in an orderly line of battle, he gained by far the advantage, fighting in good order with ships in confusion and separated, (and with premeditation engaging with men surprised and taken at unawares), he presently, at the first onset, routed them: for, charging in a body together, upon ships dispersed and in confusion, they sunk and took several of them. But afterwards, when the Persian admiral and other officers gathered up their spirits, they bravely received the enemy's charge, so that the engagement grew very sharp, in which Evagoras at the beginning had the better; but Gaos with great courage bearing in upon him with his whole fleet, the Evagoreans fled, with the loss of many of their gallies.

The Persians, having gained this victory, mustered both their land and sea-forces at Citium, where, furnishing themselves with all things necessary, they went jointly to besiege Salamis, and blocked it up both by sea and land. But Teribazus, after the sea-fight, put over to Cilicia, and went to the king to bring him the news of the victory, from whom he brought back two thousand talents for the carrying on of the war.

Evagoras, before the fight at sea, had routed part of the enemy's army at land, which much encouraged him to further attempts; but, after his sad misfortune at sea, and that thereupon he was straitly besieged, his spirits grew very low. However, conceiving it necessary to continue the war, he put the supreme power into the hands of his son Pythagoras, and left him to defend the city, and he himself privately in the night, undiscerned by the enemy, with ten gallies departed from Salamis, and sailed into Egypt, where, having audience of the king, he endeavoured to persuade him to make war upon the king of Persia with all the power he had.

While these things were on foot in Asia, the Lacedæmonians (without any regard to the league made) decreed to march with an army against Mantinea, for the reasons following. There was now peace all over Greece, by the negotiation of Antalcidas, by virtue whereof all the cities were freed from garrisons, and governed according to their own laws. But the Spartans (naturally ambitious, and a long time contriving how to begin a war) looked upon the peace as a heavy burden, and (coveting to gain their antient dominion) began to endeavour innovations. To this end, by their tools and creatures, they stirred up seditions in the cities, and thence took occasion to disturb the present state of affairs. For they who were freed, and set at liberty to govern according to the laws of their own country, called them to an account who acted as magistrates under the Lacedæmonians, and, being somewhat severe and sharp, (through the fresh resentment of the late injuries suffered), they banished

many: upon this, the Lacedæmonians protected those who were depressed by the contrary faction, and restored them by force of arms, and by that means first imposed upon the weaker cities, and brought them into slavery; but afterwards they gave laws to cities and places of great account, not having kept the league two years together. And now, because Mantinea was near to them, and full of valiant men, and by the peace grown very rich, they were jealous of it, and resolved to bring down the lordly spirits of those inhabitants: in the first place, therefore, they sent ambassadors to them, to require them to demolish their walls, and to settle themselves again in those five villages from whence they antiently removed to Mantinea; but their demands being slighted, they forthwith marched thither with their forces, and besieged the city.

Upon this, the Mantineans sent ambassadors to Athens for aid, but the Athenians would by no means do any thing that might be construed a breach of the public league; so that they valiantly defended the place, and opposed the enemy with their own forces. And thus Greece now began again to be embroiled in new wars.

In Sicily, Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, being freed from the war with the Carthaginians, reigned a long time in peace and prosperity, and with great intention of mind employed himself in writing of verses, and sent for poets far and near, whom he had in high esteem, and made his familiars, to whose judgment and opinions he referred the censure of his poems. Being flattered by these in panegyrics of praise, for their own interest, he grew highly conceited of himself, and was prouder of his poems than of his conquests. Philoxenus, a composer of dithyrambics, and one familiar with him, a very excellent poet of his kind, when at a feast some of the foolish verses of the tyrant were recited, he was asked how he approved of them, who, answering something too freely and plainly, incurred the tyrant's displeasure; who, looking upon himself abused, (through envy), commanded his guard to carry him away to work as a slave in the quarries. But the next day, through the mediation of friends, he was reconciled to him: and afterwards, at a feast to which he had again invited the same persons, when he was in his cups, he highly extolled his own poems; and singing some of them, (which he thought none could excel), he asked what he thought of those? To which he answered not a word, but called for Dionysius's guards, and wished them to carry him away to the quarries. Dionysius at that time, for the jest's sake, put it off with a laugh, thereby (as he thought) taking off the edge of the reproof. But, not long after, when both Dionysius and the rest of the poets wished him to forbear that un-

seasonable freedom of censuring, Philoxenus made a promise that seemed to be a paradox—That for the future he would both speak the truth, and also please Dionysius himself: and he performed his word; for, when the tyrant afterwards recited some verses which set forth some sad and mournful passages, he asked him how he approved of them? He answered—Miserable! therein performing what he had promised, by the ambiguity of the word. For Dionysius understood it as if he meant, the subject matter of the verses was very sad and miserable, and set forth very pathetically, which sort of poesy was rarely attained unto but by those who were of the higher form of poets; and therefore he looked upon himself as highly applauded by him; but others interpreted what he said with more truth, that that word *miserable* denoted the badness of his verse.

Not far unlike to this was that which happened to Plato the philosopher, whom Dionysius sent for because he was a man eminent in philosophy, and for some time at the first he greatly honoured him. But, taking offence at something he said to him, he hated him to that degree, that he ordered him to be brought into the common market-place, and there sold as a slave for five minas: but the philosophers (who consulted together on the matter) afterwards redeemed him, and sent him back to Greece, with this friendly advice—That a philosopher should very rarely converse with tyrants; and when he did, he should be of a gaining behaviour.

However, Dionysius went on with his study of poetry, and sent stage-players that could sing excellently well to the Olympic games, there to sing his verses, who indeed at the first caught the auditors by the ears with the sweetness of their voices; but, when they considered further of the matter and composure of the poems, they went away, and set up a great laughter. When he heard how his verses were despised and hissed off the stage, he fell into a fit of melancholy, which growing upon him day by day, he raged at length like a madman, and cried out—That every one envied him, and were plotting to take away his life, till it came to his very intimate friends and relations. In this temper he arrived at last to that height of madness and melancholy, that he put many of his friends to death upon false accusations, and banished several others, amongst whom were Leptines, his brother, and Philistus, men of valour and undaunted courage, who had done remarkable service for him in the war. They fled to the Thurians, in Italy, and were there in great esteem among them: but afterwards they were restored to the tyrant's favour by his own seeking, and were not only brought back to Syracuse, but regained his former good opinion, and enjoyed their

places of power and authority as they did before. And Leptines married Dionysius's daughter. And these were the transactions of this year.

When Dexitheus bore the office of lord-chancellor of Athens, and Lucius* Lucretius, and Servilius Sulpitius, were Roman consuls, Evagoras, king of Salamis, returned out of Egypt into Cyprus, where, when he found the city closely besieged, and all his confederates to have deserted him, he was forced to send ambassadors to seek for terms of peace. Teribazus, who had the sovereign power and command, returned him this answer—That he would make peace with him, upon condition he would quit all the cities of Cyprus, and be content only with Salamis, and yield a yearly tribute to the king, and be observant to all his commands, as a servant to his master: to which terms, though they were very hard, he submitted, excepting that one —That he should be obedient in all things, as a servant to his master. But he said, he would agree to be subject to him as one king to another: which Teribazus would not consent to. Upon this, the other general, Orontas, who envied Teribazus, sent letters privately to Artaxerxes to accuse him: as first—That whereas it was in his power to take Salamis by force, he waved it, and had treated with the enemy, in order to bring about some innovations for the common advantage of them both; that he had entered into a private league with the Lacedæmonians; that he had sent messengers to the oracle at Delphos, to consult about making war upon the king; and, as a matter of the greatest concern, that he might gain all the officers of the army to be his creatures, he had bribed them with gifts, preferments, and many large promises. When the king had read these letters, (believing all to be true), he wrote back to Orontas to seize upon Teribazus, and to send him forthwith to him: whereupon he executed the command; and, when Teribazus came before the king, he desired he might be brought to his legal trial, upon which he was committed into custody; but the trial was long deferred, because the king presently after was engaged in the war against the Cadusians.

In the mean time Orontas, now chief commander of the army in Cyprus, seeing Evagoras courageously defend the place, and perceiving his own soldiers discontented with the seizing of Teribazus, and to slight his commands, and fall off from the siege, fearing some sudden misfortune, sent to Evagoras, and a peace was concluded upon the same terms he would have agreed to with Teribazus. And thus Evagoras (beyond his own expectation) freed from absolute slavery, entered into a league, upon conditions that he should pay an yearly tribute to the king, and be sovereign lord of Salamis, and subject to

* Titus.

the king no otherwise than as one king to another. And thus ended the Cyprian war, which was spun out nearly ten years, though most of that time was only spent in preparation, and not above two years of it in actual war.

But Gaos, the vice-admiral of the fleet, who had married the daughter of Teribazus, was in great pain lest he should suffer something or other, out of suspicion of his being familiar and conversant with Teribazus: therefore he resolved to be beforehand with the king, and to that end, being well furnished with a brave navy, and having the love of the sea-captains and officers, he began to advise and consider of a defection; and forthwith, without any further delay, entered into a league with Acoris, king of Egypt, against the great king of Persia. He stirred up, likewise, the Lacedæmonians by his letters, and, amongst other large and glorious promises, he engaged he would assist them in settling their affairs in Greece, and maintaining and supporting their sovereignty. And, in truth, the Spartans had, some time before, been contriving how to recover the sovereign power over the Grecians, and at that time had given clear indications (by their disturbances) of their design to enslave the cities. And that which furthered the matter was, they repented of the peace made with Artaxerxes, because they were charged and accused to have betrayed all the Grecians in Asia by that league with the king; therefore they were very ready to catch at an opportunity to renew the war, and to that end very cheerfully made a league with Gaos.

After Artaxerxes had ended the war with the Cadusians, he brought Teribazus to his trial, and referred the cognizance of his cause to three honourable persons. Near this time some corrupt judges were flayed alive, and their skins spread round the judgment-seats, that those that sat there might always have an example before their eyes of the punishment due to injustice, to deter them from the like.

The accusers, therefore, of Teribazus produced against him the letters of Orontas, earnestly pressing them as sufficient evidence to convict him. On the other hand, Teribazus, that he might make it evidently appear that the accusation was a mere scandal contrived between Orontas and Evagoras, produced the agreement between them, whereby Evagoras was to obey the king as a king himself, and no otherwise; and that the terms upon which Teribazus would have made peace were—That Evagoras should be observant to the king as a servant to his master. And, as to the oracle, he brought all those Grecians who were at that time present, to testify—That the god returned not any answer relating to the death of any person. And, as to the good correspondence between him and the Lacedæmonians, he declared, that he entered into a league with them not for any pri-

vate advantage of his own, but for the profit and advantage of the king. For by this means (he told them) the Grecians in Asia, being divided from the Lacedæmonians, were made better subjects, and more obedient; and, going on with his defence, he put the judges in mind of his former remarkable services to the crown.

Amongst those which clearly manifested his faith and loyalty to the king, and which deserved the greatest commendation, and chiefly (as was said) won the king's heart, was this—That when the king was one day in his chariot a-hunting, two lions ran fiercely upon him, and, tearing the two chariot-horses in pieces, they made at him, at which instant Teribazus came fortunately in, killed both the lions, and so rescued the king. It is likewise reported of him, that he was a person of extraordinary valour, and of so sound and solid a judgment in council, that the king never miscarried when he followed his advice.

When Teribazus had ended what he had to say in his own defence, all the judges with one voice acquitted him, and pronounced him innocent of all the crimes and offences laid to his charge. But the king afterwards sent for the judges to him severally, and examined every one by himself, upon what grounds of law they pronounced the accused innocent. To whom the first answered—That the matter of the accusation was uncertain and dubious, but his good services were clear, apparent, and manifest to all. Another said—That, though those things objected against him were true, yet that all his faults were over-ballanced by his deserts. The third justified his vote to discharge him, by declaring—That he had no regard to his merits, because the king had rewarded them above their deserts; but, upon strictly examining the nature of every particular charge, it did not appear to him that the party accused was guilty of any of them. Upon which the king commended the judges, as just and upright men, and advanced Teribazus to the highest places of honour. But as to Orontas, he discarded him, as a false accuser, and noted him with all the marks of ignominy and disgrace. And thus stood affairs in Asia at this time.

CHAP. II.

Mantinea besieged by the Lacedæmonians. Dionysius aims to gain the islands of the Adriatic sea. The Parii build Paros. Dionysius's expedition into Etruria. Prepares for war against the Carthaginians. The Sicilians routed at Cronium. The quarrel between the Clazomenians and those of Cuma, about Leuce. The war between Amyntas and the Olynthians. The Lacedæmonians seize the citadel of Cadmea at Thebes. Eudamidas breaks into the country of the Olynthians.

IN Greece, the Lacedæmonians pressed on the siege of Mantinea, and the Mantineans bravely defended the place all that summer: for they were reputed the most valiant men of all the Arcadians, and therefore the Spartans in former times were used to account those their surest and truest friends in all fights and engagements. But, when winter drew on, and the river running under the town swelled high by the rains, the Lacedæmonians dammed up the river with earth and rubbish, and turned the current into the city; so that all the place round about was like to a standing pool; by reason whereof the houses fell down, which amazed them of Mantinea, so that they were forced to deliver up the city; which, being thus taken, the citizens suffered no other hardships from the Lacedæmonians, save only that they were ordered to return to those antient villages from whence they originally came: they were forced, therefore, to leave their country, and to settle themselves and their families in the villages.

About this time Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse had a design to gain the cities lying upon the Adriatic sea; and that which chiefly moved him to it was, because he coveted to be master of the Ionian sea, (as they call it), to the end that he might have a free and open passage to Epirus, and to have towns and places for his ships ready to touch at: for he was every day making preparations to transport great numbers of forces into Epirus, and to rifle and plunder the rich temple at Delphos. To this end he made a league with the Illyrians, by the help of Alcetas the Molossian, who was then an exile at Syracuse. And, the Illyrians being then engaged in a war, he sent them two thousand soldiers, and five hundred Grecian arms: the arms they distributed amongst the strongest and stoutest of their men, and the auxiliaries they mixed here and there in several of their own com-

panies and regiments. The Illyrians, having now raised a great army, made an irruption into Epirus, in order to restore Alcetas to his kingdom, and wasted and spoiled the country without opposition or controul. Afterwards, a sharp battle was fought between them and the Molossians, in which the Illyrians were victors, and killed above fifteen thousand of the Molossians, which slaughter of the Epirots being made known to the Lacedæmonians, they sent them aid, to curb and bridle the fierceness and cruelty of the barbarians.

During the transaction of these affairs, the Parii*, by the encouragement of an old prophecy, sent forth a colony to the Adriatic coast, where they built Paros, by the help of Dionysius, in an island so called. For, not many years before, he had sent a colony thither, and built the city Lissus; by the advantage of which place (when he had little else to do, he raised an arsenal for two hundred gallies, and walled the town in so large a circuit, that it exceeded in compass all the cities of Greece. He likewise built stately schools and colleges on the side of the river Anapus†, with temples and other beautiful fabrics, to advance the glory and greatness of the city.

And now ended the year, when Diotrephes, for the next, was archon of Athens; and Lucius Valerius, and Aulus Manlius, were Roman consuls. At Ælis was solemnized the ninety-ninth Olympiad, in which Dicon the Syracusan won the prize. At this time the Parii (who were now seated in the island Paros) walled in the city they had built near the sea-side, not in the least injuring the barbarians, the antient inhabitants of the island, but allotted them a place very strong, and excellently well fortified. But this nestling of the Greeks was a great eye-sore to the natural inhabitants; therefore they sent for the Illyrians bordering upon the continent over against them, who passed over to Paros in many small vessels, to the number of above ten thousand men, and fell upon the Greeks, and killed many of them. But he who was made governor of Lissus by Dionysius, with a great fleet set upon the shipping of the Illyrians, and took and sunk all of them, killed five thousand of their men, and took two thousand prisoners.

Dionysius, being now in great want of money, began an expedition with threescore gallies into Etruria‡, under pretence of scouring the seas of pirates, but in truth to rob a famous temple in those parts, which was very full of rich gifts and donations. It stood in the suburbs of Agylla, a city of Etruria, where was the arsenal which they call the Towers. He landed in the night, and, forcing in at break of day, accomplished his design; for, there being but a

* Paros, an island of the Ægean sea, near Delos. † A river in Sicily.
‡ Tyrrhenia by the Greek, but mistaken.

small guard in the castle, he easily overpowered them, rifled the temple, and took out above a thousand talents.

And, though they of Agylla sallied out to repel the enemy, yet he routed them, took many prisoners, and, after he had wasted and spoiled the country, sailed back to Syracuse, where he raised no less than five hundred talents by the sale of the spoils. Having thus filled his coffers, he raised soldiers from all parts, and got together a great army; so that it was evident (to the apprehension of all) that he designed war against the Carthaginians. And these were the things done this year.

Afterwards, the dignity of archon was conferred upon Phanostratus, at Athens; and the Romans made four military tribunes consuls, Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpitius, Lucius* Æmilius, and Lucius Furius. At this time Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, being prepared for the war against Carthage, watched for a fair occasion to colour and countenance his design. Discerning, therefore, that the cities subject to the Carthaginians were inclined to a revolt, he received into his protection as many as would come to him, and entered into a league with them, carrying himself with great complacency and winning behaviour. Upon this, the Carthaginians first sent ambassadors to him, and demanded the restitution of the cities, which being denied, was the occasion of a new war.

The Carthaginians therefore entered into confederacies with their neighbours, and all joined together in the war against the tyrant. And, because they prudently foresaw the greatness of the war, they listed soldiers out of the choicest of the citizens, and laid up great sums of money, wherewith they hired a vast number of foreigners; and, having made Mago their general (who at that time bore the title of king) they transported many thousands of soldiers both into Italy and Sicily, for they had decreed to make war upon them both at once. Dionysius likewise himself divided his forces, some against the Italiots, and others against the Carthaginians: whereupon many light skirmishes happened between parties here and there every day, but nothing was as yet done of any moment. But there afterwards happened two great battles that were especially famous and remarkable, in one of which, at a place called Cabala, Dionysius made himself noted for his valour, and routed the enemy, killing above ten thousand of them, taking five thousand prisoners, and forcing the rest to fly to a hill that was fortified, but altogether without water. In this fight Mago their general was killed, behaving himself with great gallantry and resolution. The Carthaginians, terrified with the greatness of this slaughter, sent forthwith ambassadors to make peace

* Caius.

with Dionysius; but he returned them answer, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him, and that was, forthwith to quit all the cities of Sicily, and to reimburse all the charge of the war. This answer was looked upon as harsh and proud; therefore they betook themselves to their old arts of fraud and deceit: for they seemed as if they allowed of his terms, but pretended that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities to him; therefore they desired a truce for some few days, that they might consult with the magistrates concerning this affair, which he agreed to. He was much transported at the truce, having now a prospect presently (as he conceived) to be lord of all Sicily. In the mean time the Carthaginians buried Mago their king with great pomp and state, putting his son into the same place, who, though he was very young, yet there were marks and appearances in him of more than ordinary wisdom and valour. This new general spent all the time of the truce in training and disciplining his soldiers; so that, what with his daily diligence, exact directions, and frequent exercise of their arms, he had an army both readily subject to command, and hardy and strong for service. And now the time of the cessation expired, and the armies on both sides came hastily into the field; and at Cronium was a sharp engagement, where God gave the Carthaginians the victory, to make amends for their former slaughter. For they who were grown proud and boasting by their victory a little before, were now as low and poor-spirited. On the other hand, they who were altogether dejected, and in despair, by reason of their overthrow, had their spirits on a sudden raised by their great and unexpected success: for Leptines, who commanded one of the wings, a valiant man, signalized himself, and there fell in the bed of honour, after he had made a great slaughter amongst his enemies; after whose fall the Carthaginians plucked up their spirits, and at length put their enemies to flight. Dionysius, with those choice men he had with him, at the first worsted those that charged him; but, when the death of Leptines was known, and the other wing was discerned to be broken and dispersed, that part of the army with Dionysius fled likewise: upon which, the whole body betaking themselves to their heels, the Carthaginians made a hot pursuit, and gave orders that no quarter should be given; so that, all being killed that came to hand, every place for a long way together was strewed and covered with dead bodies. The Carthaginians, in revenge of their former loss, had made so great a slaughter, that, when the slain came to be buried, they were found to amount to above fourteen thousand Sicilians; and it was by the advantage of night only that the rest escaped. The Carthaginians,

having now gained so great and remarkable a victory, returned to Panormus: however (as it became men) they used their prosperity with great moderation, and sent ambassadors to Dionysius, to offer him terms of peace, which he readily embraced, and all was concluded upon these conditions—That both sides should keep what they had before the war, save only that the Carthaginians should have the city and territory of Selinus, and part of the country of Agrigentum, as far as to the river Alycum, and that Dionysius should pay a thousand talents to the Carthaginians. And thus stood affairs in Sicily at that time.

In Asia, Gaos, admiral of the Persian fleet, who had rebelled against the king, after he had engaged the Lacedæmonians and Egyptians to his interest, was murdered secretly by some person unknown, and so failed of his designs. After whose death Tachos, pursuing the same design, got an army together, and built a city upon a high rock joining to the sea, called Leuce, where he built a chaple to Apollo; but he died likewise a little after: upon whose death the Clazomenians and they of Cuma fell at strife and variance for the town, which at first they went about to decide by force of arms: but afterwards, by the advice of some person, consulting the oracle of Delphos, to know to which of the cities Leuce should belong, the prophetess answered—That it should be theirs who should first sacrifice at Leuce; but that both should set forth from their cities at the rising of the sun, upon one and the same day, as they themselves should agree upon. Accordingly the day was set, and the Cumani in the mean time looked upon themselves to have the advantage, because their city was nearer than the other. But the Clazomenians, though they were more remote, yet contrived this project to gain their end: they sent some of their citizens, chosen by lot, to a colony of theirs not far from Leuce, and from thence, at sun-rising, they began their journey, and so finished their sacrifices before them of Cuma. Having thus gained Leuce by this trick, in memory thereof they appointed an yearly festival, which they called *Prophthasia*, from this their coming first to Leuce. These things thus done, all rebellions in Asia were at an end; and the Lacedæmonians now, after the death of Gaos and Tachos, would have no more to do with Asia, but set their heads at work how to advance their power in Greece. And, having persuaded some of the cities, and forced others to receive their exiles, they possessed themselves of the sovereignty of the whole, manifestly against the league amongst all the Grecians, made by Antalcidas, by the help of the king of Persia.

In Macedonia, king Amyntas (after he was overcome by the Illy-

rians, in despair of being able to help himself) bestowed a large track of land upon the Olynthians, which lay near to them, as never thinking to be restored again to his kingdom. The Olynthians enjoyed this peace for some time; but, when the king recovered strength, and was reinstated in his former dignity, he demanded restitution of the land, which the Olynthians denied. Upon which, Amyntas raised both an army of his own, and entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians, and prevailed with them to send a general with a great army against the Olynthians. The Lacedæmonians, resolving to fix in those parts of Thrace, raised an army out of their own citizens and confederates, to the number of ten thousand men, over which they made Phœbidas, the Spartan, general, and commanded him to join with Amyntas, and make war upon the Olynthians. They sent out another body against the Phæuntines, whom they subdued, and forced to submit to their government.

About this time the two Lacedæmonian kings, having different sentiments, disagreed one with another. For Agesipolis was a lover of peace, and a just and wise man, and therefore declared against oppressing the Greeks: for he said that Sparta would become infamous amongst all the people, if, after they had been instrumental in making the Grecians in Asia slaves to the Persians, they should now enslave all the cities of Greece to themselves, whose liberties they had sworn in the common league to preserve inviolable. On the other hand Agesilaus, being naturally turbulent and inclined to war, thirsted after dominion over the Grecians.

Afterwards, when Menander was lord-chancellor of Athens, and six military tribunes, Quintus Sulpitius, Caius Fabius, Cornelius Servilius*, Quintus Servilius, Sextus Annius, and Caius Marcius, bore the consular dignity at Rome, the Lacedæmonians seized the Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes, for the reasons following:—They had for some time before considered that Bœotia was full of towns and cities, and that the inhabitants were men both of stout hearts and strong bodies; and especially, that Thebes, which continued to that day in its antient state and grandeur, was even the guard and bulwark of all Bœotia; therefore they were afraid lest, at some fit opportunity or other, they should become lords of Greece: for this reason they gave private instructions to their commanders, to seize upon the Cadmea as soon as they could spy a fit opportunity. Phœbidas the Spartan general, in his march against the Olynthians, (remembering his instructions), surprised the Cadmea, which so enraged the Thebans, that they

* Servius Cornelius.

rose in arms, but were beaten; and he banished three hundred of the most eminent citizens, and put all the rest into a great fright: and, leaving there a strong garrison, marched away in pursuance of the business he had chiefly in hand.

All the Grecians everywhere complained of the Lacedæmonians for this unworthy act; and they indeed themselves fined Phœbidas for it, but could not be brought to withdraw the garrison. And thus the Thebans were robbed of their liberty, and brought under the power of the Lacedæmonians. But the Olynthians resolutely persisting in the war against Amyntas, king of Macedon, Phœbidas was ordered to lay down his commission, and Eudamidas, his brother, was made general, and sent away with three thousand heavy-armed men to carry on the war against the Olynthians, who, breaking into the their country, jointly with Amyntas fell upon them; but the Olynthians being good soldiers, and overpowering the other in number, beat them both. Upon this the Lacedæmonians raised a great army, and made Teleutias, king Agesilaus's brother, general, who was a man of high esteem among the citizens for his valour, who, as soon as he entered the borders of Olynthus, was joined by the forces of Eudamidas; and now, being strong enough to fight the enemy, he first spoiled and wasted the country, and divided the prey (which he had got together in abundance) amongst the soldiers. Afterwards, the Olynthians marched out with their own, and the forces of their confederates. Upon which the armies engaged, and at the beginning the battle was doubtful; but afterwards, the fight was renewed with that extraordinary courage and resolution, that Teleutias, bravely acquitting himself, and above twelve hundred Lacedæmonians more, were there killed upon the place. The Spartans, being nettled at this success of the Olynthians, made greater preparations, in order to repair their loss. So, on the other hand, the Olynthians, suspecting that the Lacedæmonians would bring down greater forces upon them, and that the war might continue long, furnished themselves with plenty of corn and provisions, and with other aids from their confederates.

Demophilus was now archon at Athens; and Publius Cornelius, Lucius Virginius, Lucius Papirius, Marcus Furius*, Valerius Aulius†, Manlius‡ Lucius, and Posthumius Quintus§, military tribunes, were consuls at Rome, when the Lacedæmonians decreed war against the Olynthians, and made their king Agesipolis general over an army of force sufficient for the expedition. As soon as he

* Valerius. † Aulus Manlius. ‡ Lucius. § Posthumius.

entered the enemy's country, he joined with those that were encamped there, and forthwith fell to action. The Olynthians this year fought no considerable battle, but kept the king's army in play (whom they were afraid to encounter) with continual bickering, and light and frequent skirmishes.

CHAP. III.

Pelopidas sent general by the Lacedæmonians against the Olynthians. A great plague in Carthage. The Bœotian war. The Cadmea re-taken. A confederacy of the cities against the Lacedæmonians. Cleombrotus attempts to surprise the Piræus at Athens. The Athenians seize Acta in Eubœa. Agesilaus enters Bœotia. The sea-fight at Naxos.

AFTER the end of the year, Pytheas was created chief magistrate of Athens; and six military tribunes bore the consular authority at Rome, Titus Quintius, Lucius Servilius, Lucius Julius, Aquilius* Decius, Lucretius Anchius, and Servius Sulpitius. At that time was solemnized the hundredth Olympiad at Elis; in which Dionysiodorus the Tarentine bore away the prize. In the mean time Agesipolis, king of Lacedæmon, died, in the fourteenth year of his reign; and, his brother Cleombrotus succeeding him, reigned nine years. But the Lacedæmonians constituted Pelopidas general, and sent him forth against the Olynthians. He swore all his soldiers to be true and faithful to him, and gained many victories, managing the war with the valour and conduct that became a good general. At length, improving his good fortune and frequent successes, he drove the Olynthians within their walls, and, penning them up, so terrified them, that he forced them to submit to the Lacedæmonians as their sovereign lords. As soon as the Olynthians were enrolled among the confederates of the Spartans, many other cities sought to come under the same protection. And now the power of the Lacedæmonians was in its greatest strength, as being lords of all Greece, both by sea and land: for the Thebans were overawed by a garrison; the Corinthians and Argives were tired out with wars one with another; and the Athenians, for their covetousness and cruelty exercised among

* Lucius.

those they had subdued, were despised by all the Grecians. On the other hand, all were afraid of the Lacedæmonians, because they were very populous, expert soldiers, and unwearied in their attempts; insomuch that the greatest of the princes in those times (I mean the king of Persia, and Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily) courted the Spartans, and were ambitious of their alliance.

Afterwards, when Nico governed at Athens, and six military tribunes were created consuls at Rome, Lucius Papirius, Caius Cornelius, Lucius Manlius, Caius Servilius, Valerius Aulius, and Quintus Fabius, the Carthaginians entered with an army into Italy, and restored the Hipponiats to their city, whence they had been expelled, and kindly received all the exiles that came in to him from all parts.

Not long after a great plague happened in Carthage, which, raging more and more, swept away abundance of the inhabitants, insomuch that they were in great danger to have lost their sovereignty: for the Africans slighted and deserted them, and the inhabitants of Sardinia (supposing they had now a fit opportunity) revolted, and rose up in arms against them. Moreover, a remarkable judgment of God fell upon Carthage at this time: for the city was all on a sudden in an uproar, filled with tumult, fear, and horror; and, many running armed out of their houses, (as if an enemy had entered the place), fought, wounded, and killed one another in the streets. At length, the gods being appeased by sacrifices, and they delivered out of their sad afflictions, they presently subdued the Africans, and recovered Sardinia.

After these things, when Nausinicus was chief governor of Athens, and four military tribunes, Marcus Cornelius, Servilius Quintius, Marcus Furius, and Lucius Quintius, were clothed with the consular dignity at Rome, the Bœotian war (so called) broke out, between the Bœotians and the Lacedæmonians, upon the accounts following: —The Lacedæmonians, against all law and justice, forcibly detained the citadel of Cadmea, and had forced many persons of quality to fly out of their own country; the exiles therefore, upon a private consultation among themselves, (by the help of the Athenians), returned in the night into their city, and in the first place killed all those they judged had sided with the Lacedæmonians, surprising them in their houses, while they were asleep; then they stirred up all the common people to appear for their liberties; upon which the whole city of Thebes readily came in to their assistance, and, getting into a body, surrounded the Cadmea by break of day. In the mean time the Lacedæmonian garrison that was in the citadel, which consisted of no fewer than fifteen hundred men, sent a messenger to Sparta, to in-

form them of the insurrection in Thebes, and to desire aid with all speed. However, they from the bastions in the citadel beat off the besiegers, killing and wounding many. Upon this the Thebans, concluding that great forces would be brought out of Greece to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, sent ambassadors to Athens, to put them in mind how they had been assisted by the Thebans at that time when they rescued their commonwealth from the slavery they suffered under the thirty tyrants, and therefore that they should press them that they would hasten, with all the force they had, to help them to reduce the Cadmea, before any aid came from Sparta.

The people of Athens, as soon as they heard what was desired by the Thebans, decreed that without delay a strong and considerable army should be sent to help them to regain their liberty, both to demonstrate their gratitude for their former services, and likewise hoping thereby so to oblige the Thebans as that they should ever find them fast and constant friends, to assist them at all times against the growing and boundless power of the Lacedæmonians: for the Thebans were looked upon not to be inferior to any in Greece for number or valour of men. In conclusion, the Athenians made Demophon general over five thousand foot and five hundred horse, who drew out before day next morning; and hastened away with a swift march, that he might be before the Lacedæmonians; however, the people of Athens were ready and prepared to march out with all their forces into Bœotia, if the Thebans had occasion for them. Demophon with great expedition (beyond expectation) appeared in view of them of Thebes; and soldiers came together with the like zeal and earnestness from the other cities of Bœotia; so that the Thebans had now a numerous army, consisting of no less than twelve thousand foot, and about two thousand horse, and all cheerfully and readily bestirred themselves to besiege the citadel. The army divided themselves into parties, and assaulted the place by turns, persisting without any cessation night and day. In the mean time, they in the castle (encouraged by their officers) bore the brunt with great courage, hoping to receive speedy succours from the Lacedæmonians; and, indeed, they valiantly stood it out while they had any victuals left, killing and wounding many of the assailants, having the advantage of the strength of the fort; but, when their provisions grew low, and the Lacedæmonians lingered in sending relief, the garrison began to mutiny.

For the Lacedæmonians were for the standing of it out to the last man, but the auxiliaries from the confederate cities (who were the greater number) were for delivering it up; so the Spartans, who were but few, were forced to surrender the citadel; and, being dismissed

according to articles, returned to Peloponnesus. At length the Lacedæmonians came with their army to Thebes; but, having lost their opportunity, through the slowness of their march, all was to no purpose. But they tried three of the officers of the garrison by a council of war, and condemned two of them to die, and imposed so great a mulct and fine upon the third, that he was never able to pay it. Afterwards, the Athenians returned into their own country, and the Thebans spent much time in vain in the siege of Thespis. During these affairs the Romans sent a colony of five hundred citizens into Sardinia, upon terms of being free from tribute.

Afterwards, when Callias was lord-chancellor of Athens, and four military tribunes, Lucius Papirius, Marcus* Publius, Titus Cornelius†, and Quintus Lucius‡, were honoured with the consular dignity at Rome, (after the Lacedæmonians had miscarried at Thebes), the Bœotians took courage, and, entering into associations, raised a great army, because they foresaw that the Lacedæmonians would presently enter with a strong body into Bœotia.

The Athenians likewise sent persons of the greatest quality amongst them to persuade the cities subject to the Lacedæmonians not to neglect the present opportunity now offered to recover their liberties: for, indeed, the Lacedæmonians were grown to that height, that they lorded it with great pride and oppression over their subjects; therefore many of them were inclined to comply with the Athenians. The first that made a defection were those of Chios and Byzantium, after them Rhodes and Mitylene, and some other islands. And now the commotions and disturbances of the cities of Greece more and more increasing, many of them joined with Athens; upon which the people of Athens, encouraged by this confederacy, decreed a general diet or senate of some chosen out of every city from among all their allies, to consult of the present state of affairs. And it was agreed by common consent, that the senate should sit at Athens, and that every city, whether great or small, should send only one representative, and every one should be governed by their own laws, but under the conduct and administration of the Athenians.

However the Lacedæmonians, though they saw the current and tide so strong as that they were not able to stem it, yet they endeavoured all they could by fair words, and many specious promises, to court the deserters to return to their obedience, not neglecting in the mean time to prepare for the war, inasmuch as they discerned that it would be great and of long continuance, in regard the Athenians and other Grecians (met together in that public assembly) all joined with the Thebans.

* Publius. † Cornelius Tito. ‡ Lucius Quintius.

Whilst these things were acting in Greece, Acoris, king of Egypt, for some time before bearing a grudge to the Persian king, raised a great army of foreigners from all parts: for, giving large pay, and being otherwise very bountiful, he got together a great number of Grecians in a short time, who listed themselves into his service. But, wanting a skilful general, he sent for Chabrias the Athenian, an excellent commander, and one highly honoured for his valour, who undertook the employment, but without the consent of the people, and so prepared himself with all diligence for the war against the Persians. But Pharnabazus (declared commander-in-chief by the king) having made great preparations of money for the war, sent messengers to Athens to complain against Chabrias, letting them know, that, by his accepting of the chief command under the king of Egypt, he had greatly alienated the king of Persia from the people of Athens. Then he demanded that they would send to him Iphicrates, to assist him in the command of the army. Upon this the Athenians (who made it their great concern to stand right in the king's good opinion, and to keep Pharnabazus firm to their interest) without delay recalled Chabrias out of Egypt, and commanded Iphicrates to assist the Persians.

The Lacedæmonians and Athenians some years before had struck up a peace amongst themselves, which continued to this very time. But after that Sphodrias was made general by the Spartans, (a man of a proud and haughty spirit, rash, and headstrong), Cleombrotus, the Lacedæmonian king, urged him on to surprise the Piræus at Athens without the assent of the Ephori. To this end, being furnished with ten thousand heavy-armed men, he attempts to enter the Piræus in the night; but, the treachery being detected by the Athenians, his project came to nought, and he returned as he came: and, though he was brought before the senate at Sparta for this rash and inconsiderate action, yet, being patronised by the kings, he was, against all law and justice, discharged. The Athenians, being incensed with this apparent abuse, published a decree—That, inasmuch as the Lacedæmonians had openly violated the league, that war should be made upon them for the repair of the injury. To this end, therefore, Timotheus, Chabrias, and Callistratus, (men of great account in the city, who were made generals for this expedition), were commissioned to raise twenty thousand foot of corsleteers, and five hundred horse, and to equip a fleet of two hundred sail.

The Athenians likewise brought the Thebans, as members, into the public senate, upon the same terms and conditions with the rest. It was also enacted, by the suffrage of the senate—That the lands

which had been divided by lot should be restored to the antient proprietors; and that no Athenian should challenge a right to any lands that lay out of Attica. By this fair dealing the Athenians regained the love of the Grecians, and again strengthened themselves in their government. And this was the cause which moved many other cities of Greece to side with the Athenians. The chiefest cities of Eubœa (except Acta) with great heat and zeal entered into an association with Athens. But, in regard they of Acta had received many kindnesses from the Lacedæmonians, and, on the other hand, had been grievously oppressed and harassed by the Athenians, they bore an implacable hatred towards the one, and stuck close and firm in their alliance to the other. In the whole, there were seventy cities that entered into this confederacy and association, all which had voices upon the same terms and conditions in the senate. So that the forces of the Athenians increasing every day, and those of Sparta decreasing, these two cities began now again to lie in equal ballance.

The Athenians therefore (who saw all things go forward according to their heart's desire) transported forces into Eubœa, both to fix their confederates, and to suppress their foes. In this island one Neogenes, a little before these times, with the assistance of Jason of Pheris, with a band of men, had seized upon the citadel of Acta, and declared himself king of those parts, and of the city Oropus*. But, governing proudly and tyrannically, the Lacedæmonians sent Theríppidas against him, who at the first would have persuaded him by fair means to leave the castle; but, when he could not be so wrought upon, he stirred up the inhabitants near adjoining to recover their liberty, and took the castle by storm, and restored the Oropians to their former freedom. For this reason the Hestiæans always loved the Lacedæmonians, and kept a firm league of friendship with them. But Chabrias, the general, with the forces sent from Athens, wasted and spoiled the country of the Hestiæans, and walled Metropolis, (as it is called), situated upon a hill naturally fortified, and left there a garrison; and he himself sailed to the Cyclade islands, and reduced Peparethos and Sciathos, and others subject to the Lacedæmonians.

When the Lacedæmonians saw that they could not put a stop to the defection of their confederates, they laid aside their severity, and took other measures to win the cities by more gentle methods: and by these means they gained upon those of their confederates that were yet left. And because they discerned that the war was coming on a-

* In Eubœa, now Negropont.

pace, and that great care was required for the management of their affairs, among other preparations, they diligently applied themselves to put their army into a better posture, and more aptly to dispose of their troops and regiments, and to have their forts and garrisons more faithfully kept and secured: for they divided their cities and soldiers, raised there for the present war, into ten parts: the first were Lacedæmonians; the second and third, Arcadians; the fourth, Elians; the fifth, Achaians; the sixth, Corinthians and Megarensians; the seventh, Sicyonians, Phliasians, and Actæans; the eighth, Acarnanians; the ninth, Phocians and Locrians; the last, Olynthians and confederates of Thrace. The manner and way of their order and marshalling was this: one corsleteer, or heavy-armed soldier, was accounted equal to two lightly armed; and one horseman to four heavy-armed footmen. The army thus disposed, king Agesilaus was made generalissimo: for he was famous both for his valour and prudence, and never had been worsted in any encounter to that very time; for, as he was highly admired in other wars, so in the war by the Lacedæmonians against the Persians, he routed armies far greater than his own, and bore down all before him, wasting and spoiling a great part of Asia; and if the Spartans had not called him home (through the urgency of affairs in his own country) he had not been far from ruining the whole kingdom of Persia: for he was a man very brisk and daring, and yet withal prudent, addicting himself to great and noble actions; and therefore the Spartans (when the greatness of the war required a skilful commander) chose him to be general above all others.

Upon which, Agesilaus entered Bœotia with above eighteen thousand foot, amongst whom were five regiments of Lacedæmonians, every regiment consisting of five hundred. The Lacedæmonian band called the Scirite*, joined not with the rest of the army; but kept their proper post round about the king, and always were ready to succour that part that was most prest upon. And because it was made up of the best soldiers, it was of the greatest esteem of any part of the army, and most commonly instrumental to the gaining of every victory. Besides the foot before mentioned, Agesilaus had with him fifteen hundred horse. As soon as he came to Thespis (a Lacedæmonian garrison) he encamped near the city, to refresh his army after their long march.

When the Athenians heard that the Lacedæmonians, had entered into Bœotia, they forthwith sent five thousand foot and two hundred horse to the aid of Thebes. The Thebans having mustered and rendezvoused their forces, possessed themselves of a hill which ran out

* These were commonly six hundred.

a great length, distant twenty stages from the city, and posted themselves there for the advantage of the ground, (being difficult of access), and there waited for the enemy: for the great reputation of Agesilaus did so terrify them, that they durst not engage with him upon equal terms in the open field. Agesilaus now advances with his forces against the Bœotians; as soon as he came near the enemy, (to make trial whether they had a mind to fight) he sent out against them some light-armed men, which were soon beaten back by the Thebans from the higher ground: upon which, to strike them with more terror, he drew out his whole army in battalia upon them. Whereupon, Chabrias the Athenian, commander of the mercenaries, ordered the soldiers to appear in a posture of defiance to the Lacedæmonians: and to that end to stand to their ranks and orders, with their shields laid down at their feet, and with their spears advanced, so to present themselves to the view of the enemy, which they obeyed at the first word of command. Agesilaus admiring their excellent order, and contempt of their enemies, thought it not safe to attempt to force up those steep places, and to try their valour at such disadvantage, having experienced, that by violent pressing upon them, they would be necessitated to stand it out to the utmost extremity. Therefore he did all he could to provoke them to descend into the open plain; but when he could not get them to stir, he sent out a phalanx of foot, and a party of light horse, and wasted and spoiled the country without controul, and got together abundance of prey and plunder. But those that were ordered to attend upon Agesilaus as his council, and the colonels and captains of the regiments wondering that he, being ever accounted a valiant man, and a good soldier, and now furnished with an army far stronger than the enemy, should notwithstanding wave an engagement, Agesilaus gave them this answer—That now the Lacedæmonians were conquerors without fighting, since the Thebans durst not move out of their place to give a stop to the spoiling of their country: and if he should force them to fight after they had willingly yielded the victory, the uncertain fortune of war might be such as might on a sudden ruin the Lacedæmonians. The man by this conception seemed modestly to foretel the event; for, that which followed after did clearly evince —That what he said was the oracle of God, and not the mere voice of a man: for, the Lacedæmonians within a short time after, when they set upon the Thebans with a numerous army, and forced them to fight for their liberties, involved themselves in unspeakable calamities; for, in the first place, when they were routed at the battle of Leuctra, a great number of their citizens were cut off, amongst whom was their king Cleombrotus. And afterwards at the battle of

Mantinea they were utterly ruined; and (beyond all men's thoughts of any such thing) quite lost the sovereignty of Greece—For, in this fight (especially) fortune made it her busines to bring swift destruction upon the proud and haughty, and to teach men not to aspire beyond the bounds of moderation and modesty. So that Agesilaus acted prudently in being content in his former good success, and preserving his army entire without loss or prejudice.

Some time after, Agesilaus marchod back with his army into Peloponnesus; but the Thebans, now delivered from the danger they were in by the conduct of Chabrias, highly admired his witty stratagem; who, though he had performed many noble exploits in the wars, yet he gloried more in this than in all others before, and by the favour of the people procured statues to be erected in memory of the project, representing the thing as it was done.

The Thebans, after the departure of Agesilaus, set upon Thespis, and killed the guard, which consisted of two hundred men; but making several assaults upon the city, though all in vain, they drew off, in order to return with their forces to Thebes. Upon which, Phebidas, the Lacedæmonian, the governor of Thespis, (who kept the place with a strong garrison), made a sally upon the Thebans in their retreat, and through his pressing on too rashly, (after many wounds received, and signalizing his valour), he lost his own life, and the lives of above five hundred of his fellows.

Not long after, the Lacedæmonians marched against Thebes with the same army: and then again the Thebans possessed themselves of some other places that were of difficult access, by which means they did indeed hinder the wasting and spoiling the country, but dared not at first to engage with the enemy in the plain. But upon the appearance of Agesilaus in the van of the army, they began to march slowly towards him, and after a long time, the armies at length engaged with great heat and fury. At the first Agesilaus had the advantage: but when he discerned the whole city of Thebes to sally out upon him, he sounded a retreat: whereupon the Thebans judging themselves nothing inferior to the Lacedæmonians, erected a trophy, and never after hesitated to engage with the Spartans. And this was the issue of the fights by land.

But about the same time there was a great fight at sea, between Naxos and Paros, upon this occasion: Pollis, the Lacedæmonian admiral, had intelligence of a great quantity of corn that was passing by sea to Athens; upon which, he made it his business to lie in wait to surprise the transport ships. The Athenians being informed of the design, sent out a fleet to guard the ships loaden with the provisions, and brought them all into the Piræus.

After this, Chabrias the Athenian admiral sailed with the whole fleet to Naxos, and besieged it, and battering it with his engines, used his utmost endeavours to take it by storm: but while he was earnest in prosecuting his design, Pollis the Lacedæmonian admiral came up with his fleet to the assistance of the Naxians: upon which the fleets engaged, charging one another in a line of battle. Pollis had a navy of sixty-five sail, and Chabrias eighty-three. Pollis in the right wing valiantly charged the Athenians in the left, commanded by Cedon the Athenian, whom he killed, and sunk his vessel. He fell likewise upon others, and broke some of them in pieces with the beaks of his ships, and put the rest to flight. Which Chabrias discerning, he ordered some ships near him to the relief of those that were overpowered, and so rescued them. He himself, with the greatest part of the fleet under his command, with great valour broke in pieces and took many of the enemy's gallies. But however, though he obtained the victory, and put the enemy's whole fleet to flight, yet he would not pursue, remembering the battle at Arginusæ, where, though the Athenians were victorious, yet the people, instead of a reward, put the officers to death, only because they did not bury their parents who were killed in that fight. Fearing therefore the like fate, he waved the pursuit, and took up the citizens swimming and floating here and there, and so preserved those that were alive, and ordered the dead to be buried. In this battle the Athenians lost eighteen gallies, and the Lacedæmanians four-and-twenty; eight were taken with all the men.

Chabrias, crowned with this glorious victory, returned with great and rich spoils to the Piræus, and was received by the citizens with great honour and acclamation. This was the first victory at sea gained by the Athenians since the Peloponnesian war; for, at Cnidus they prevailed not by the strength of their own forces, but by the assistance of the king of Persia.

While these things were acted in Greece, Marcus Manlius was put to death at Rome for aspiring to the monarchy.

CHAP. IV.

The Triballians make incursions into Thrace. Chabrias the Athenian general assassinated. The Thebans rout the Spartans at Orchomenus. Artaxerxes seeks to make peace among the Grecians. Peace concluded. The Thebans only disagreed. The commendation of Epaminondas. Seditions in several cities of Greece.

WHEN Chariander was archon at Athens, and Servius Sulpitius, Lucius Papirius, Cornelius Titus*, and Marcus Quintius†, four military tribunes, were in consular dignity at Rome, the hundred and first olympiad was celebated at Elis, and Damon of Thurium bore away the prize. At that time the Triballians in Thrace (being in great scarcity of corn) made an incursion with thirty thousand armed men, into the territories of their neighbours to get provisions. To that end they entered the borders of the Abderites in another part of Thrace, and wasted and spoiled the country without any opposition; and having loaden themselves with abundance of plunder, they returned so carelesly and disordesly, as that the whole city of Abdera falling upon them when they were scattered and dispersed, killed above two thousand of them. To revenge which, the exasperated barbarians made a second inroad into the country of the Abderites. But they, being encouraged by the late victory, and strengthened with the assistance of the neighbouring Thracians, drew up in battalia against the barbarians. The armies furiously engaged, when on a sudden the Thracians drew off and left the Abderites to themselves, who were presently hemmed in by the barbarians, and almost every man cut off.

As soon as this grievous slaughter of the Abderites was noised abroad, and they were now ready to be besieged, Chabrias the Athenian arrived, with his army, and not only delivered the Abderites, but drove the barbarians out of the country: and, after he had strengthened the city with a strong garrison, he was basely assassinated, but by whom was not known. Upon this, Timotheus was made admiral of the Athenian fleet, and, sailing to Cephalenia, he blocked up the city with his navy, and wrought upon the cities of Acarnania to side with the Athenians. Presently after, he entered into a league with Acetas, king of the Molossians; and now, having in his power all the countries subject to the cities in those parts, he

* Marcus Cornelius. † Titus Quintius.

routed the Lacedæmonians in a sea-fight at Leucades; and all this he did in a very short time, and with much ease, partly by fair words, and partly by force of arms and his excellent conduct; so that he not only gained esteem and reputation amongst his own fellow-citizens, but likewise amongst all the Grecians. And thus was it with Timotheus at this time.

During these transactions, the Thebans (with five hundred of the most valiant men of their city) marched against Orchomenus, and performed an exploit worthy of memory. The Spartans kept this city with a strong garrison, and, making a sally upon the Thebans, there was a sharp encounter, in which they routed the Lacedæmonians, though they were double in number, which never happened to them before in any age; but the thing might have been borne well enough, if they had been few, and had been conquered by the far greater number. Henceforth the courage of the Thebans increased, and they grew every day famous for their valour; and now it was apparent, that they were likely to gain the sovereignty of all Greece. As to the writers of this time, Hermeias of Methymna ends his history of the affairs of Sicily with this year, comprehended in ten, but, as others divide them, in twelve books.

The year following, when Hippodamus was chief magistrate of Athens, and four military tribunes, viz. Lucius Valerius*, Crispus† Manlius, Fabius Servilius‡, and Sulpitius Lucretius§, were Roman consuls, Artaxerxes used his utmost endeavour to quiet all things in Greece, that he might raise the more mercenaries for the carrying on the war against the Egyptians: for by this means he hoped the Grecians, being freed from domestic broils, would be in a condition to assist him abroad. To this end, he sent ambassadors into Greece, to negotiate in this affair amongst all the cities. And this embassy was very acceptable to the Grecians, who were nearly tired out with continual wars; so that a general peace was concluded upon these conditions—That all the cities should for the future be governed by their own laws, and all the garrisons be withdrawn. And there were certain Grecians appointed as commissioners to see the garrisons drawn out; who accordingly went to every city where there was any soldiers, and ordered them to leave the place.

In the mean time, the Thebans only, through every town, disagreed to these terms, and exempted all Bœotia, as tributary only to themselves: but the Athenians opposed this with all earnestness, and this affair was banded in the common assembly of the Greeks, by Callistratus, a tribune of the people, on the behalf of the Athenians,

* Lucius Valerius Crispus. † Aulus Manlius. ‡ Servius Sulpitius.
§ Lucius Lucretius.

and by Epaminondas on the behalf of the Thebans; after which, all the rest of the Grecians persisted in their resolution to stand to the league, leaving out the Thebans, who (relying upon the wisdom and prudence of Epaminondas) boldly opposed the decree made by the general assembly.

For, seeing that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had been all along hitherto contesting for the sovereign command of Greece, and at length had agreed upon these terms—That the Lacedæmonians should have the command at land, and the Athenians at sea, they were very uneasy to think that now a third should carry away the sovereignty from them both; for which reason they would not allow the cities of Bœotia to be under the power of the Thebans. But the Thebans (who were men of strong bodies and stout hearts, and had lately beaten the Lacedæmonians in several fights) bore themselves very high, and were in hopes to gain the sovereign command at land. Neither were they frustrated in their design, for the reasons before mentioned, and likewise because they had at that time many excellent officers and valiant commanders, amongst whom the most famous were Pelopidas, Gorgias, and Epaminondas; which last was not only the best and most expert commander of any of his own country, but even of all the Grecians, and was likewise a man of great learning in the liberal sciences, and especially in the Pythagorean philosophy; being, besides, of excellent natural parts, and mother-wit, it was no wonder if he exceeded others in performing those things that were more than ordinarily remarkable. For, with a small body of men, he engaged with the whole power of the Lacedæmonians and their confederates, and so routed those (formerly unconquerable) warriors, that he killed their king Cleombrotus, and cut off almost the whole army of the Spartans. And, by the advantage of his singular wisdom, and virtuous and liberal education, such things were performed by him as were admirable beyond all expectation; of which we shall speak more fully hereafter, when we come to treat particularly of those things.

But now, to return to the course of our history. It was agreed—That every city should govern according to their own laws; but presently after, all the cities were again involved in great tumults and seditions, especially those in Peloponnesus. Some few of these had been enslaved in the late domineering time, and, being now restored to their democratical government, they made but an ill improvement of it; for they banished many honest citizens that were falsely accused, and as unjustly condemned; and, by the prevailing power of the seditious, nothing was more frequent than banishment and confiscation of goods, and those chiefly were the sufferers that had been

magistrates in the time of the Lacedæmonian government; for, because in those times they carried it something imperiously towards the people, not with that regard to justice as they ought, now that the commonalty were restored to their liberty, they too much resented their former injuries.

The exiles, therefore, of Phialia were the first that consulted and joined together, and seized upon Herea, a strong and well fortified castle, and from thence made frequent incursions into the territories of Phialia; and, at the time when the feasts of Bacchus were celebrated, (upon the sudden), they rushed upon the people in the theatre, and cut many of their throats, having before persuaded a considerable number to join with them in this wicked confederacy; and afterwards they returned to Sparta. Then the exiles of Corinth, who were in great numbers at Argos, determined to force their own return. In order hereunto, some of their servants and friends were received into the city; but the thing being discovered to the magistrates, they could not lie long concealed, but, being just ready to be seized (through fear of punishment) they killed one another. But the Corinthians, upon suspicion that many of the citizens were concerned in the plot, put several to death, and banished others.

In the city of Megara, likewise, some were contriving how to overturn the government, who, being convicted of the treason, many were put to death, and not a few banished. So, at Sicyon, many were executed upon a full conviction, for endeavouring to bring in innovations. At length many of the Phialian exiles, having seized upon a castle in that territory, got together a great army of mercenaries, and fought with the townsmen, and got the day, having killed above three hundred of the Phialians. But, not long after, the exiles were betrayed by their guard, and routed by them of Phialia, with the loss of six hundred men; and the rest, being forced out of the country, fled to Argos. And such was the miserable condition of Peloponnesus at that time.

CHAP. V.

The Persians send an army into Egypt, to reduce the revolters. Iphicrates a skilful commander. Sedition at Zacynthus. Platæa razed by the Thebans. The Lacedæmonians seize upon the island Corcyra: relieved by the Athenians under Ctesias. Evagoras murdered in Cyprus by an eunuch. Dreadful earthquakes and inundations in Peloponnesus. A great comet seen in Greece.

SOCRATIDES the ensuing year was archon at Athens, and Quintus Crassus*, Servilius Cornelius, Spurius Papirius, and Fabius Albus†, four military tribunes, executed the office of consuls at Rome. At that time the king of Persia marched against the Egyptians (who had revolted some time before). The army was commanded by Pharnabazus, and Iphicrates the Athenian; the barbarians by Pharnabazus, and twenty thousand mercenaries by Iphicrates, who was in so much favour with the king for his excellent conduct, that he intrusted him with that command. Pharnabazus had spent many years in preparation for this war.

Iphicrates, therefore, knowing the readiness of his tongue, and the slowness of his actions, one day accosted him in this manner—That he wondered that one who was so voluble in his speech, should be so slow in his actions. To which Pharnabazus answered—That he was master of his words, but the king of his actions. When the king's forces came to Aces‡, in Syria, and were there mustered, there were found two hundred thousand barbarians, to be under the conduct of Pharnabazus, and twenty thousand Grecians, under the command of Iphicrates. The number of the navy was three hundred gallies, of three tier of oars on a bank, and two hundred of thirty oars a-piece, and a vast number of transport-ships, to carry provisions, and other things necessary for the army.

About the beginning of the spring the officers, with all the forces both at sea and land, made for Egypt. When they came near to the river Nile, they found the Egyptians ready, and prepared for battle; for Pharnabazus had been very tedious in this expedition, and had given the enemy time enough to prepare for their defence: for it is the constant practice of the Persian generals (in regard they have no absolute power) upon every special occasion to send to the

* Servilius. † Lucius Æmilius. ‡ Ace, or Ptolemais, in Phœnicia.

king, to know his pleasure, and to stay till they receive his particular direction.

In the mean time, Nectanabis, the king of Egypt, had perfect knowledge of the strength of the Persian forces; but he placed his greatest confidence in the strength of his country, the entrance into Egypt being very difficult on every side, and the passage blocked both by sea and land by the seven mouths of the Nile. For at every mouth where the Nile falls into the sea, was a city built, with large forts or castles on each side of the river, joined together by a bridge of timber, which commanded all ships that passed that way, and, of all these, he had most strongly fortified Pelusium; for, being the next frontier town towards Syria, they conceived the enemy would first attempt to enter into the country that way: therefore they drew a trench round the city, and, where there was a place whereat any vessels might in any probability enter, there they raised walls to obstruct the passage; and, where there were any fords by which the way lay open into Egypt by land, he brought the water over them; and, where any ship might pass, he filled up those places with stones and rubbish: by which means it was very difficult, and scarcely possible, either for ships to sail, or horse or foot to march. Pharnabazus's officers, therefore, seeing Pelusium so strongly and wonderfully fortified, and well manned, thought it most advisable to forbear to attempt entering by force, and rather to sail to some other mouth of the river, and endeavour to make a passage for the fleet there. Whereupon they put off to sea again, and, being out of sight, that they might not be discerned by the enemy, they steered their course for Mendesium*, another mouth of the Nile, where the shore runs a great way out from the main land. Here they landed three thousand men, and Pharnabazus and Iphicrates assaulted a fort built upon the very mouth of the river; but the Egyptians came down with three thousand horse and foot to the relief of the place: upon which there was a sharp engagement, in which the Egyptians, being overpowered by multitude, (for more came running in to their assistance from the ships), were hemmed in, and a great slaughter made amongst them, very few being taken prisoners; the rest were forced to fly into a little town hard by: but the soldiers of Iphicrates entered pell mell with those of the garrison into the place; and, having thus taken it by force, they demolished it, and carried away the inhabitants as captives.

After this, there arose a difference between the generals, which brought all to nought. Iphicrates learnt from the captives, that there was a garrison called Memphis, which place was of the greatest

* Mendes.

consequence of any throughout all Egypt; therefore he advised that they should sail with the fleet thither before the rest of the Egyptian army got together; but Pharnabazus and all his forces were for staying till all the Persian land and sea-forces came up, that so there might be less danger in the expedition. But Iphicrates then offered to undertake the reduction of the city with those mercenaries that were then with him, if he might but have the liberty. Upon which, Pharnabazus grew envious at the valour and confidence of the man, and began to be fearful lest all Egypt should be conquered by his arms only, and therefore denied his request. Hereupon, Iphicrates made a solemn protestation against them, declaring that all this expedition would be fruitless and vain, through their neglect, if they let slip the present opportunity. But Pharnabazus envied him the more, and, very undeservedly, gave him opprobrious language.

In the mean while, the Egyptians (having now gained more time) put a strong garrison into Memphis, and marched with all their army to the little town before demolished; and, prevailing in sundry skirmishes against the Persians, they never let them rest, but, growing still sronger and stronger, made a great slaughter of them, and grew every day more obstinate. But the Persian army, having now staid a long time about this castle*, and the river Nile (by force of the Etesian winds) beginning to overflow, insomuch as that all the land was covered with water, (whereby Egypt was now more inaccessible, and by that means, as it were, fortified), the commanders, (because nature seemed to fight against them), resolved forthwith to leave Egypt.

As soon, therefore, as they returned into Asia, Pharnabazus renewed the quarrel with Iphicrates: upon which, Iphicrates (fearing he should receive the same treatment as Conon formerly had) consulted how to withdraw himself privately from the camp. To this end (having prepared a vessel for his purpose) he went on board in the night, and so sailed to Athens: but Pharnabazus sent ambassadors after him, and accused him, as being the occasion of the miscarriage of the design relating to the reducing of Egypt; to whom the Athenians answered—That, if he were guilty, they would punish him according to his deserts: but, in a very short time after, they made him admiral of their whole fleet.

In this place we think it not much beside our purpose if we say something concerning what is reported of the valour of Iphicrates. He is said to have been a very skilful commander, and of a quick and ready wit in contriving any useful project or stratagem. Hav-

* The Little Town.

ing therefore gained much experience and judgment in martial discipline, by his long and continued exercise in the wars of Persia, he found out many things of great advantage in matters of war, especially he employed himself in contriving the making of new sorts of arms.

It was hitherto a custom among the Grecians to carry great and heavy shields: but, because these by their weight much hindered the soldiers in their march, he changed the form of them, and ordered targets of a moderate size in their room: in which alteration he had a respect to two things, one, that their bodies should be sufficiently defended, and, by the other, that by their lightness they might be the more easily managed. Experience presently approved the invention, and they who from their heavy arms were before called Hopliti, heavy-armed men, were from these new targets called Peltasti, targeteers. He changed likewise the fashion of their spears and swords. The spears he caused to be made half as long again as they were before, and the swords longer almost by two parts. This alteration was presently approved by use and experience, and the reputation of the general was highly advanced by the usefulness of his ingenious inventions. Lastly, he altered the very soldier's shoes, that they might be sooner put on, easier to march with, and more readily cast off; and therefore they are called at this very day Iphicratics. He invented many other things belonging to martial affairs, which would be too tedious here to relate. But thus all that great preparation for an expedition into Egypt came to nothing.

During these affairs, the new frame of government throughout all Greece filled the cities with tumult and commotion; and because of the anarchy in most places, seditions abounded. Those who were for an oligarchy, had the Lacedæmonians to patronise them; and those that appeared for a democracy were protected by the Athenians: for both the cities for awhile kept the league made between them inviolable. But upon their siding with the cities, (as they were inclined to the one or the other), without any regard to the former articles of the peace, they presently broke out into war.

At that time the inhabitants of Zacynthus, being enraged against their magistrates, (encouraged thereunto under the protection of the Lacedæmonians, and provoked with the memory of their former injuries), drove them all out of the city; who fled to Timotheus the Athenian admiral, and were received into the fleet, and joined with him in the war. He patronised their cause, and transported them into the island, (where they seized upon a strong castle called Arcadia), and, by the assistance of Timotheus, very much molested and injured the townsmen. They of Zacynthus desired aid of the Lacedæmo-

nians, who first, (before they would begin a war), sent to the people of Athens, and by their ambassadors accused Timotheus: but when they discerned that they inclined to favour the exiles, they bestirred themselves to equip out a fleet; and having manned thirty-five gallies, they sent them to the aid of the Zacynthians, under the command of Aristocrates.

Whilst these things were in doing, some in Corcyra that favoured the Lacedæmonians, appeared against the people, and sent to Sparta to be assisted with all speed with some shipping, promising to deliver up Corcyra into their hands. Upon which, they (knowing very well the importance of that island for the recovery of the dominion at sea) hastened away to get possession. And to that end commanded Alcidas to pass over to Corcyra with two-and-twenty sail; they giving out, that this fleet was to go for Sicily, but in truth with a design, (under colour of being friends to the Corcyrians), by the help of the exiles, to sieze upon the city. But the inhabitants coming to understand the fraud and intended cheat of the Lacedæmonians, strongly fortified the place, and kept diligent watch and ward, and sent ambassadors to Athens for assistance. Upon which the people decreed to send succours forthwith, both to the Corcyrians and to them of Zacynthus; whereupon Ctesicles was presently sent to Zacynthus to command the exiles: but the fleet to be sent to Corcyra was but then fitting out. In the mean time they of Platæa having entered into a league with the Athenians, and decreed to deliver up their city into their protection, sent for a garrison from Athens. At which the governors of Bœotia being exceedingly offended, (to prevent the Athenians), forthwith led out a great army against the Platæans; and having entered the confines of Platæa, (by this sudden and unexpected irruption), they found many of the citizens straggling in the fields, who were presently snapped up by the horsemen; the rest fled into the city, and, having no confederates to assist them, were forced to deliver themselves up, upon such terms and conditions as the enemy was pleased to allow them: for they were to leave the city, and take with them only their household goods, and never more to set foot in Bœetia. After this, the Thebans razed Platæa, and took Thespis (that sided against them) by assault. The Platæans fled to Athens with their wives and children, and were there kindly received into the franchises and liberties of the city. And in this condition stood the affairs of Bœotia all that time. The Lacedæmonians had now sent Mnasippus with a fleet of sixty-five sail, and fifteen hundred men under his command to Corcyra, which, after he arrived at the island, and had taken the exiles on board, he sailed into the haven, and presently possessed himself of four of their gallies, and forced the rest upon land, which they of Corcyra burnt, to prevent their falling into

the enemy's hands: he routed them, likewise, in a land-fight, (though they had advantageously possessed themselves of a hill), insomuch, that all the Corcyrians every where were in fear and amazement. The Athenians had some time before sent Timotheus, the son of Conon, to the aid of the Corcyrians, with a navy of sixty sail; but, before he came in to succour them, he sailed into Thrace, and brought over many of the cities there to the Athenian interest, and enlarged his fleet with thirty sail: but, because he came too late to the assistance of them of Corcyra, the people of Athens were very angry at him, and took away his commission; yet, when he returned to Athens with a great number of ambassadors, who came along with him to confirm the leagues with the Athenians, and besides, brought in the fleet in good order, being more than they were by thirty sail, the people rescinded the former decree, and restored him to his command. Before this they had likewise prepared forty gallies more, (so that their whole fleet was fourscore), and had made also plentiful provision of corn, arms, and all other things necessary for the war: but, for the present, they sent five hundred men to the aid of them of Corcyra, under the command of Ctesias, who entered privately in the night into Corcyra, where he found the townsmen in bad circumstances, by the sedition, and their ill management of affairs relating to the war: but forthwith, quieting all parties, he made it his business to put all things in a posture of defence, and by this means put heart and courage into the besieged. In the first place, he made a sally, and cut off two hundred of the enemy. Presently after, in a sharp engagement, he killed Mnasippus and many of his army. And now, when the war was almost at an end in Corcyra, arrived Timotheus and Iphicrates, with the Athenian fleet; who, coming too late, did nothing worth remembering, save that they took nine gallies, men and all, sent by Dionysius out of Sicily to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, under the command of Cassidas* and Crinippus, and by the sale of the captives raised three score talents, with which they paid off the soldiers.

While these things were acting, Nicocles, an eunuch in Cyprus, treacherously murdered king Evagoras, and made himself king of Salamis. In Italy, the Romans fought with the Prænestines, and routed and killed many of them.

Afterwards, when Asteius was chief magistrate at Athens, and six military tribunes, viz. Marcus Furius, Lucius Furius, Aulus Posthumius, Lucius Lucretius, Marcus Fabius, and Lucius Posthumius, executed the office of consuls at Rome, there happened such dreadful earthquakes and inundations in Peloponnesus, (throughout all the

* Cissides.

cities, and over all the country), that are incredible to relate. For, never in any former age did the like calamity fall upon the Grecian cities, which were now swallowed up, together with their inhabitants; and certainly some divine power contrived and executed this remarkable ruin and destruction of mankind: nay, the time when it was done added to the greatness of the calamity. For the earthquakes happened not in the day, (when the distressed might have found out some way or other to have helped themselves), but in the night, when the houses, by the violence of the shake, fell down in confused heaps; so that (by the darkness of the night, and the suddenness of the ruin) men were in that perplexity, that they knew not which way to turn themselves for security; insomuch that the greatest part of the inhabitants (buried in the rubbish of the houses) miserably perished. But, as soon as it was day, some came running out of the houses, and, thinking they had escaped the danger, fell into a far greater and unexpected mischief; for, the sea raged to that degree, and broke in with that violence, that it swallowed up them and their houses together.

Two cities of Achaia, one called Helice, and the other Bura, chiefly suffered by this sad accident: of which two, Helice was of the greatest account of any of the cities of Achaia.

There was a very hot dispute concerning the cause of this evil. Indeed the natural philosophers do generally ascribe all such events to natural causes, and necessary circumstances, and not to any divine hand; but they who have more reverend thoughts and sentiments of a deity, give a very probable account of this matter: that this destruction was the effect of the anger of the gods, for the impious violation of the rights of religion, of which we shall give a more particular account. The three cities of Ionia were accustomed to have a general assembly of all the Ionians at Mycale, and thereabouts, where, in a certain solitary place, (according to antient rites), they offered many costly sacrifices to Neptune; which *Panionion** festivals the Ionians, not being able to solemnize at that place, by reason of the frequent wars and disturbances, they removed those assemblies to a more secure place not far from Ephesus. But, sending to Delphos, to consult there with the oracle, they were commanded to take images from the most antient altars of their forefathers (meaning from Helice, a city of the country formerly called Ionia, but now Achaia). Upon this they declared in the public assembly of the Achaians the occasion of their embassy, and desired them to grant their request. But they of Helice had an antient prophecy—That then they would be in the greatest danger, when

* Pan Ionian, a general festival of the Ionians.

the Ionians sacrificed upon the altar of Neptune. Remembering this, therefore, they would not suffer the Ionians to take the images, alleging, that the temple was not common to all the Achaians, but peculiar to themselves only. The same addresses were made to them of Bura, who were of the same mind with those of Helice. However, the Ionians, by public edict of the Athenians, (that the prophecy might be fulfilled), offered sacrifices upon the altar of Neptune. Upon this they of Helice seized upon all the goods of the Ionians, and committed the ambassadors to prison, and so carried it very impiously towards the deity: therefore they say that Neptune, being angry, to revenge himself upon their impiety, (by these earthquakes and inundations of the sea), brought this grievous calamity upon those cities. And that it was done by him, they use this for an argument—That it is generally believed that this god hath the power of inundations and earthquakes in his own hand; and that Peloponnesus had been ever reputed the habitation of Neptune, and the country dedicated to him, and that all the Peloponnesian cities worshipped this god above all others. Besides this, they give a further reason of this sad accident. There are (as they say) in Peloponnesus great cavities under ground, which, by the sea flowing here and there through the earth, are turned into great ponds and lakes of water. And, indeed, it is very certain that there are two rivers in that peninsula which apparently fall into the caverns of the earth: for the rivers which run by Pheneus* in former ages sunk in one place into the earth, and became invisible, being swallowed up in these caverns under ground. Another† was lost at a great opening of the earth at Stymphius‡, and ran unseen under ground for the space of two hundred stages, and rose up again near the city of Argos. To what is related is further added—That none suffered but only they who were guilty of the impiety before mentioned. And this shall suffice to be said of the earthquakes and inundations in Peloponnesus.

When Alcisthenes was chief magistrate of Athens, and eight military tribunes, viz. Lucius Valerius§, Publius Ancius, Caius Terentius, Lucius Menenius, Caius Sulpitius, Titus Papirius, Lucius Æmilius, and Fabius Marcus‖, bore the consular authority at Rome, the hundred and second Olympiad was celebrated at Elis, wherein Damon the Thurian was victor. At that time God (by some signs and prodigies) foretold the fall of the Lacedæmonian sovereignty over Greece, after they had enjoyed it near five hundred years; for a great comet (which, from its shape, was called the Fiery Beam) was

* A city in Arcadia. † Erasenus river. ‡ Stymphalus, in Arcadia.
§ Lucius Publius Valerius. ‖ Marcus Fabius.

seen in the heavens several nights. And, not long after, the Lacedæmonians being overcome in a great battle, suddenly (beyond all men's imagination) lost their dominion. Some among the natural philosophers ascribe the origin of this comet to proceed from natural causes, and say that these sort of meteors, at some stated times, do happen of necessity: and that the eminent Chaldeans in Babylon, and other astrologers, have certainly and exactly foretold the appearance of these comets; and that it is not surprising such things do happen accordingly, but that it would be a great wonder if they did not, seeing that all things have their proper courses and turns; and at length, by incessant motions, are brought into action in fixed and stated times and seasons. It is related, that this comet was so very light, that it cast a shadow upon the earth like the moon.

CHAP. VI.

Artaxerxes sends again to make peace among the Grecians. All comply except the Thebans. The Spartans raise an army against the Thebans. Epaminondas made the Theban general. The famous battle of Leuctra. The terrible seditions and cruelties in Argos. Jason of Pheræ stirs up the Thessalonians to gain the sovereignty of Greece. Pollydorus, prince of Pheræ in Greece, poisoned by his brother Alexander. A plot to depose Alexander. The king of Macedonia treated with to that purpose.

ABOUT this time Artaxerxes, king of Persia, hearing that Greece was fallen into new broils, sent ambassadors again, to exhort them to live in peace one with another, according to the late establishment. The Grecians readily complied with the advice, and all made peace again among themselves, except the Thebans: for they were not admitted into the league, because they challenged all Bœotia to be under their own government. And it was decreed that all the cities should be bound by oath to observe the league. Being therefore excluded, (as they were before), they kept Bœotia under the sole jurisdiction of their own city. Upon which the Lacedæmonians, being enraged, resolved to make war upon them, as the common enemies

of Greece. For their growing power began to be suspected, lest (being masters of all Bœotia) they should some time or other find an opportunity to deprive Sparta of the sovereign command; especially, because they were a warlike nation, inferior to none in Greece, and, by their daily exercise in the public schools, their bodies became far stonger; and besides, they had many valiant commanders, especially three, Epaminondas, Gorgias, and Pelopidas. And to this may be added, that the Thebans, by reason of the nobility of their ancestors, (who were famous in the heroic times), were of proud and lordly spirits, and ever aspiring to great matters. Upon this account the Lacedæmonians this year raised an army, composed of their own citizens, and of their confederates, and prepared themselves for war.

When Phrasichides was lord-chancellor of Athens, and the Romans appointed eight military tribunes to execute the office of consuls, viz. Publius Manlius, Caius Erenucius, Caius Sextius, Tiberius Julius*, Lucius Labinius†, Publius Fibonius, Caius Manlius, and Lucius Antistius, the Thebans, excluded from the common league, were forced, by their own strength alone, to bear the brunt of the war against the Lacedæmonians: for, by the articles of the peace, (ratified and confirmed by all), none of the cities were to send them any aid or relief. Therefore the Lacedæmonians, (now that the Thebans were wholly deserted), decreed a war against them, and were resolved to subject Thebes to the Lacedæmonian state. And, forasmuch as all observed that the Lacedæmonians made extraordinary preparations, and that the Thebans, on the other hand, had none to stand by them, every body was of opinion that they would be easily conquered by the Spartans. And therefore all that wished them well were much troubled and concerned for them, to see their inevitable ruin approaching. But their enemies, on the contrary, rejoiced as if the Thebans were even already subdued.

When the Lacedæmonians had raised their army, they created Cleombrotus general; and, in the first place, sent ambassadors to Thebes, to demand that all the cities of Bœotia should be allowed to govern themselves according to their own laws; and that Platæa and Thespis should be rebuilt, and that those territories should be restored to the antient proprietors. To which the Thebans answered—That, as they did not concern themselves with the matters of Laconia, so the Lacedæmonians ought not to meddle with the affairs of Bœotia. Upon receiving this answer, the Lacedæmonians (without any further delay) ordered Cleombrotus to march with the army against Thebes. And the Lacedæmonian confederates were

* Lucius Julius. † Marcus Albinius.

very ready to join in this war, hoping that the Bœotians would be subdued with little or no fighting, and without any great labour or pains.

Marching on, therefore, they encamped at Chæronea, and there waited for their confederates, who came in but slowly. In the mean time the Thebans, hearing of the enemy's march, sent their wives and children for security to Athens. Then they made Epaminondas general of the army, and intrusted him with the management of the whole war, joining with him six Bœotians, and governors of Bœotia, as his council. He listed whoever was of an age able and fit to bear arms among the Thebans, and likewise among the other Bœotians, and, having now an army not above six thousand, with these he marched out of Thebes; at which instant of time some prodigies were seen, which forboded no good success: for, as they were going out at the gates, there met them an herald, who (according to antient custom) led a blind man (that had run away) and cried aloud—Bring him not out of Thebes, nor put him to death, but carry him back again, and save his life. The old men took this cry of the herald for an evil sign; but the young men held their peace, lest, by their timorousness, they should seem to have a desire to dissuade Epaminondas from the expedition he had undertaken. To those that were pressing upon him first to consider well of these presages, he answered in this verse—

It is a happy sign to fight for his country.

Such a frank resolution had no sooner abashed, and caused all those that were timorous to blush, but another prodigy more frightful happened. For a secretary went before, carrying a javelin, to which a scroll was annexed, to signify that the army was to obey the orders and commands of their generals. It fell out that a high wind blew off this scroll, and fixed it upon a pillar of a tomb, in which very place some Lacedæmonians and Peloponnesians who formerly followed Agesilaus were buried, and had been there slain: upon which the antient men again, with protestations, dissuaded him from going any farther with the army, seeing the gods so evidently opposed the design. But the general returned them no answer, but cheerfully marched on, preferring at that time the honesty and justice of his cause before uncertain observations and conclusions upon signs and prodigies. And though Epaminondas, who was a great philosopher, managed all this affair with great prudence and discretion, yet in the mean time he incurred the censure of many. But not long after, when the success of the action evinced the excellency of his military conduct, we see him instrumental in performing many things to the great advantage and service of his country. For he marched away

directly, and gained the straits near Chæronea, and encamped there. Cleombrotus, when he heard that the enemy had possessed themselves of that pass, not looking upon it feasible to regain it, turned aside another way, by Phocis, and marched along by the sea-shore, where, though the way was very rugged and difficult, yet at length he came, without any prejudice, to the confines of Bœotia: but in his passage he took some small towns, and gained some gallies. At last he arrived at Leuctra, and there encamped, and refreshed his army.

In the mean time the Bœotians, marching forward, drew near to the enemy; and, as soon as they recovered the hills, and saw the greatness of the Lacedæmonian army, covering the plains of Leuctra, they were not a little amazed. Hereupon the Bœotarchs called a council of war, to consider whether it were advisable to go on, and fight upon such unequal terms, or else to march back, and engage with the enemy in some more commodious place. It happened that upon this consultation the votes were equal: for, there being six of these Bœotarchs, or governors of Bœotia, three were for going back, and the other three for abiding where they were, and to try their fortune by a battle, of which last number Epaminondas was one. While the matter stood thus doubtful, and nothing could be determined, the seventh Bœotarch at length came in, and Epaminondas persuaded him to give his vote on his side, and so he carried it. And thus it was determined to lay all at stake, and try it out by a battle. Epaminondas then, perceiving that the soldiers were still superstitiously possessed with the former ominous signs and prodigies, endeavoured, by all the art and industry he possibly could, to remove these opinions and suspicions of his soldiers. To this end, upon some persons coming newly into the camp from Thebes, he caused a report to be spread abroad, that all the arms that hung up in Hercules's temple were on a sudden gone, and not to be found, and that it was commonly noised in Thebes—That the antient heroes had taken them away, and were gone out to the assistance of the Thebans. He suborned, likewise, another to say he lately came up out of Trophonius's* cell, and he affirmed that the oracle there commanded him to tell them—That, when they had gained the victory at Leuctra, they should institute the Coronet festivals to Jupiter. From whence arose that custom of keeping a yearly solemnity by the Bœotians at Lebadea. And besides this skill and prudence of the ge-

* This Trophonius was said to be the son of Apollo, and had a temple at Lebadea, in Bœotia, dedicated to him, where was a cave, of which strange things are related—See Steph. and others. Pausan. lib. 9, c. 39, a large description, and by his own experience, as he says.

neral, Leandras the Spartan (who was banished from Lacedæmon, and then in arms with the Thebans) was not a little serviceable in this affair: for, being called into the assembly, he affirmed that the Spartans had an antient prophecy—That, when they were beaten by the Thebans at Leuctra, they should lose their principality. At length some of the inhabitants of the country, who undertook to interpret the oracles, came to Epaminondas, and declared that it was decreed by the gods—That a great slaughter should be made of the Lacedæmonians at the tombs of the daughters of Leuctrus and Schedasus, for the reasons herein after related. Leuctrus was he from whom the field was so called; and his daughters, and the daughters of one Schedasus, virgins, in the flower of their age, were deflowered by the Spartan ambassadors: the young women, not able to endure that great dishonour and disgrace, (with many imprecations against that nation who sent such wicked ambassadors), laid violent hands on themselves. When these and other such like things were alleged, Epaminondas called the soldiers together, and, in an oration fitted for the purpose, encouraged them to the battle: upon which the soldiers (being now freed from their superstitious conceits) changed their minds, and longed to be engaged with the enemy.

About this time came some auxiliary forces to the Thebans from Thessaly, fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse, under the command of Jason. This man advised both the Thebans and the Lacedæmonians (upon consideration of the uncertainty of the events of war) to agree upon terms of peace; which took its effect. And now Cleombrotus withdrew his forces out of Bœotia, and in his march a great army from the Lacedæmonians and their confederates, under the command of Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, met him. For the Spartans, seeing the courage and resolution of the Bœotians, and not judging it advisable to slight men that seemed to be resolved, and to run upon the pikes at all adventures, had sent forth this their army (by their multitude at least) to give a check to the insolence of the enemy. Drawing up, therefore, in a body together, (and looking upon it as a base and mean thing, below the dignity of the Spartans, so much as to think the valour of the Bœotians worthy of any regard), without any respect to the late league, they rashly and precipitately returned to Leuctra, where they found the Bœotians (with great earnestness) expecting and desiring a battle. Upon this, the armies on both sides were drawn up in battalia in this manner—On the part of the Lacedæmonians, Cleombrotus and Archidamus the son of Agesilaus (both descended from Hercules) commanded the two wings: on the other side, Epaminondas marshalled his army after a

new and peculiar manner, by which excellent stratagem he gained that glorious victory never to be forgotten; for he chose out of the whole army the best and strongest of the soldiers, and placed them in that wing where he himself would command; in the other he placed his weaker men, with a command not to abide the enemy's charge, but, by a soft and slow retreat, to avoid the shock. Having therefore thus ordered an oblique phalanx, he resolved to try the fortune of the day with the other wing, under his command. And now the trumpets sounded a charge on both sides, and, at the first onset, the armies set up a great shout: the Lacedæmonians came on with both their wings in fashion of an half moon; on the other hand, the Bœotians retreated with one of their wings, and charged fiercely on the enemy with the other. When they came to the sword's point, both fought very desperately, and at first the victory was very doubtful, but at length they with Epaminondas, by their valour and close order, broke in upon the Peloponnesians, and made a great slaughter amongst them; for they were not able any longer to bear the weight of the shock wherewith they were pressed, but some were slain downright upon the spot, others mortally wounded, bravely receiving all their wounds upon their breasts.) As long as Cleombrotus the Lacedæmonian king was alive, it was uncertain which side would carry away the victory, because he had a strong body of targeteers with him, who fought resolutely in his defence: but, as soon as he fell down dead, (after many wounds received, and much valour shewn on his part, though all ineffectual) they thronged together about his body, where they were hewn down in heaps one upon another. And now this wing, being without a leader, the Epaminondians charged the Lacedæmonians with that fierceness, that they forced them by degrees into disorder. However, the Lacedæmonians fought so bravely for the body of their king, that at length they possessed themselves of it, though they were not able to gain the day: for those choice bands with Epaminondas standing to it as unconquerable, (encouraged, likewise, both by the words and example of their leader), the Lacedæmonians at length (with much ado) began to give ground. And, indeed, at first they did not (to appearance) break their order of battle in their retreat; but, when the slaughter increased, and they had now no commander to give necessary orders, the whole army fled outright. The Epaminondians pursued them close, and, with the slaughter of a multitude of their enemies, gained a glorious victory: for, by their engaging with the most famous warriors of Greece, and becoming victorious with an army far short in number to their enemy's, they highly advanced the reputation of their valour. But Epaminondas, the general, was judged worthy of the greatest

honour and esteem, because, chiefly by his valour and prudence, he had routed those commanders of Greece, who were never before conquered. The Lacedæmonians lost in this battle no fewer than four thousand men: of the Bœotians were killed about three hundred. Afterwards they made a truce for the burying of the dead, and the return of the Lacedæmonians into Peloponnesus. And this was the issue of the battle of Leuctra.

The year following, when Dyscinetus was prætor of Athens, and four military tribunes, Quintus Servilius, Lucius Furius, Caius Licinnius, and Publius Clelius, executed the consular dignity at Rome, the Thebans marched with a great army against Orchomenus, with a full purpose utterly to ruin that city. But they were advised by Epaminondas, in regard they sought to gain the principality of Greece, that it was their interest to use their victory with moderation. Whereupon they left off their design, and received the Orchomenians as their confederates: afterwards they made a league with the Phocians and Ætolians, and so returned into Bœotia.

At that time Jason, prince of Pheræ*, (whose power grew every day) invaded Locris† with a great army, and razed Heraclea‡ in Trachinia, after it was betrayed into his hands, and bestowed their territories on the Oceans§ and Melieans. Thence marching into Perrhæbia, he courted some of the cities into submission, and gained others by force of arms.

The Thessalians, seeing him mount up so fast, and in so short a time, began to be jealous of the growth of his power, and the heat of his ambition.

But in the mean time there arose such a sedition, followed with such butcheries, in Argos, that the like had never been before in any of the cities of Greece; which new and unheard-of cruelty was called by the Grecians *Scytalism*‖, from the manner of the slaughter committed. And the cause of the tumult was this: Argos was governed by a democracy; the orators, and those that affected popularity, stirred up the mob against the great men of the city; which caused them, for their own preservation, (and to free themselves from the false accusations that were prosecuted against them), to plot and contrive how to overturn the democratical government. And when some who were suspected were called in question, others, fearing they should be put to the rack, murdered themselves. For one in the height of his torments confessed, and accused thirty of the greatest men of the city to be in the conspiracy; upon which the people (without any further trial) knocked them all on the head, and confis-

* In Thessaly. † In Thessaly. ‡ Near Phocis and Parnassus. § Near Mount Oeta and Thermopylæ, in Phthiotis. ‖ Knocking on the head with clubs.

cated their estates. And whereas there were many others seized, upon suspicion of the plot, (and the false accusations managed against them by the orators with all the aggravation imaginable), the people were so enraged, that whoever were accused (of whom there was a vast number, and all very rich) were condemned to death; so that there were executed above sixteen hundred of the greatest and most powerful men of the city: neither were the orators themselves spared; for, when they slackened in the prosecution of the calumnies, (because they were afraid lest some sudden mischief should overtake them, by reason of the extraordinary cruelties that were committed), the people concluded that they had deserted their cause, which put them into such a ferment of rage and fury, that they killed all the orators that were then in the city; which seemed to be executed upon them by the hand of some revenging deity, as a reward for their villanies. After the tumult was ceased, the people returned to their former quiet and peaceable dispositions.

About this time Lycomedes of Tegea persuaded the Arcadians to join together in one body of a commonwealth, and to constiute a general council, consisting of ten thousand men, who should have absolute power to determine all matters relating both to war and peace. But a tumult happening among the Arcadians, the controversy was decided by the sword, many being killed, and above fourteen hundred banished, some to Sparta, others to Palantium*. Those that fled to the Palantines were by them delivered up into the hands of their enemies, who cut all their throats. The others prevailed on the Lacedæmonians to make an inroad into Arcadia: upon which Agesilaus, king of Sparta, with an army made up of the citizens and exiles, broke into the territories of Tegea, because they were looked upon to be the fomenters of all the broils and banishments amongst the Arcadians, and wasted and spoiled the country, which, together with a strict siege laid to the city, greatly terrified the Arcadians.

While these things were acting, Jason, who ruled at Pheræ, (a man excellently well versed in military affairs), who had now many of the neighbouring countries for his confederates, persuaded the Thessalians to endeavour to gain the sovereignty of Greece to themselves. For he alleged, that whoever would fight for it might now gain it as the reward of their valour: for it was evident that the Lacedæmonians were miserably ruined at Leuctra, and the Athenians were only masters at sea, and the Thebans far unworthy of such a dignity; and in conclusion, that the Argives had weakened themselves by their own civil dissentions and bloody broils. Upon this,

* In Arcadia.

the Thessalians made Jason general of all their forces, and committed to him the whole management of the war, who, having now received the supreme command, marched into some of the neighbouring countries, and entered into a league with Amyntas, king of Macedonia.

This year there happened what was very remarkable: for three great princes died, near one and the same time; Amyntas, the son of Tharrhaleus, (after he had reigned in Macedon four-and-twenty years), died, leaving behind him three sons, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. Alexander succeeded, but reigned only one year. Then Agesipolis, king of Lacedæmon, after one year's reign, died likewise; his brother Cleomenes succeeded him, and sat at the helm four-and-thirty years. At last Jason of Pheræ, whom the Thessalians had lately made their general, (though he governed with great moderation and kindness towards his subjects), was assassinated by seven young men, as Ephorus relates, who (in hopes of praise and commendation) had conspired for that purpose; but others write, that he was murdered by his brother Pollydorus, who reigned not above one year after him. Here Durius the Samian begins his history of the affairs of Greece. And these were the things done this year.

Afterwards, when Lysistratus governed in chief at Athens, a great sedition arose in Rome, for some were for making of consuls, others were for creating of military tribunes in their room; and by reason of this dissention there was an anarchy for some time. But, at length, six military tribunes were chosen, which were Lucius Amilius, Caius Verginius*, Serulius Sulpitius, Lucius Quintius, Caius Cornelius, and Caius Valerius. About the same time, Pollydorus, the Pheræan, prince of Thessaly, (when he was drunk), was poisoned by a deadly potion given him by his brother Alexander, who succeeded him, and reigned eleven years. And as he got into the throne by wickedness and injustice, so he ruled, (as he ever designed), with tyranny and oppression; and whereas all those before him, by their moderation and kindness to their subjects, gained the love and goodwill of all, he, by his severe and tyrannical government, became the object of all men's hatred. Therefore, some of Larissa, who from their high birth were surnamed Aleuadæ, (fearing what might be the effect of his wickedness), conspired to dethrone him. To this end they made a journey into Macedonia, and treated with Alexander the king, in order to assist them in deposing the tyrant.—While they were negociating this affair, Alexander the Pheræan (hav-

* Veturius.

ing intelligence of the preparations making against him) raised a considerable army, designing to engage with the enemy in Macedonia; but the king of Macedonia being joined with the deserters, brought his forces presently to Larissa, and so prevented him: when he came there, the citizens opened the gates to him, and so he became master of all but the castle, which he afterwards took by force. The city Cranon likewise surrendered to him, and he promised to restore all the cities to the Thessalians. But afterwards, (not valuing his word or honour), he garrisoned them, and detained them all in his own hands. But Alexander, the Pherœan, in a great fright, fled to the city Pherœa. And this was then the condision of Thessaly.

CHAP. VII.

The Lacedæmonians send Polytropus into Arcadia; who is slain, and his party routed by Lycomedes. An invasion by Epaminondas and Pelopidas into Peloponnesus. Sparta besieged. The antiquity and history of Messenia, in Greece. Pellene taken by the Arcadians. A wall drawn between Cenchreæ and the Lechæum, to hinder the inroad of the Thebans into Peloponnesus. Epaminondas breaks through into Peloponnesus? assaults Corinth.

IN Peloponnesus, in the mean time, the Lacedæmonians sent a thousand heavy-armed men of their own citizens, and five hundred deserters from Argos and Bœotia, into Arcadia, under the command of Polytropus, who, when he came to Orchomenus, in Arcadia, put a garrison into it, being a city that favoured the Spartans. But Lycomedes of Mantinea, (then commander-in-chief of the Arcadians), with a body of men to the number of five thousand, marched against Orchomenus, and, upon their arrival, the Lacedæmonians drew out their forces, where happened a sharp engagement, in which the Lacedæmonian general was slain, and two hundred more with him; the rest, by the hot pursuit of the enemy, were forced back into the city. However, though the Arcadians then got the victory, yet they so far feared the power of Sparta, that they durst not depend upon

their own strength in contending with the Lacedæmonians, and therefore, taking into their confederacy the Argives and the Elians, they first sent ambassadors to Athens, to desire them to be their confederates, which being denied, they then addressed themselves to the Thebans for the same purpose. Upon which the Bœotians (together with the Phocians and Locrians, their confederates) drew out their forces, and marched directly into Peloponnesus, under the command of Epaminondas and Pelopidas: for all the other Bœotarchs had willingly given up the sole and absolute command of the army to those two, being men eminent for prudence and valour.

When they entered into the confines of Arcadia, they were met by all the Arcadians, Elians, Argives, and the rest of their confederates. And now they had an army of above fifty thousand men, and, after a council of war held, the generals resolved to march forthwith to Sparta, and to waste and spoil all the country of Laconia. But the Lacedæmonians, having lost the flower and strength of their young men in the battle at Leuctra, and many in several other fights here and there, were thereby reduced to a very small number of fighting men of their own citizens: and whereas some of their confederates deserted, and others were brought low by the same means as those before, they knew not which way to turn themselves. So that they were forced to seek for aid and assistance from them (I mean the Athenians) upon whom they had some time before imposed thirty tyrants, and whose walls they had demolished, and whose city they had decreed to raze even to the ground, and lay it open and common with the rest of the country for the grazing of flocks and herds. But necessity has no law, and the turns of fortune are invincible, through which the Lacedæmonians were brought into that strait, as to become suppliants to their most implacable enemies for relief. However, they were not deceived in their hopes; for such was the brave and generous spirit of the Athenians, that they feared not the power of the Thebans, but decreed to assist the Lacedæmonians to the utmost they were able, though they were now ready even to be swallowed up, and made perfect slaves. To this end they listed in one day twelve thousand lusty young men, and forthwith ordered Iphicrates the general to march away to the assistance of the Spartans. Accordingly, having men that were very forward, he hastes away with a swift march. Neither were the Lacedæmonians less active or forward; but now, even when the enemy were encamped in the borders of Laconia, they marched out of Sparta with all the strength they could make, which was but small, yet with the same courage and valour as they had formerly done.

In the mean time, Epaminondas's army conceiving it very difficult

cult to enter into the enemy's country, and therefore judging it was not convenient to attempt it with the whole army together, they resolved to divide their forces into four bodies, and so to make the attack in several places at once. The first marched to the city of Sellasia, and drew off the inhabitants of that territory from the Lacedæmonians. The Argives, who were in another body, upon their entrance into the borders of Tagea, engaged with the guard that kept that pass, and killed the chief officer, Alexander, a Spartan, and two hundred more of his men: amongst whom there were some Bœotian exiles. The third body, in which were the Arcadians, and most in number, broke into the country called Scirus, where Ischolaus a man of great valour and prudence, kept guard with a considerable body of men. This brave and gallant commander performed an heroic action, worthy to be recorded to all posterity. When he foresaw that both he, and all those with him, were sure every man to be cut off by their engaging with so great and unequal a number; in the first place he looked upon it as a dishonour to the Spartan name to desert the post assigned him, and yet judged it to be much for the service and advantage of his country if he could preserve the soldiers. To the admiration therefore of his valour, he contrived a way how to answer the ends of both; wherein he bravely imitated the gallant spirit of king Leonidas in former times at Thermopylæ. For he sent away to Sparta the choicest of his soldiers that were young and lusty, to the end they might be helpful to their country in fighting, now that all lay at stake: and he himself, with those that were old, kept close together, and in a brave defence, slaughtered multitudes of their enemies; but at length, being surrounded and hemmed in by the Arcadians, they were every man of them cut off.

The fourth body of the Elians having all places more clear and open before them, arrived at length at Sellasia: for it was ordered that all the forces should meet together at that place, where, being all now joined, they marched towards Sparta, and wasted the country all before them with fire and sword. And now the Lacedæmonians seeing their antient country Laconia (which had never known what waste and spoil meant for the space of five hundred years before) to be thus cruelly harassed and destroyed, could no longer forbear, but were ready to run upon their enemies as it were with open mouth. But being by some magistrates that came from the city commanded not to hasten away too far out of the bounds of their country, (lest some other should make an inroad into it in the mean time), and being likewise advised to recollect themselves, and think seriously of defending the city, with much ado they submitted to the advice.

In the mean time, Epaminondas having passed his army over the

mountain Taygetus, and arrived at the river Eurotas, (which was then very high, being winter time), he endeavoured all he could to get over. The Lacedæmonians perceiving how his troops were disordered and dispersed through the difficulty of the passage, laid hold upon this fit occasion to fall upon them. Leaving therefore their wives, children, and old men, as a guard for the city, they made out against the enemy in good order, with all the young and strong men of the town, and by a sudden and hot charge, cut off a great number in their passing the river: but the Bœotians and Arcadians valiantly standing their ground, surrounded their enemies. However, the Spartans, after they had killed a great number of the Bœotians, at length broke through, and returned to the city, leaving behind them remarkable instances of their valour.

Presently after, when Epaminondas came up with his whole army (to the terror of the inhabitants) to the city, the Spartans, by the advantage of the strength of the places, killed great numbers of them. And now all hands were at work, and very earnest to gain the city, insomuch, that they seemed in a fair way to take Sparta by storm. But the assailants, (through their over heat and violence), being many of them killed, and others wounded, Epaminondas caused a trumpet to sound a retreat, and so called them off. Presently after, the Thebans made their approach to the city, and challenged the Spartans to come forth and fight with them, or else to acknowledge themselves inferior, and not able to contend with them. To whom they answered—That when they saw their opportunity, they would be sure not to decline fighting, though they laid all at stake. The army, therefore, now drew off from the siege, and having wasted and spoiled all Laconia, and loaded themselves with rich prey and plunder, returned into Arcadia. Afterwards the Athenians (who came too late and did nothing worth taking notice of) marched back into Attica.

In the mean while, four thousand men came to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians from their confederates. To these they added a thousand helots newly manumitted and set free, and two hundred Bœotian fugitives, and many more from the neighbouring towns and villages; so that they were now strong enough to cope with the enemy. And these forces being kept together, and daily exercised, grew more and more daring, and fit for public service in the field.

But Epaminondas being naturally inclined to things that were great, and ambitious to eternize his own praise and honour, persuaded the Arcadians and the other allies to rebuild and replenish Messene with new inhabitants, (which had been destroyed by the Lacedæmonians, and lay waste and desolate many years), it being most com-

modiously situated for invading of Sparta at any time; having procured their consent, he inquired after all the antient inhabitants that were living in any place: and enfranchising many others that were willing to settle themselves there, he repaired Messene, and made it very populous, and divided the land belonging to the city by lot amongst the new inhabitants, and filled the country about with stately seats and beautiful buildings, and so raised up a noble Grecian city out of its ruins, to its former state and grandeur, for which he was highly honoured.

I conceive it will not be amiss in this place, in regard that Messene has been so often taken and ruined, if I say something in short of this city from its beginning. Antiently the family of Neleus and Nestor, to the time of the Trojan war, possessed it: afterwards Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, and his posterity, enjoyed it, till the return of the Heraclidæ. Then Cresphontes chose Messene for his share, and his posterity reigned there for some time; but they being ejected, it came into the power of the Lacedæmonians, who became lords thereof. For after that Teleeles king of the Lacedæmonians was slain in a battle, the Messenians at length were subdued by the Spartans. This war is said to have continued twenty years; and that the Lacedæmonians had taken a solemn oath—That they would never return to Sparta till they had taken Messene. At that time were born those called the Partheniæ, who afterwards enjoyed the city of Tarentum. The Messenians in after times being oppressed by the Lacedæmonians, Aristomenes stirred them up to revolt, and destroyed many of the Spartans. At which time Tyrreus the poet was sent by the Athenians to the Spartans to be their general. But there are others who say, that Aristomenes flourished in the time of the twenty-years war. The last war made upon them was after that terrible earthquake which almost ruined Sparta and destroyed all its inhabitants. At that time, those that remained of the Messenians, (together with the helots who revolted with them), inhabited Ithome, because Messene had lain waste many years together before that time. But, being unfortunate in every encounter, they were at length utterly ruined, and driven out of their country; and settled themselves in Naupactus, which was given them to inhabit by the Athenians: and from thence some removed to Cephalenia, and others into Sicily, where they built the city of Messana, so called from them. And now the Thebans, in the last place, by the advice of Epaminondas, (who invited the Messenians from all places where they were), rebuilt Messene, and restored to the new inhabitants all the antient territories formerly belonging to that city. And thus great and various were the changes and turns of Messene.

The Thebans having dispatched all these things in the space of eighty-five days, leaving a strong garrison for the defence of Messene, returned to their own country. And the Lacedæmonians having now unexpectedly rid themselves of the enemy, sent some of the greatest men of their city to Athens; and upon a treaty concerning the principality, it was agreed that the Athenians should be masters at sea, and the Lacedæmonians have the chief command at land; but afterwards both cities executed the sovereignty in common.

About the same time, the Arcadians created Lycomedes general, and sent him away with five thousand strong and lusty young men to besiege Pellene in Laconia: who took it by storm, and put above three hundred Lacedæmonians there in garrison to the sword: and, having plundered the city, and wasted and spoiled the country, returned home before the Lacedæmonians could send them any relief.

The Bœotians (likewise being desired by the Thessalians to free them from the tyranny of Alexander the Pherean, then but feeble and almost broken) sent Pelopidas with a strong army into Thessaly, with orders to manage affairs there to the advantage of the Bœotians. When he came to Larissa, he possesed himself of the castle then garrisoned by Alexander; thence he marched into Macedonia, and made a league with king Alexander, and received Philip his brother as an hostage, and sent him to Thebes. And having perfected whatever he thought might be for the service of the Bœotians, he returned into his own country.

Things standing thus, the Arcadians, Argives, and Elians, unanimously agreed to make war upon the Lacedæmonians, and to that end, to send ambassadors to the Bœotians, to persuade them to join with them in the war. They accordingly consented, and sent forth an army of seven thousand foot, and five hundred horse, under the command of Epaminondas and the other Bœotarchs. The Athenians hearing of the preparations of the Bœotians against Peloponnesus, sent an army against them, under the command of Chabrias their general, who, when he arrived at Corinth, raised men out of Megara, Pellene, and Corinth, and made up an army of ten thousand men; who being joined with the Lacedæmonians and other confederates at Corinth, their whole forces were no less than twenty thousand. They made it first their business to guard all the passages, and to do all they could to prevent the Bœotians from breaking into Peloponnesus: to this end they drew a wall with a deep trench from the Cenchreæ to the Lechæum*, to block up the entrance

* The narrow pass of Peloponnesus, between two seas, viz, Lechæum, lying on the west, and Cenchreæ in the east, forming the harbour of Corinth.

that way. The thing was done with that quickness and expedition, (through the multitude of hands and diligence of those employed), that the place was fortified before the Bœotians could reach it.

As soon as Epaminondas came up to the place, upon diligent view of the fortification, he discerned that that part kept by the Lacedæmonians was the weakest, and therefore did all he could to draw them out to a fair field-battle, though they were almost three times his number. But when he saw they would not stir, but kept themselves within their fortifications and trenches, he made a fierce assault upon them, storming them in every part: but the action was hottest and sharpest on both sides, where the Lacedæmonians were posted, for there the place was of easiest entrance, and most difficult to be kept. But Epaminondas having with him the flower of Thebes, with much ado beat off the Lacedæmonians, and so clearing the way, broke in with his forces, and laid the passage open into Peloponnesus, which was an action nothing inferior to any he had done before. Hereupon, he forthwith marched to Trœzene and Epidaurus, and wasted and harassed the country round about, but could not take the cities, being very strongly garrisoned; but Sicyon, Pheunte*, and some others submitted to him. Then he marched with his army against Corinth: and, having routed the townsmen in an encounter, he pursued them to the very walls: where some of the Bœotians, puffed up with their good success, rashly broke through the gates into the city; upon which the Corinthians, in a great fright, shut themselves up in their houses. But Chabrias, the Athenian general, both cordially and faithfully made head against the Bœotians, and drove some of them out of the city, making a great slaughter of the rest. In the heat of this action, the Bœotians approached to Corinth with their whole army in battalia, to the great terror of the inhabitants: upon which, Chabrias, with his Athenians, forthwith made a sally out of the city, and having possessed himself of the hills adjoining, there bore the brunt of the enemy's charge. On the other side the Bœotians encouraged, being strong of body, and of long experience in feats of arms, doubted not but to rout the Athenians. But the Chabrians (by the advantage of the higher ground, and continual succours coming to them out of the city) so defended themselves, that they killed and grievously galled their assailants, and beat them off: so that the Bœotians, after the loss of a great number of their men, not being able to do any thing, drew off their forces. But Chabrias having thus baffled the enemy, his valour, faithfulness, and military conduct, was cried up, and greatly admired.

* Phea in Elis.

CHAP. VIII.

Dionysius sends Gauls and Spaniards to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians. Pelopidas and Ismenias imprisoned by Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. The Bœotians pursued by the Phereans: brought off by Epaminondas, then a private soldier. The fight between the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians. Dionysius falls upon the Carthaginian territories in Sicily. Dionysius dies. The cause of his death. The cruelty of Alexander the Pherean at Scotussa. Epaminondas breaks again into Peloponnesus. Coos peopled and walled. The end of the Laconic and Bœotian war by the mediation of the Persian king.

ABOUT this time arrived at Corinth two thousand Gauls and Spaniards, sent by Dionysius the tyrant to the Lacedæmonians from Sicily, who had five months pay in advance. The Grecians, to try their valour, drew them out against the enemy; who so far approved themselves stout and valiant men, that they routed and killed many of the Bœotians and their confederates. And after they had been very useful in the war, and procured to themselves praise and esteem both for their courage and service, and had been rewarded according to their merits by the Lacedæmonians, they were sent back into Sicily at the end of the summer.

After these things, Philiscus, ambassador from Artaxerxes king of Persia, came into Greece to persuade the Grecians to be at peace among themselves; to which all willingly complied except the Thebans, who were so obstinate that they refused the conditions, having before brought all Bœotia into subjection to their own government. There being therefore no hopes of peace, Philiscus returned into Asia, leaving behind him two thousand mercenaries, who received their pay for the service of the Lacedæmonians.

Whilst these things were doing, Euphron of Sicyon, a bold and rash fellow, not inferior to any of that kind, with the assistance of the Argives, plotted to gain the sovereignty; and to that end, fortune favoured him so far, that forthwith he banished forty of the citizens, and confiscated their goods and estates, by which he raised a vast sum of money, wherewith he hired a guard of foreigners, and so possessed himself of the command of the city.

Nausigenes being lord chancellor of Athens, and four military tribunes, viz. Lucius Papirius, Lucius Menenius, Servius Cornelius, and Servius Sulpitius, executing the consular authority at Rome,

the hundred and third olympiad was celebrated at Elis, in which Pythostratus the Athenian carried away the prize. This year Ptolemy Alorites, the son of Amyntas, treacherously murdered his brother Alexander, and governed the kingdom of Macedonia for the space of three years. At the same time Pelopidas in Bœotia, emulating the glory of Epaminondas, and perceiving what great service he had done in Peloponnesus for the commonwealth of Bœotia, made it his business to advance his own reputation, by enlarging the power and sovereignty of the Thebans in other parts out of Peloponnesus. To that end, and joining with Ismenias, (his special friend, and a man of great esteem for his valour), he took a journey into Thessaly, where, upon discourse with Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, (when he never expected any such thing), he and Ismenias were both seized, and clapped up in prison. This fact highly incensed the Thebans, upon which they sent eight thousand heavy-armed men, and six hundred horse into Thessaly. At whose coming Alexander was in a great fright, and sent ambassadors to Athens to treat with them for their assistance. Upon this, the people of Athens forthwith despatched thirty sail, and a thousand men, under the command of Autocles; but while he sailed round Eubœa, the Thebans entered Thessaly. And though Alexander was well furnished with foot, and exceeded the Bœotians in horse, yet the Bœotians at the first concluded they should put an end to the war by one fight, especially being enforced by the Thessalians: but being deserted by them, and Alexander assisted by the Athenians and other confederates, and meat and drink and all other provisions being scarce, the Bœotarchs were resolved to return home, and accordingly drew off; and in their march through the plain, they were fallen upon in the rear by Alexander's horse, who killed and wounded many of the Bœotians. At length, not being able either to keep their ground or go forward, they knew not which way to turn themselves, or what to do; and to aggravate the perplexity they were in, they were in want of food. In this desperate condition Epaminondas (who was then but a private soldier) was chosen general by the army, who presently placed the best and choicest of the light-armed men, and the horse in the rear. With these he repulsed the enemy that pressed upon the backs of the Bœotians, and by frequent skirmishes, (making head as occasion served), and keeping his troops in good order, he brought off the army safe. Thenceforth more and more advancing his own reputation by his noble actions, he gained praise and renown both amongst his citizens, and all their confederates.

But the magistrates of Bœotia set great fines upon the officers and leaders in this late expedition, and so raised a great deal of

money; but, in regard the question may be very well asked—How it came to pass that so great a man was placed in so low a place as a common soldier in that expedition into Thessaly? it is fit a reason should be given in justification of Epaminondas. When he had in the fight at Corinth beaten off the Lacedæmonians who guarded the fortification, he might have killed a great number of them; but resting satisfied that he had gained the pass, he forbore all further pursuit. Being therefore suspected that he spared the Lacedæmonians out of a design to ingratiate himself into their favour, those that envied his glory, watched an opportunity to accuse him of treason. Upon which the people were so exasperated, that they deprived him of his command, and ordered him to serve as a common soldier. But having by his noble actions wiped off those stains of dishonour cast upon him, he was restored by the people to his former dignity.

Not long after, a sharp battle was fought between the Lacedæmonians and the Arcadians, in which the former obtained a famous victory; and was the first fight since that at Leuctra, wherein they had any considerable success. There were above ten thousand of the Arcadians slain, and not one man lost of the Lacedæmonians. The priests at Dodona had before foretold—That this war should end without any mourning on the part of the Lacedæmonians. After this battle, the Arcadians were in that fear of the Lacedæmonians, that they built the city called Megalopolis, in a place commodiously situated for their security, and brought into it the Menalians, and Parrhasians, out of twenty villages in Arcadia. And this was the state of Greece at that time.

In Sicily, Dionysius the tyrant having raised a great army, resolved to take advantage of the present opportunity, and to fall upon the Carthaginians, who were then but in a very weak condition, by reason of the plague that raged amongst them, and their being deserted by many of the Africans. And because he had not the least colour or ground for the war, he pretended that the Carthaginians encroached and made incursions into his country. Having therefore an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, besides a navy of three hundred sail, with these he invades the Carthaginian territory, and presently won Selinus and Entella, and wastes and harasses all the country round about: then taking Eryx, he at length besieged Lilybæum: but the strength of the garrison presently forced him to raise the siege. Afterwards, being informed that the arsenals belonging to the Carthaginians were burnt down, and therefore conceiving their whole fleet was destroyed, he grew secure and despised the enemy; so that he laid up thirty of his best gallies in the haven at Eryx, and sent all the rest back to Syracuse. But the Cartha-

ginians having forthwith manned two hundred sail, and entering the port at Eryx unexpectedly, on a sudden came up to the ships there, and carried away most of them out of the harbour: but winter drawing on, both sides made a truce, and returned with their armies to winter-quarters. And not long after, Dionysius fell sick and died, having reigned thirty-eight years; his son Dionysius succeeded him, and governed twelve years.

Here it will not be a matter foreign to the design of our history, if we relate the cause of his death, and what happened to this prince a little before that time.

When he had caused a tragedy of his, called the Leneians, to be acted at Athens, and was proclaimed victor, one of the singers or musicians in the chorus, hoped to gain an honourable reward by bringing him the first news of his victory: to that end he sailed to Corinth, and thence took shipping for Sicily, and, with a fair wind, arsived at Syracuse, and presently gives the tyrant an account of his victory: upon which, he was so transported with joy, that he bountifully rewarded the man; and that he might give thanks to the gods by costly sacrifices, for such a happy piece of news, he made splendid entertainments, in feasting and drinking. But in this sumptuous reception of his friends, drinking to excess, and overcharging nature, he fell into a most violent distemper, which killed him. He had been formerly forewarned by an oracle—That he should then die, when he should overcome those who were better than himself. This doubtful prophecy, he applied to the Carthaginians, looking upon them to be more powerful than he himself. And upon that account, (though he was often fighting with them), it was his custom to wave the victory, and own himself to be overcome. However, he was not able to avoid his destiny. For, though he was but a bad poet, yet by the judgment of the Athenians, he carried away the victory against those that far excelled him in that art: so that his victory over them, and the time of his death, very well agreed to the sense of the oracle. Dionysius the younger, as soon as he came to the crown, called a senate, and there courted the people, and desired them to continue the same good will and respect to him, that they had born to his father. Afterwards, having first solemnized his father's funeral with great pomp and state at the king's gates in the castle, he ordered the affairs of his kingdom so as to set himself fast on the throne.

At this time Polyzelus was archon at Athens; and at Rome, (through intestine broils and seditions), was nothing but an anarchy. In Greece, Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, bearing a grudge to them of Scotussa in Thessaly, called them to a common assembly; and when

they appeared, he encompassed them with his guard, and put them every one to the sword, and threw their carcasses into the ditches over the walls, and plundered the city.

At the same time, Epaminondas the Theban, with all his forces, broke into Peloponnesus, with whom joined the Achaians, and several other confederates, and restored Dymon*, Naupactus†, and Calydon‡, to their antient liberties, and then made another expedition into Thessaly; in which they freed Pelopidas out of the hands of Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ. The Phliasians were about the same time besieged by the Argives: but Chares, sent from Athens in aid of the Phliasians, raised the siege, having routed the Argives in two battles, and so returned to Athens.

At the end of this year Cephisidorus was chief governor of Athens; and four military tribunes, clothed with consular dignity, governed at Rome, viz. Lucius Furius, Paulus Manlius, Servitius Sulpitius, and Servius Cornelius. At that time Themesion the prince of Eretria took Oropus, belonging to the Athenians, but lost it again on a sudden. For, the Athenians coming upon him with far greater forces than he was able to cope with, he applied himself to the Thebans for assistance, and delivered the city into their hands, (as a pledge), which they never after would restore.

While those things were acting, they of Coos seated themselves in the city they now enjoy§, and put it into that state and grandeur it now has. For it was made very populous, and a large wall drawn round about it, with great cost and expense, and furnished with an excellent harbour. From this time forward, it grew more and more, both in its public revenues, and in the private wealth and riches of its inhabitants, in so much, that it vied with the chiefest and most famous cities.

During these transactions, the king of Persia sent ambassadors to persuade the Grecians to agree and lay aside their animosities one against another. Upon which, the Laconic and Bœotian war, (as they called it), which, from the time of the battle of Leuctra had continued above five years, was now at length ended. About these times flourished several famous men, worthy, for their learning, to be ever remembered. As Isocrates the orator, and his scholars; Aristotle the philosopher, and Anaximenes of Lampsacus; and especially Plato the Athenian, and the last of the Pythagorean philosophers. Besides these, Xenophon the historian, (now very old), for

* Dymon, or Dymæ, a city of Achaia. † A city of Achaia in Locris, now called Lepanto. ‡ Calydon in Ætolia, about seven miles from the sea.

§ Coos, a city so called in the island of Coos, in the Ægean sea.

he makes mention of the death of Epaminondas, which happened shortly after this time. Aristippus and Antisthenes, and Echines of Sphetus, (one of the scholars of Socrates), were living at this time.

CHAP. IX.

New quarrels in Greece. The battle between the Elians and Arcadians near Lassia. The quarrel between the Pisates and them of Elis about the Olympic games. A fight at the time and place of the games. The Thebans prepare a fleet in order to gain the dominion at sea. Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium, brought into the Thebans by Epaminondas. The Thebans make war upon Orchomenus: the reason. Orchomenus razed. The Thessalians war with Alexander the Pherean. Pelopidas killed; his praises.

THIS year Chion was chief governor at Athens; and these military tribunes executed the consular authority at Rome, viz. Quintus Servius*, Caius Veturius, Aulus Cornelius, Marcus Cornelius, and Marcus Fabius. In their time, while all Greece was at peace, on a sudden new quarrels and preparations for war began to break out between some of the cities. For the exiles of Arcadia made an excursion out of Elis, and seized upon the strong castle of Triphylia†, called Lassia. The Arcadians and Elians had been quarrelling a long time about Triphylia: and, upon several turns of fortune, first one and then the other got the possession; which being at that time in the hands of the Arcadians, the Elians, under the shelter and colour of the Arcadian fugitives, dispossessed the Arcadians. They, (enraged at this affront and injury), by their ambassadors, first demanded the re-delivery of the place, but their demand was slighted; thereupon they procured the Athenians to join with them in the war, and besieged Lassia. But the Elians came presently into the assistance of the exiles: upon which a battle was fought near Lassia, in which the Elians were routed, being overpowered by numbers, and lost above two hundred men. The seeds of war being now sown, the controversy between the Elians and the Arcadians grew hotter every day: for the Arcadians, puffed up with the late victory, presently marched their army into the country of Elis, and took the cities Marganus, Cronium, Cyparissia, and Coryphasium.

* Servilius. † A part of the country of Elis.

In the interim Ptolomæus Alorites, in Macedonia, was treacherously murdered by his brother Perdiccas after he had reigned three years; Perdiccas succeeded him, and enjoyed the kingdom five years.

At this time Timocrates was archon of Athens; and three military tribunes invested with consular authority ruled at Rome, viz. Titus Quintius, Servilius Cornelius, and Servius Sulpitius. The hundred and fourth olympiad was now celebrated by the Pisates and the Arcadians, where Phocides, the Athenian, was victor.

About this time it happened, that the Pisates, (upon the account of some old fables and stories they had amongst them), to regain the antient honour and dignity of their country, challenged it as their right to convene and manage the olympic games. Judging it therefore now a fit time to dispute this matter, they took in the Arcadians, the enemies of the Elians, as their confederates in the war: with whose aid and assistance they marched against the Elians, who had then appointed the games. Whereupon the Elians, with all their forces, made out against them; upon which there was a very sharp encounter. The Grecians who were then come together to this solemnity, stood as spectators with crowns upon their heads, (out of reach of all danger), and at every brave action of either party gave great shouts. The Pisates at length being conquerors, managed the sports; but the Elians never accounted this olympiad in their annals, because they looked upon it to be acted by force, and against law.

During these transactions of affairs, Epaminondas the Theban, (who was in great esteem among the people), made a speech to the citizens, in which he stirred them up to gain the dominion of the sea. In this oration (which he had premeditated long before) he shewed them that the thing was easily done, as it was advantageous and profitable to the commonwealth; and amongst other things he likewise told them—That being sovereigns at land, they might be easily masters at sea. For although the Athenians in the war against Xerxes, had a navy of two hundred sail well equipped and furnished, yet they were under the command of the Lacedæmonians, who had but ten. When he had spoken what he had to say suitable to the occasion, he brought the Thebans to a compliance.

It was therefore forthwith decreed by the people, that a hundred gallies, and as many docks should be built, and that application should be made to the Rhodians, Chians, and Bizantines, for their assistance to forward the work. Epaminondas himself being sent away with some forces to the beforementioned cities, so terrified Laches the Athenian general, (who was sent with a strong and well furnished fleet to obstruct the designs of the Thebans), that he forced him to sail back, and reduced those cities to the obedience of Thebes: and no doubt

but if this man had lived some time longer, he had gained for the Thebans the sovereign command both at sea and land. But not long after, being killed at the battle at Mantenea, (where he obtained a famous victory for his country by his own fall), all the prosperity of the Thebans presently died (as it were) with him. But we shall treat of these things more particularly and distinctly shortly hereafter.

About the same time likewise, the Thebans resolved to invade Orchomenus, for the reasons following:—Some of the Theban fugitives had a purpose to change the government of Thebes into an aristocracy, and to that end, joined in confederacy with three hundred horsemen of Orchomenus. These horses were used to rendezvous at a certain day appointed and ordered by the Thebans, and therefore they contrived that at that very day, (whenever it should be), they would fall upon the city. And seeing there were many others that were engaged to be assisting in effecting this design, they took a fit opportunity at length to meet together. Then some of the chief conspirators, who began to repent of the treason, discovered all to the Bœotians, and by betraying their fellows, saved their own lives. Upon this all the horsemen, by command of the magistrates, were seized, and being afterwards brought before the senate, they were all judged to be put to death, and that the inhabitants of Orchomenus should be sold for slaves, and their city razed to the ground. The Thebans had born an old grudge towards them of Orchomenus for many generations, because in the times of the heroes*, they forced them to pay tribute, till Hercules set them free. Having therefore now got an opportunity, and a good colour (as they conceived) to revenge themselves, they marched with their forces against Orchomenus. And presently making themselves masters of the city, they put all the men to the sword, and sold the women and children for slaves.

At this same time, the Thessalians made war upon Alexander, the prince of Pheræ; but, being often beaten, and having lost many men, they solicited the Thebans to send aid to them, under the command of Pelopidas: for they knew he was a brave-spirited man and an excellent commander, and an inveterate enemy of Alexander, upon account of his late imprisonment. The Bœotians hereupon called a general council, and gave audience to the ambassadors; and, having heard their message, they readily complied in all things to their request, and forthwith ordered Pelopidas to their assistance, with seven thousand men, who presently obeyed; and, just as he was marching out with the army, the sun was eclipsed, which prodigy perplexed many: for there were some of the soothsayers who declared, that by this marching out of the army, the sun of the city

* Or demigods.

should be eclipsed, meaning nothing else but the death of Pelopidas. However, Pelopidas (nothing moved with what was said, but led on by his inevitable destiny) marched forward. When he came into Thessaly, he found that Alexander, with above twenty thousand men, had possessed himself of the higher grounds: upon this he encamped in the face of the enemy, and, being afterwards joined with the Thessalians, he fought the Pheræans. But Alexander prevailing, by the advantage of the ground, Pelopidas (desiring to put an end to the dispute by his own personal valour) charges up to Alexander himself, who, with those select bands that were about him, valiantly stood his ground; upon this the battle grew very hot, in which Pelopidas, acting the part both of a good soldier and skilful commander, covered the place with the bodies of his enemies. At length he put the enemy to flight, and gained the victory; but he himself (through many wounds he had received) fell down dead, and so heroically ended his days. And now Alexander, being conquered in another battle, and thereby having all his forces broken in pieces, he was forced, upon terms of peace, to restore to the Thessalians all the towns he had before taken, and to deliver Magnesia and Phthiotis, cities of Achaia, to the Bœotians, and be their confederates, and, for the future, to be content with Pheræ only. However, though the Thebans gained a glorious victory, yet they declared every where that they were conquered, because of the death of Pelopidas: for they looked upon the victory not to compensate the loss of so brave a man. For he had often done many great and worthy services for the advantage of his country, and much enlarged the bounds and territories of the Theban commonwealth: as, in freeing the city by the exiles, when they recovered the citadel of Cadmea, all generally ascribed that noble action to Pelopidas; which was the chief cause of all the advantages, and happy success that happened to the Thebans afterwards. Then, at the fight of Tegea, Pelopidas was the only man of the Bœotarchs that overcame the Lacedæmonians, the most potent people of all the Grecians; which was the first time the Thebans erected a trophy (for the greatness of the victory) over the Lacedæmonians. Afterwards, at the battle of Leuctra, he was colonel of the sacred band, and was the first that broke in upon the Lacedæmonians, and so became the immediate author and instrument of the victory. Besides, in the expeditions against the Lacedæmonians, (being general of seventy thousand men), he erected a trophy for his victory over them in the very face of Sparta, who never knew before what it was to be besieged. Being sent ambassador to the king of Persia, to negotiate the affair of the common pacification, he gained in that treaty Messene for his own country, which the

Thebans rebuilt, after it had lain desolate three hundred years. And now at last, in the battle against Alexander, (notwithsanding he far exceeded him in the number of his forces), he not only obtained a glorious victory, but became famous for his extraordinary valour, though with the loss of his life. And, during these wars, he was in that reputation among the people, that, from the return of the exiles, to the time of his death, he was always one of the Bœotarchs; no one ever before being thought worthy of so great an honour. Inasmuch, therefore, as Pelopidas was thus highly esteemed, and gained the reputation of all for his courage and conduct, it is fit he should have his due commendation from us, likewise, in this our history.

About the same time Clearchus, of the city of Heraclea, aspired to the sovereignty of Pontus; and prevailing in his enterprise, made it his whole business to imitate Dionysius the tyrant, and governed the Heracleans in great splendour for the space of twelve years.

During these affairs, Timotheus the Athenian general, having with him both sea and land-forces, besieged Toryne and Potidæa, and took them by storm, and razed the siege of Cyzicum.

CHAP. X.

The war between the Tegeans and Mantineans. The Bœotians side with the Tegeans. Epaminondas made general. The battle of Mantinea, where Epaminondas was killed; but the Lacedæmonians routed. The commendation of Epaminondas.

AT the end of the year, Chariclides was created lord-chancellor of Athens; and Lucius Æmilius Mamercus, and Lucius Sextius Lateranus, Roman consuls. At which time the Arcadians and the Pisates (by compact joining together) celebrated the Olympic games at Olympus, and possessed themselves both of the temple, and all the riches that were there. And, because the Mantineans carried away and converted to prophane uses many of the dedicated things, these sacrilegious persons made it their business to promote and carry on the war against the Elians, lest, if peace were made, they should be called to account for their ill-gotten goods. And therefore, when the rest of the Arcadians would have compromised matters, they stirred up sedition against their own countrymen. Being, therefore,

divided into two factions, one headed by the Tegeans, the other by the Mantineans, the feud grew to that height, that at last they determined to decide the controversy by force of arms; and they of Tegea sent an ambassador to the Bœotians, to desire their assistance: whereupon the Bœotians, without delay, made Epaminondas general, and sent him, with a strong army, to the aid of the Tegeans. But the Mantineans (being terrified with the Bœotian army, and the great name of Epaminondas) sent their ambassadors to the principal enemies of the Bœotians, (the Athenians and Lacedæmonians), to solicit them to join with the Mantineans in the war. Great forces, therefore, being raised on both sides, many great battles were fought in Peloponnesus; and the Lacedæmonians, as soon as they could, broke into that part of Arcadia lying next to them. About the same time Epaminondas was marching forward with his army, and, being come near to Mantinea, he heard that the Lacedæmonians, with all their forces, were wasting and spoiling the territories of Tegea; conceiving, therefore, that Sparta was left naked, he undertook a weighty affair, but fortune favoured not his enterprise. For he marched with his army in the night against Sparta; but Agis, king of Lacedæmon, (suspecting the craft and subtlety of Epaminondas), prudently conjectured what possibly might be designed: therefore, to prevent Epaminondas, he despatched away some Cretan couriers to Sparta, to acquaint them that the Bœotians were just then upon their march, in order to surprise the city, and that he himself would make all the haste he possibly could to relieve them; and therefore charged them to look to the place, and not in the least to be afraid, for he would be with them presently. The Cretans observed their orders with all expedition, by which the Lacedæmonians (strangely, and on a sudden) prevented the ruin of their country: for, if the stratagem had not been discovered, Epaminondas had certainly surprised Sparta. So that the policy and contrivance of both the generals justly challenge their due praise; yet the prudent care of a skilful commander must here be especially attributed to the Lacedæmonian. Epaminondas, having now marched all the night long, at break of day came up to Sparta; but Agesilaus, who was left to guard the city, (having had intelligence but a little before), did what he could to put the city in a posture of defence. To this end, he commanded the boys that were of any considerable bigness, and the old men, to the roofs of the houses, that they might be in a capacity to drive back the enemy from thence: then, placing all the strong and lusty men in the several difficult passes that led into the city, and, blocking up all other places where possibly an entrance might be made, he waited for the coming of the enemy.

Epaminondas, having divided his army into three parts, made an assault round the town at one and the same time; but, when he discerned in what order the Spartans were placed to oppose him, he presently understood that his design was discovered: however, though he was much obstructed by the strait and narrow passages, and forced to fight in small parties with great bodies of men at once, and many were killed on both sides, yet he would not draw off till the Lacedæmonian army came up near unto Sparta. The Spartans, therefore, being now reinforced in such great strength, and night coming on, he left off the assault.

Then he was informed by some prisoners, that the Mantineans, with all the power of the city, were hastening towards him, to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians: upon which he marched away, and encamped not far from the city. But presently, commanding his soldiers to eat their suppers, and, leaving there a body of horse, whom he commanded to kindle fires all the night, he marched away with the rest of the army, with a design on a sudden to cut off all them that were left in Mantinea. The next day (having marched a long way) he unexpectedly assaulted them of Mantinea, but failed in his design; and, though he had (as a diligent commander) provided all things that were necessary, yet fortune now opposed him, and so he lost the prize. For as soon as he came near the city, which was then naked, and without any defence, six thousand Athenian auxiliaries entered into Mantinea at the other end of the town, under the command of Hegelocus, a person of good esteem among the citizens, who, having put a sufficient garrison into the city, with the rest stood in battalia ready to engage. And presently appeared the armies, both of the Lacedæmonians and Mantineans. And now every one prepared to put all to the hazard of a battle, and therefore sent for their allies out of all parts. The Elians, Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and some others, sided with the Mantineans: their forces amounted to above twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. The most considerable persons of Arcadia for riches and valour, together with the Achaians, Bœotians, Argives, and some of the Peloponnesians, and other confederates, joined with the Tegeans, who amounted, in the whole, to above thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse.

And now the armies on both sides took the field, in order to decide the matter, and drew up in battalia; and the soothsayers, from the view of the sacrifices, (offered here and there), declared victory to their several parties. The Mantineans, and the rest of the Arcadians, (because the war was in their own country), were in the right wing, supported by the Lacedæmonians, drawn up next to them.

Next to the Lacedæmonians were placed the Elians and Achaians, and some others of the weaker part of the army completed that wing. The left wing consisted of the Athenians. On the other side, the Thebans placed themselves in the left wing, opposite to the Arcadians; and the Argives held the right. The rest of the army, Eubœans, Locrians, Sicyonians, Messenians, Maleans, and Æneians, and the other confederates, made up the main body. The horse on both sides were placed on the flanks. The armies being thus drawn up, while they stood facing one another for some time, the trumpets at length sounded a charge, and the armies set up so great a shout, as if both sides were assured of the victory. The horse from the wings first charged one another, with the greatest fury imaginable: the Athenian horse charged the Thebans, but were worsted, not so much by the valour and hardiness of the Thebans, or their skill in martial affairs, (for in these the Athenians were inferior to none), as by their number, and being better armed and appointed, and far exceeding the other in order and manner of battle. For the Athenians had very few darters among them, whereas the Thebans had three times as many, besides slingers and archers from the Thessalians, who were used to be exercised in that way of fighting from their childhood, and by that means were always very serviceable in all encounters.

The Athenians therefore, what with being galled by the light-armed men, and overpowered by the horse, were forced to fly. Yet, because they fled out from the wings, they easily repaired the damage they had sustained: for they broke not into their own foot in their flight, but, falling in with some Eubœans, and some other mercenaries, who were sent out before to take possession of some hills near the place, (with whom they had a sharp engagement), they put every man of them to the sword. For the Theban horse did not pursue them that fled, but charged in upon the enemy's foot, with a design to break through them; upon which the dispute was very hot and sharp, but at length the Athenians fled outright: but the colonel of the Elian horse (who was in the rear-guard of the army*) succoured them, and, cutting off many of the Bœotians, renewed the fight. And thus was the rout in the Athenian left wing in a great measure repaired by the Elian horsemen. In the engagement by the horse in the other wing, the success was a little while doubtful; but, within a short time, the Mantineans were put to the rout, by the multitude and strength of the Bœotian and Thessalian horsemen, and, with great loss, were forced to fly for shelter to their own battalion of

* The Mantinean army.

foot. And this was the issue of the engagement between the horse. The foot, as soon as they engaged, fought with wonderful heat and resolution. Never was there greater armies in the field in any battle between Grecians and Grecians; nor more brave and excellent commanders, or that ever approved themselves with more valour and courage: for the Bœotians and Lacedæmonians, who were in that age counted the best land-soldiers in the world, fronted one another, and began the onset with that fury, as if they valued not their lives in the least. They first began with their lances, which being, for the most part, broken in pieces by the violence and heat of the charge, they took to their swords: then, setting foot to foot, all sorts of wounds, curable and mortal, slight and deadly, were given and received, without remitting any thing of their first heat or resolution; and they continued in this sharp engagement with that valour, and such a long time, (neither side giving the least ground), that victory seemed to hover over both, (uncertain where it would fall); for every one slighted and contemned danger, and (desiring nothing more than to make himself remarkable by some glorious piece of service for his country) with a brave gallantry of mind coveted to exchange life for honour. After the battle had continued long, and none were able to judge who would be the conquerors, Epaminondas (conceiving the present state of the parties engaged required his assistance) resolved to decide the matter, with the hazard of his own life. To that end taking a choice band of the most able men he had with him, and, drawing them up in close order, he forthwith charged at the head of them, and was the first that cast his javelin, and killed the Lacedæmonian general, and then broke into the midst of his enemies; then others presently following, (beating down all before him), he clove asunder the enemy's division: for, the fame of Epaminondas, and the strength of that body he then had with him, struck such a terror into the Lacedæmonians, that they turned their backs, and began to make away; upon which the Bœotians pursued close, and killed all that were in the rear, so that heaps of carcases covered the ground. At length, when the Lacedæmonians perceived that the fierceness and heat of Epaminondas had precipitated him too far, they all in a body made up to him, throwing an infinite number of darts at him, of which he put by some, and received others upon his target, and plucked others out of his body with his own hands, and threw them back into the face of the enemy. At last, while he was most heroically exerting himself to gain the victory for his country, he received a mortal wound in his breast by a dart, thrown* with such force, as

* By one Anticrates, a Spartan

: the power of the bodies. The trumpets, therefore, sounding a
:at, both armies drew off; and each party erected a trophy, both
ending to the victory. For the Athenians possessed the bodies
ll those Eubœans and mercenaries that were slain at the hill:
he other side, the Bœotians that had routed the Lacedæmonians,
were masters of the dead, claimed the victory. And, for some
e, neither side sent any trumpets to treat for the burying of the
d, lest they that were first should be thought to yield the day.
t at last the Lacedæmonians first sent a trumpet to procure liberty
bury their men: whereupon all were buried that were slain on
h sides.

But Epaminondas (yet living) was brought back into the camp;
d, when the physicians that were sent for told him, that he would
rtainly die as soon as the dart was drawn out of his body, he was
t at all daunted; but first called his armour-bearer, and asked
hether his shield was safe? When he answered, it was, and shewed
to him, then he inquired, which side had got the day? The youth
aking answer, that the Bœotians were victors, "Why then," said
e, "Now is the time to die," and forthwith ordered the dart to be
awn out: and, when all his friends round about him cried out, and
ne, with great lamentation, expressed himself thus—"And what!
) Epaminondas! dost thou die childless?" "No, by Jupiter!" said
e, "But I leave behind me two daughters, whereof the one is
victory at Leuctra, and the other at Mantinea." And so, upon
having out the head of the dart, he quietly breathed out his last,

and some other Athenians; and Gelon, the son of Dinomenes, in Sicily, and some others, whose several excellencies, if any will compare with the military art, and the glory of the arms of Epaminondas, he shall soon find him to exceed them in many degrees. For, among them, some one peculiar excellence only was remarkable in each particular person; but, in him, a constellation of virtues were housed together: for, in strength and comeliness of body, volubility of tongue, gallantness of spirit, contempt of wealth, and impartial justice, (and that which was far before all the rest), in valour and skill in martial affairs, (absolutely necessary for a general), he far exceeded them all. When alive, he gained the sovereign power for his country; but, by his death they lost it again, and their affairs declined to the worse ever afterwards; and at length, by the sloth and ignorance of their commanders, they were utterly ruined, and reduced to perfect slavery. And this was the end of Epaminondas, a man honoured and esteemed of all.

After this battle, the Grecians, being tired out with continual wars, and contented now to draw stakes, put an end to the war, and entered into a general league, offensive and defensive, in which the Messenians were included. But the Lacedæmonians (by reason of the implacable hatred they bore the Messenians) would not agree to the articles of peace: and therefore they, of all the Grecians, were the only men that swore not to the league. As to the writers of this year, Xenophon the Athenian concludes his history of the wars of Greece with the death of Epaminondas. Anaximenes likewise, of Lampsacus, wrote the first part of his history of the Grecian affairs, from the origin of the gods, and the first being of mankind, to the battle of Mantinea, and the death of Epaminondas, containing almost all the affairs both of the Grecians and barbarians, in twelve volumes. Lastly, Philistus, who wrote the history of Dionysius the younger, in two books, ends them here.

CHAP. XI.

A defection from the Persians in Asia. Tachos, king of Egypt, declares war against the Persians. The war between Tachos and his son Nectanabis. The death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Agesilaus routs the Egyptians that pursued him, and restores Tachos to his kingdom. Quarrels again in Greece, after the battle of Mantinea, between the Megalopolitans and the neighbouring towns. Peparethos besieged by Alexander of Pheræ. He routs Leosthenes at sea. Chares, the Athenian admiral: his villanies.

THIS year, Molon was lord-chancellor of Athens; and Lucius Genucius, and Quintus Servilius, Roman consuls. In their times, the inhabitants of the sea-coasts of Asia made a defection from the Persians; and some of the governors of the provinces, and chief commanders, began new broils, and rose up in arms against Artaxerxes. Tachos, likewise, king of Egypt, declared war against the Persians, and employed himself in building of ships, and raising of land-forces: he brought over, also, the Lacedæmonians to join with him, and hired many soldiers out of the cities of Greece: for the Spartans bore a grudge against Artaxerxes, because he had ordered the Messenians to be comprehended in the public league among the Grecians. This great conspiracy caused the Persian king, likewise, to exert himself to raise forces: for he was to engage in a war with the king of Egypt, the Grecian cities in Asia, the Lacedæmonians and their confederates, and the lord-lieutenants and chief commanders of the sea coasts, all at one and the same time. Among these, Ariobarzanes, lord-lieutenant of Phrygia, was the chief, who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Mithridates, after his death: with him joined Mausolus, prince of Caria, who had many considerable towns and castles under his command, the metropolis of which was Halicarnassus, wherein was a most stately citadel, the royal seat or palace of Caria; and with these were confederated Orontes, governor of Mysia, and Autophradates, of Lydia; and, of the Ionian nation, the Lycians, Pisidians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians; and besides them, the Syrians and Phœnicians, and almost all that bordered upon the Asiatic sea. By this great defection, the king lost one half of his revenues, and what remained was not sufficient to defray the necessary charges of the war.

Those who revolted from the king, made Orontes general of the army, who, after he had received the command, and money enough to pay twenty thousand hired soldiers for one whole year, betrayed the confederates that had so intrusted him. For, being corrupted with large bribes, and promised to be the only governor of all the provinces bordering upon the sea, if he would deliver up the rebels into the power of the king, he was wrought upon; and, in the execution of his treachery, he first seized upon them that brought him the money, and sent them prisoners to the king; and then betrayed several cities, and companies of hired soldiers, to such lieutenants as the king had sent into those parts. The like treachery happened in Cappadocia, which was accompanied with something more than ordinarily remarkable. Artabazus, the king of Persia's general, had invaded Cappadocia with a great army, whom Datames, the governor of that province, opposed with a strong body of horse, and twenty thousand foot, of mercenaries. The father-in-law of Datames, and general of his horse (to ingratiate himself with the king, and provide for his own safety) stole away in the night with the horse to Artabazus, having so agreed with him the day before. Datames (encouraging his mercenaries to be faithful to him, by promising to reward them liberally) with all speed marched after these treacherous rascals, and overtook them just as they were joining the enemy: upon which the soldiers of Artabazus likewise fell upon these runagate horse, and killed all before them. For Artabazus (at the first ignorant, not knowing the meaning of the thing) thought that he who had betrayed Datames, was now acting a new piece of treason; therefore he commanded his soldiers to fall upon the horse that were advancing towards them, and not spare a man. So that Mithrobarzanes (for that was the traitor's name) being got between them that took him for a traitor, and those that pursued him, as one that they knew was really such, was in an inextricable labyrinth: being, therefore, in this strait, (and having no time now further to consider), he made it his business to defend himself with all the resolution imaginable, and so plied both parties, that he made a great slaughter amongst them. At length, upwards of ten thousand men being killed, Datames put the rest to flight, and cut off in the pursuit great numbers of them, and at length caused the trumpet to sound a retreat, and called off his men. Some of the horsemen that survived returned to Datames, and begged for pardon; the rest wandered about, and knew not whither to turn themselves. But Datames caused his army to surround five hundred of those traitors, and to dart them to death. And, though he had formerly gained the reputation of an excellent soldier, yet now, by this instance of his valour and prudent conduct,

his name grew much more famous than before. Artaxerxes, the king, being informed of this stratagem, made all the haste he could to be rid of Datames, and, within a short time after, cut him off by an ambuscade.

Whilst these things were in acting, Rheomithres was sent by the rebels into Egypt, to Tachos, the king, and, having received five hundred talents, and fifty sail of men of war, he returned to Leuce, in Asia, and, sending for many of the revolted lords and officers to come to him thither, he seized them, and sent them all away prisoners to the king; and, by this piece of treachery, regained the king's favour, who was formerly much displeased with him.

Now Tachos, king of Egypt, had prepared all things necessary for the war: for he had a fleet of two hundred sail, ten thousand Grecian mercenaries, and four score thousand Egyptian foot. He gave the command of the ten thousand mercenaries to Agesilaus, who was sent from the Lacedæmonians, with a thousand men, to the aid of the Egyptians; because he was counted the best soldier of any among them, and had the repute of a most expert commander. Chabrias was made admiral of the fleet, who was not sent there by public authority, but (upon the persuasion of Tachos) served him as a private man. The king reserved to himself the chief command of the whole of the army. But Agesilaus would have persuaded him to continue in Egypt, and to manage the war by his lieutenants; but he would not hearken to it, though he advised him for the best. For, when the army was far distant from Egypt, and now encamped in Phœnicia, the governor of Egypt, whom he had deputed in his absence, revolted, and sent to Nectanabis, the king's son*, to take upon him the kingdom of Egypt, which kindled the sparks which afterwards broke forth into a most cruel and bloody war. For Nectanabis, who had been made general of the Egyptian forces, and some time before sent out of Phœnicia to take in some cities of Syria, being privy, and consenting to the treason against his father, drew the commanders of the army by large gifts, and the soldiers by as large promises, to join with him in the war. Egypt, therefore, being now possessed by the rebels, Tachos was so terrified at the thing, that he fled through Arabia, to the king of Persia, and begged his pardon for what he had done; whom Artaxerxes not only forgave, but made him general of the army he had raised against the Egyptians.

Not long after, the king of Persia died, having reigned three-and-forty years. Ochus succeeded him, and governed three-and-twenty years, taking upon him the surname of Artaxerxes: for, Artaxerxes ruling the kingdom with great justice and integrity, and being an

* Or rather, his brother or sister's son.

earnest promoter and lover of peace, and prosperous in all his affairs, the Persians decreed, that all the succeeding kings should be called by his name. And now Tachos, the king of Egypt, returned to Agesilaus, and presently Nectanabis led above an hundred thousand men against his father, and dared him to try his title to the kingdom by the sword. When Agesilaus discerned that the king was fearful, not daring to engage, he heartened him up all he could, and bid him be of good courage, for it was not number, but valour, that carried away the victory. But, not being able to prevail, he was obliged to go back with him into a certain large city, there to shelter himself; where they were presently besieged by the Egyptians, who, after the loss of a great number of their men in assaulting the town, drew a trench and a wall round the city, which was finished in a short time, by having many hands at work. At length, when provision failed, Tachos gave up all for lost: but Agesilaus (encouraging the soldiers, and telling them all would be well) in the night broke through the enemy's guards, and, to admiration, got off safe with all his men; but the Egyptians (pursuing close at their heels, and, being in an open champaign country) proposed by their great numbers to surround them, and so cut them off, every man.

But Agesilaus in the mean time, having possessed himself of a place secured on both sides by water from the river, (conveyed through sluices and trenches made by art), waited there for the enemy. And, having drawn up his men in such order as best suited the ground, (and being defended by the arms of the river, so that he could not be hemmed in), he there fought with the Egyptians, whose numbers were of so little advantage to them in that place, and the valour of the Grecians so far before them, that Agesilaus made a great slaughter amongst them, and put the rest to flight. After which Tachos was presently restored to his kingdom; and he rewarded Agesilaus (the only instrument of his restoration) by many honourable gifts, and so dismissed him, who, in his return homewards, fell sick at Cyrene, and there died. His body was embalmed with honey, and brought back to Sparta, where he was royally interred.

Hitherto thus proceeded matters in Asia. But in Peloponnesus, though after the battle at Mantinea a general peace was made among the Arcadians, yet they scarcely observed the league for one year, but fell into new broils and wars with one another. It was one of the articles of the league, that every one should return from the battle into their several countries. Therefore those neighbouring cities that had been translated, and forced to seat themselves at Megalopolis, which then they bore very grievously, now of their own accord returned to their old habitations: but the other Megalopolitans endeavoured once

more to force them to leave their ancient seats. Hence arose a great contest: they of the old towns craved the assistance of the Mantineans and the rest of the Arcadians, and likewise of the Elians and other confederates of the Mantineans. On the other hand, they of Megalopolis addressed themselves to the Athenians, for their aid and assistance; who, without delay, ordered three thousand heavy-armed men, and three hundred horse, under the command of Pammenes.—Whereupon he marched to Megalopolis, and afterwards, by storming some of the towns, and terrifying others, he forced them all at length to return to Megalopolis. And thus were these towns reduced into one city, and the tumults which came to this height appeased and composed.

Among the historians of this time, Athanis of Syracuse, began his history of Dion with this year, comprised in twenty-three books. He continued likewise the history of Philistus, seven years further in one book; and, treating of matters summarily, made it one entire and perfect history.

Afterwards, when Nicophemus was chief magistrate of Athens, and Caius Sulpitius and Caius Licinius executed the consular authority at Rome, Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, fitted out several privateers to the Cyclade islands, and having taken some of them by force, carried away a great number of captives. He then landed his soldiers in Peparethos*, and besieged the city. But the Peparethians being relieved by the Athenian garrison, under the command of Leosthenes, who had been formerly left there, Alexander set upon the Athenians themselves. It so happened, that as they were watching, and had set a guard upon Alexander's fleet, which then lay at Panormus, he suddenly fell upon them, and obtained an unexpected victory: for he not only rescued his men from the imminent dangers wherewith they were surrounded at Panormus, but also took five Athenian gallies, one of Peparethos, and six hundred prisoners. The Athenians, being enraged at this misfortune, condemned Leosthenes to death, and confiscated all his goods, and made Chares commander in his stead, and sent him with a considerable fleet into those parts; who spent his time only in searing the enemy, and oppressing the confederates. For sailing to Corcyra, a confederate city, he stirred up such seditions and tumults there, as ended in many slaughters, rapines, and plunderings of men's goods and estates; which caused the Athenians to be ill-spoken of by all the confederates. He committed many other villanies; and, to sum up all in a few words, he did nothing but what tended to the disgrace and dishonour of his country.

* One of the Cyclade islands, now Lemene.

Dionysiodorus and Anaxis, Bœotian writers, who composed a history of Grecian affairs, end their relations with this year. And now, having given an account of those affairs, and things done before the reign of Philip, according to our first design, we shall put an end to this book. In the next following shall be comprehended whatever was done by that king, from the beginning of his reign to the time of his death; with other things that happened in the known parts of the world.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK XVI.

PREFACE.

IT is the duty of all writers of history, whether they treat of the actions of kings, or of particular cities, to relate the whole from the beginning to the conclusion: for we conceive that thereby the history is both better remembered, and more clearly understood. For imperfect relations, without knowledge of the issue of what is begun, gives an unpleasant check to the diligent reader's eager expectation. But where the matter is drawn down by a continued thread to the end of the narration, such writings make the history complete in all its parts; but more especially, if the nature of things done lead the writer as it were by the hand, this course is by no means to be neglected.

Since, therefore, we are come to the affairs of Philip son of Amyntas, we shall, according to the former rule, endeavour to comprehend in this book all the actions of this king. For he reigned as king of Macedon two-and-thirty years, and who, making use at first but of small means, at length advanced his kingdom to the greatest in Europe; and made Macedon, which at the time of his coming to the crown was under the servile yoke of the Illyrians, mistress of many potent cities and countries. And through his valour the Grecian cities voluntarily submitted themselves to him, and made him general of all Greece. And having subdued those that robbed and spoiled the temple at Delphos*, coming in aid of the god there, he was made a member of the senate of the Amphictyons; and as a reward of his

* The Phocians.

zeal to the gods, the right of voting in the senate which belonged to the Phocians, whom he had overcome, was allotted to him*.

After he overcame the Illyrians, Pæones, Thracians, Scythians, and the countries adjoining to them, his thoughts were wholly employed how to destroy the Persian monarchy. But, after he had freed all the Grecian cities, and was promised forces to be raised for the expedition into Asia, in the midst of all his preparations he was prevented by death: but he left those, and so many more forces behind him, that his son Alexander had no occasion to make use of the assistance of his confederates in overturning the Persian empire. And all those things he did not so much by the favour of fortune, as by the greatness of his own valour: for this king excelled most in the art of a general, stoutness of spirit, and clearness of judgment and apprehension. But that we may not in a preface set forth his actions before hand, we shall proceed to the orderly course of the history, making some short remarks on the times that went before.

CHAP. I.

Philip, a hostage at Thebes, makes his escape; beats the Athenians; and afterwards makes peace with them. Subdues the Pæones, and routs the Illyrians and makes peace with them.

WHEN Callimedes was archon at Athens, in the hundred and fifth olympiad, in which Porus the Cyrenian was victor, and Cneius Genucius and Lucius Æmilius were Roman consuls, Philip the son of Amyntas, and father of Alexander, who conquered the Persians, came to the crown in the manner following:

Amyntas being brought under by the Illyrians, was forced to pay tribute to the conquerors; who having taken his youngest son Philip as an hostage, delivered him to be kept by the Thebans; who committed the youth to the care of the father of Epaminondas †, with or-

* The court of the Amphictyons was the great court of Greece, which sat at Delphos in Phocis, like to the States General at the Hague. *Pausan. lib.* 10, *cap.* 8. The Phocians had two votes in that assembly.

† Polymnus was the father of Epaminondas.

ders to look to his charge with all diligence, and honourably to educate and instruct him.

A Pythagorean philosopher was at that time tutor to Epaminondas, with whom Philip being brought up, he improved more than ordinary in the Pythagorean philosophy. And both these scholars employing the utmost of their parts and diligence in prosecuting their studies, both by that means became famous for their virtuous qualifications. Epaminondas, it is known to all, having run through many hazards and difficulties, beyond all expectation, gained the sovereignty of all Greece for his country. And Philip having the same advantages, shewed himself nothing inferior to Epaminondas in glorious achievements: for after the death of Amyntas, his eldest son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom; but Ptolemy Alorites murdered him and usurped the government: and he himself was served the same sauce by Perdiccas; who being afterwards overcome in a great battle by the Illyrians, and killed in the very time when there was most need of a king, Philip, the brother, made his escape and took possession of the kingdom, now in a very shattered condition: for there were above four thousand Macedonians killed in the fight, and those that survived were in such consternation and fear of the Illyrians, that they had no heart left for the further prosecution of the war.

About the same time the Pæones, neighbours to the Macedonians, in contempt of them wasted their country; and the Illyrians raised again great forces, and designed another expedition against the Macedonians. And, to aggravate the matter, one Pausanias*, of the royal family, by the assistance of the king of Thrace, endeavoured to invade the kingdom of Macedon. The Athenians likewise, enemies to Philip, endeavoured to restore Argæus† to the kingdom of his ancestors, and to this purpose had sent away their general Mantius, with three thousand well-armed men, and a most excellent and well-provided navy. Hereupon the Macedonians, by reason of the late defeat, and the storm that then threatened them, were in great fear and perplexity: however, notwithstanding all the difficulties and fear of those things that were at hand, Philip, nothing discouraged with these dreadful clouds of mischief that seemed to hang over his head, by his speeches in the daily assemblies retained the Macedonians in their duty; and, by his eloquence (wherein he excelled) stirring them up to be courageous, revived their drooping spirits. Then, setting upon reforming the military discipline, he completely armed his men, and trained them every day, teaching them how to handle

* Son of Eropus, who formerly usurped the kingdom of Macedonia.

† Another son of Eropus.

their arms, and other postures of war. He likewise instituted the new way of drawing up in a close body, imitating the heroes at Troy in locking their shields together; so that he was the first that found out the Macedonian phalanx.

He was very courteous and winning in his converse, and gained the people's hearts both by his bounty at present, and his generous promises of future rewards; very wisely, likewise, (as it were by so many engines), defending himself against the many and various dangers that were pressing upon him. For when he discerned that the Athenians made it their chief business to recover Amphipolis, and that Argæus was endeavoured to be restored to his kingdom for that end, he left the city* of his own accord, suffering them to govern themselves according to their own laws.

He likewise sent an ambassador to the Pæones, and corrupted some of them with bribes, and ensnared others with fair and winning promises, and for the present made peace with them. He likewise prevented Pausanias from being restored, by bribing the king that was ready to assist him for that purpose.

In the mean time Mantius, the Athenian admiral, being arrived at Methone†, there lay; but he sent Ægæus forward with a body of mercenaries, to Ægæ‡. Coming to the city, he endeavoured to persuade the Ægæans to allow of his return, and to appear the first for his restoration to the kingdom; but none consenting, he went back to Methone.

Presently after, Philip, advancing with a well-appointed army, set upon them, and cut off many of the mercenaries; the rest, who had fled to a hill near at hand, (having first delivered up to him the fugitives), he dismissed by agreement.

Philip being conqueror in this first battle, greatly encouraged the Macedonians, and made them hearty and eager to undergo further toils and difficulties.

Whilst these things were acting, the Thracians planted a colony at Cremides, as it was heretofore called, which the king afterwards named Philippi, after his own name, and filled it with inhabitants. From this time Theopompus of Chios begins his history of Philip, and continues it in fifty-eight books, of which five are controverted.

Afterwards Eucharistus was archon of Athens, and Quintus Servilius and Lucius Genucius were consuls at Rome, when Philip sent ambassadors to Athens with proposals of peace, and prevailed with the people, upon the account that he was willing to quit all his right in Amphipolis.

* Amphipolis. † Methone, in Macedonia. ‡ Ægæ, in Macedonia.

Being therefore thus freed from the war with the Athenians, and hearing that Agis, king of the Pæones, was dead, he judged that a fair opportunity was offered him to invade the Pæones; and to that end he entered their country with a considerable army, overcame them in battle, and forced them to stoop to the Macedonian yoke.

But still the Illyrians* remained an eye-sore to him, whom his heart and all his thoughts were continually at work to bring under. To that end he called a general council, and by a speech fitted for the occasion, having spirited the soldiers to the war, he led an army into the country of the Illyrians, of no less than ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse.

Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians, hearing of his coming, first sent ambassadors to Philip, to renew the league between them upon these terms—That both of them should keep those towns that they then had. To which Philip answered—That he was very desirous of peace, but resolved not to admit of it before the Illyrians had quitted all the towns belonging to the kingdom of Macedon.

The ambassadors therefore being returned without effecting any thing, Bardyllis (confiding in the valour of his soldiers, and encouraged by his former victories) marched forth against his enemies with a strong army, having with him ten thousand choice foot, and five hundred horse.

When the armies drew near one to another, they suddenly set up a great shout, and so commenced the attack. Philip being in the right wing with a strong body of Macedonians, commanded his horse to wheel about, for the purpose of charging the enemy in the flank; and he himself charged the front; upon which there was a hot engagement.

On the other side, the Illyrians drew up in a square body, and valiantly joined battle.

The valour of both armies was such, that the issue of the battle was a long time doubtful; many fell, but many more were wounded; and the advantage was now here, and then there, according as the valour and resolution of the combatants gave vigour and life to the business.

At length, when the horse charged both upon the flank and rear, and Philip, with his stoutest soldiers, fought like a hero in the front, the whole body of the Illyrians was routed, and forced to fly outright; whom the Macedonians pursued a long way. After many were killed in the pursuit, Philip at length gave the signal to his men to retire, and erected a trophy, and buried the dead.

* Illyrium, now Dalmatia; and the inhabitants Dalmatians, or Sclavonians.

Then the Illyrians sent another embassy, and procured a peace, having first quitted all the cities belonging to Macedon. There were slain of the Illyrians in this battle above seven thousand men. Having thus given an account of things done in Macedonia and Illyrium, we shall now relate the affairs of other nations.

CHAP. II.

The actions of Dionysius the younger, in Sicily and other parts. Dion's flight to Corinth, and his return to Sicily. Andromachus peoples Tauromínium. The civil wars in Eubœa. The social war between the Athenians and other nations. Philip takes Amphipolis and other cities. His policy to gain the Olynthians, and other places in Greece.

5 IN Sicily, Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Syracuse, who came some time before to the kingdom, (being of an inactive spirit, and much inferior to his father), under the veil of a peaceful and gentle disposition, endeavoured to cover his sloth and cowardice; and therefore, though the war with the Carthaginians descended upon him with the kingdom, yet he made peace with them.

In a careless manner, likewise, he made war for some time upon the Lucanians; and though he had the advantage in some of the last fights, yet he was very fond of the terms and conditions offered for putting an end to the war.

He built two cities in Apulia, the better to secure the passage of his shipping through the Ionian sea: for the barbarians dwelling on the sea-coasts had a great number of pirates wandering about, whereby the Adriatic sea was greatly infested, and made troublesome to the merchants.

Afterwards giving himself up to his ease, he entirely neglected all warlike exercises; and though he was lord of the greatest kingdom in Europe, and had a dominion bound fast with a diamond, (as his father was used to boast), yet through his effeminate sloth and idleness he lost it on a sudden. How it was taken from him, and how he conducted himself in every particular, we shall endeavour now to declare.

At this time Cephisidorus was lord chancellor at Athens, and

* Lucanians, in Italy.

Caius Licinius and Caius Sulpitius were consuls at Rome; when Dion, the brother of Hipparinus, one of the most noble persons among the Syracusans, fled out of Sicily; and afterwards, by the braveness of his spirit, and his excellent accomplishments, restored not only the Syracusans, but other Sicilians, to their antient liberties, by these means.

Dionysius the elder had issue by both his wives: by the second wife, the daughter of Hipparinus, (who was in great esteem among the Syracusans), he had two sons, Hipparinus and Narsæus. Dion was the brother of this second wife; a man well skilled in philosophy, and the most expert soldier, in his time, of all the Syracusans. The nobleness of his birth, and greatness of his spirit, made him suspected by the tyrant, because, upon that account, he seemed to be a fit instrument to overturn the tyranny. Dionysius therefore fearing him, determined to send him farther away from him, and so put him to death. Dion, perceiving the design, at first discovered it to some of his friends: afterwards he fled from Sicily to Peloponnesus, taking with him his brother Megacles, and Cariclides, the general of the army under the tyrant. When he arrived at Corinth he solicited the Corinthians to assist him in the recovery of the liberty of Syracuse; and presently collected a band of mercenaries, and employed himself in procuring arms: upon which many volunteers coming in to him with all sorts of arms, he mustered a considerable force of mercenary soldiers. Then having hired two ships, he put his men and arms on board; and with these only passed over from Zacynthus* (near adjoining to Cephalenia) to Sicily; and commanded Cariclides to follow presently after him to Syracuse, with a few gallies, and other ships of burden.

While these things were acting, Andromachus of Taurominium, the father of Timæus the historian, a man eminent both for his riches and wisdom, brought together from all parts all the exiles of Naxos, (which Dionysius had razed), and gave them the hill called Taurus, lying above Naxos. And because he and his family had continued there a long time, he called it Taurominium, from their residence in Taurus. The inhabitants afterwards grew very rich, and the city became famous by its prosperous increase in worldly blessings. But in our age the Taurominians were removed from their country by Cæsar, and the city received a Roman colony.

In the mean time the inhabitants of Eubœa began quarrelling with each other, and one party resorted to the Bœotians for aid, and the other to the Athenians; and so a war broke out throughout all Eubœa. But though there were many light skirmishes between

* Now Zant.

them, sometimes the Thebans prevailing, and at other times the Athenians, yet they never fought any great battle.

At length the island being wasted by this civil war, and many men destroyed all over the land, with much ado (being made more wise by their own slaughters) they came to an agreement, and a peace was concluded: and the Bœotians returning home, laid down their arms.

The Athenians now began a war called the Social War, (which continued three years), on account of the defection of the Chians, Rhodians, them of Coos, and the Byzantines; to which war Chares and Chabrias were sent with an army, as generals: making against Chios*, they found the Chians assisted by the Byzantines, Rhodians, Coians, and Mausolus, the petty king of Cana†. These generals dividing their forces, besieged the city both by sea and land. Chares commanded the land-forces, and assaulted the walls, and fought with them of the garrison in the open field, who made sallies upon him. But Chabrias was engaged in a sharp fight at sea in the very harbour; and his ship being pierced through with the beaks of the enemy's, he was greatly distressed; and those who were in the other ships, thought fit to comply with the time, and so fairly ran away. But the admiral chusing rather to die gloriouly than give up all dishonourably, in defending of his ship received a wound, which put an end to his life.

About the same time, Philip king of Macedon, after his victory over the Illyrians in that great battle, having subdued all them that dwelt as far as to the marches of Lychnidus, and made an honourable peace with them, returned into Macedonia. And having thus by his valour raised up and supported the tottering state and condition of the Macedonians, his name became great and famous among them. Afterwards, being provoked by the many injuries of them of Amphipolis, he marched against them with a great army, and applying his engines of battery to the walls, made fierce and continual assaults, and by the battering rams threw down part of the wall, and entered into the city through the ruins, with the slaughter of many that opposed him; and forthwith banished his chief enemies, and graciously spared the rest.

This city, by reason of its commodious situation in Thrace, and its neighbourhood to other places, was of great advantage to Philip; for he presently after took Pydna; but made a league with the Olynthians, and promised to give up Potidea to them, which they had a long time before much coveted. For in regard the city of the

* Chios, of the same name with the island † Cana, in Lesser Asia.

Olynthians was both rich, potent, and populous, and upon that account was a place of great advantage in time of war, therefore those that were ambitious to enlarge their dominion, strove always to gain it: so that both the Athenians and Philip earnestly contended which of them should prevail in having them for their confederates. But however, Philip having taken Potidea, drew out the Athenian garrison, and treated them with great civility, and suffered them to return to Athens; for he bore a great respect to the people of Athens, because that city was eminent and famous for its power and grandeur.

He likewise delivered up Pydna* (which he had subdued) to the Olynthians, and gave them all the grounds and territories belonging to it. Thence he marched to Cremides†, which he enlarged, and made more populous, and called it after his own name, Philippi. Besides, he so improved the gold mines that were in those parts, (which before were but inconsiderable and obscure), that by building of work-houses he advanced them to bring in a yearly revenue of above a thousand talents. So that heaping up abundance of riches, in a short time, by the confluence of his wealth, he advanced the kingdom of Macedonia to a higher degree of majesty and glory, than ever it was before: for he coined pieces of gold, (called from him Philippics), and by the help thereof, raised a great army of mercenaries, and bribed many of the Grecians to betray their country. Of all which, a particular account shall be given hereafter, in the course of the history. And now we shall bend our discourse to what follows.

CHAP. III.

Dion's march and entry into Syracuse. Dionysius comes to the Island, a part of Syracuse: assaults the wall erected from sea to sea: is beaten by Dion. Alexander of Phera murdered by his wife and his two brothers. Philip relieves the Thessalians from the two brothers.

AGATHOCLES was archon at Athens, and Marcus Fabius, and Caius Publius, or Poetelius, were consuls at Rome, when Dion, the son of Hipparinus, landed in Sicily, to put down the tyranny of

* Pydna, in Macedonia.

† Cremides in Macedonia, called Philippi, now Philippo.

Dionysius. This Dion in an admirable manner overturned the greatest dominion in Europe, with the most inconsiderable force that ever any did before him: for who would ever believe that a man who landed with only two ships of burthen, should overcome a king who was furnished with four hundred gallies; had an army of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; and was provided with arms, money, and provision, suitable and sufficient to supply so many and great forces as we have related? And who (exclusive of what we have before said) was possessed of the greatest of all the Greek cities; so many ports and arsenals, castles so strongly fortified and impregnable, and such a number of potent auxiliaries! But that which much forwarded the successes of Dion, was his great spirit, and valorous resolution, and the good-will and kindness which the people whom he came to set free bore towards him. And that which was more than all these was the sloth and effeminacy of the tyrant, and the hatred of his subjects. All these things concentrating at one moment, produced incredible effects. But to leave off prefacing, we shall now begin to relate affairs more particularly.

Dion therefore proceeding from Zacynthus, near to Cephalenia, arrived at Minoa, (as it is called), in the territory of Agrigentum. This city was built by Minos, formerly king of Crete, at the time he was entertained by Cocalus, king of the Sicanians, when he was seeking after Dædalus.

At this time this city was in the hands of the Carthaginians, whose governor Paralus, Dion's friend, cheerfully received him. Upon this encouragement he unloaded his ships of five thousand arms, and intrusted them with Paralus, desiring him to furnish him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse: and he himself with a thousand mercenaries that had joined him, makes to the same place. In his march he prevailed with the Agrigentines, Geloi, some of the Sicanians, and the Sicilians that inhabited the midland; the Camarinians likewise, and Madinæans, to join with him in freeing the Syracusans from their slavery; and with these he marched forward to give a check to the tyrant. In his march, armed men flocking in to him from all parts, in a short time he had an army of above twenty thousand men. And besides these, many Grecians and Messanians were sent for out of Italy, and all with great cheerfulness came readily to him.

As soon as Dion came to the borders of the Syracusan territories, a multitude of unarmed men, both out of the city and country, met him: for Dionysius, out of fear and jealousy of the Syracusans, had disarmed many.

He was by chance at that time at the cities he had lately built in Adria*, with a great army. In the mean time, the officers that were left to guard the city endeavoured, in the first place, to retain the citizens in their duty, and to prevent their defection; but when they saw they could not by all the means they could use bridle the impetuous rage of the people, they got together all the foreign soldiers, and all others within the city that favoured the tyrant's party, and, having completed their regiments, resolved to fall upon the rebels. Then Dion distributed the five thousand arms among the Syracusans that were unarmed, and the rest he furnished as well as he could, as arms came to his hands. He then called them all together, to a public assembly, and told them, that he was come to restore the Sicilians to their liberty; and to that end commanded that such officers should be created as were fittest to be made use of for that purpose, and for the utter ruin of the tyranny: upon which they all cried out, with one unanimous voice—That Dion and his brother Megacles should be chosen generals, and invested with absolute power and command. And so, without delay, from the assembly (having first disposed the army in order of battle) he marched strait to the city; and, none appearing in the open field to oppose him, he confidently entered within the walls, and, through the Acradina†, marched on into the forum, and there encamped, none daring to oppose him: for there were no fewer with Dion, in his army, than fifty thousand men. And all these, with coronets upon their heads, entered into the city, led by Dion, Megacles, and thirty Syracusans, who alone, of all the exiles in Peloponnesus, were willing to run the same common fate with their fellow-citizens.

At this time the whole city exchanged slavery for liberty, and fortune turned sorrow, the companion of tyranny, into pompous mirth and jollity: and every house was full of sacrifices and rejoicing; and men burnt incense, every one upon his own altar, thanking the gods for what at present they enjoyed, and putting up prayers for a happy issue of affairs for the time to come. Then were heard many shouts of joy by the women all over the city, for their sudden and unexpected happiness, and the people rejoicing through all corners of the town. There was then neither freeman or servant, nor any stranger, but all were earnest to see Dion, who, for his valour and courage, was cried up by all above what was fitting for a man. And it was not altogether without some reason, the change being so great, and so unexpected: for, having lived fifty years as slaves, through so long a time they had almost forgotten what liberty meant; and now, by

* The coasts of the Adriatic sea.

† One of the four parts of Syracuse; the others are the Island, Tyche, and Neapolis.

the valour of one man, they were on a sudden delivered from their calamity.

About this time Dionysius staid at Caulonia in Italy; but sent to Philistus, his admiral, who was then with the fleet about the Adriatic coasts, and commanded him to sail away strait for Syracuse: and, both of them speeding away to the same place, Dionysius came to Syracuse the seventh day after the return of Dion. And now, thinking to put a trick upon the Syracusans, he sent ambassadors to treat of peace, by whom he made use of many devices, to persuade them, that he would restore the democracy, if he might but have some remarkable honours conferred upon him by the government. He desired, therefore, that ambassadors might be sent to him, with whom, calling a senate, he might put an end to the war.

The Syracusans, having their expectations raised to so high a pitch, sent some of the chief of their citizens to him as ambassadors, who had guards presently put upon them, and Dionysius one day after another put off their audience. In the mean time, perceiving that the Syracusans, in hopes of peace, neglected their guards, and were unprepared for an encounter, he opened the gates of the Acropolis*, in the Island, and suddenly sallied out with a strong and well-appointed party.

12. The Syracusans had there drawn a wall from sea to sea, which the Dionysians fiercely assaulted, with a great shout; and, having entered it, with the slaughter of many of the guard, they engaged with the rest that came in to defend it. Dion, therefore, being thus deluded, (against the articles of the truce), comes down with a strong party to oppose the enemy, engages them, and makes a great slaughter within a small compass of ground: for, although the fight was but a small distance from the walls within the town, yet a vast number of men were got together within this little spot; so that the stoutest men on both sides were hotly engaged. The large promises urged on the Dionysians on one side, and hopes of liberty stirred up the Syracusans with a resolution for victory on the other: the obstinacy, therefore, on both sides being equal, the fight was a long time doubtful; many fell, and as many were wounded, receiving all their wounds upon their breasts: for those that first led on courageously, died to preserve those that followed; those that were next, covered the heads of those that were tired out with their shields, and valiantly underwent all manner of dangers, and endured the utmost that could befal them, out of their heat and zeal to come off conquerors. But Dion, resolving to do something remarkable in this

* A castle in a place called the port of Syracuse.

engagement, and that by his own valour he might gain the day, broke violently into the thickest of his enemies; and, laying about him hero-like, hewed down multitudes, and wholly broke in pieces the body of the mercenaries, and was left alone standing in the midst of the enemy's troops; and, though he was aimed at by abundance of darts, received upon his buckler and helmet, yet, by the strength and goodness of his arms, he avoided the danger; but, receiving a wound upon his right arm, (through the greatness and extremity of the pain), he began to faint, and was not far from falling into the hands of the enemy, but that the Syracusans (highly concerned for the preservation of their general) charged in a full body upon the Dionysians, and, rescuing Dion, (now almost spent), put the enemy to flight. And, the citizens prevailing at another part of the wall, the foreign forces of the tyrant were forced to fly into the castle in the Island.

The Syracusans now, having gained a glorious victory, and confirmed their liberty by conquest, set up a trophy in defiance of the tyrant, who, being thus beaten, and now perceiving that all was lost, and an end put to his sovereignty, fortified the castle with a strong garrison; then, being permitted to carry off the dead bodies of those that were slain, to the number of eight hundred, he buried them honourably, crowning them with crowns of gold, and richly clothing them in purple robes. By this extraordinary honour and respect shewn to the dead, he hoped to draw in others more readily and cheerfully to venture their lives for the support of his principality. Then he bountifully rewarded them that had valiantly behaved themselves in the late engagement; and sent some to the Syracusans, to treat upon terms of peace. But Dion studied excuses to delay the business, and in the mean time finished the rest of the wall without any interruption.

Having thus deceived the enemy with an expectation of peace, as they had done him before, he admitted the ambassadors to audience: upon which, they making proposals for peace, Dion answered—That there was only one way left for the obtaining of a peace, and that was, for Dionysius to lay down his government, and be contented only with some honours to be conferred upon him. Which answer the tyrant taking in disdain, as haughty and peremptory, he called a council of war, to consult with his officers how he might be revenged of the Syracusans.

He abounded with all things except corn, and was likewise master at sea: he therefore infested the country with depredations, and, by foraging, for some time got provisions, but with great difficulty. At

length he sent forth transport-ships and money to buy corn and other provisions: but the Syracusans, though they had but few gallies, yet, at fit times and places, they surprised the merchants, and a great part of the corn that they imported. And thus stood the affairs of Syracuse at this time.

14 But in Greece, Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, was murdered by his wife, a Theban, and his two brothers, Lycophron and Tisiphonus. They were at first in great repute for having killed the tyrant; but afterwards, growing ambitious, and having hired many foreign soldiers, they set up themselves, and put to death many that were averse to their designs; and, having got together a strong party, they kept the sovereignty by force of arms.

But the Aleuadæ, (as they are called), persons famous for the nobleness of their birth, conspired to oppose the tyrants; but, not being able to perfect so great an undertaking of themselves, they procured the assistance of Philip, king of Macedon, who marched into Thessaly, subdued the tyrants, and restored the cities to their liberty, and carried himself with the greatest demonstrations of kindness imaginable towards the Thessalians; so that ever after, in all his wars, not only he, but his son Alexander, had them to be their constant friends and confederates.

.3 Among the writers, Demophilus, the son of Ephorus the historian, (who continued the history of the Sacred War, left imperfect by his father), began at the time when the temple of Delphos was seized and robbed by Philomelus the Phocian. 357 C

That war continued eleven years, till such time as the sacrilegious robbers of that temple were miserably destroyed.

.4 Callisthenes likewise comprehended in ten books the affairs of the Grecians, bringing down his history, in a continued thread, to the spoiling of the temple by the wickedness of Philomelus: and Dyillus

.5 the Athenian begins his history from this sacrilege, and gives an account of the affairs of Greece and Sicily in those times, in seventeen books.

CHAP. IV.

The first rise of the Brutii in Italy. Dionysius's admiral invades the Leontines. A fight at sea between Heraclides and Philistus, admirals, the one of Dionysius, the other of Dion. A faction in Syracuse. Dion leaves the Syracusans. Their sad condition. Relieved by Dion.

WHEN Elpinus bore the chief magistracy of Athens, and Marcus Popilius Lænas, and Cneius Manlius Imperiosus, were invested with the consular dignity at Rome, the hundred and sixth Olympiad was celebrated, in which Porus, of Malia, was crowned with victory. 15

In Italy, a promiscuous multitude got together about Lucania from several parts of the country, most of them servants that had run away from their masters. At first they employed themselves in robbing and stealing, and presently, by a common practice of skulking in the fields, and making incursions, they learnt the use and exercise of martial discipline and feats of war; and, prevailing in several encounters against the inhabitants, they increased to a vast body and number of men.

In the first place they took and plundered the city of Trojana; then, seizing upon Arpinum and Thurium, and many other cities, they formed themselves into a commonwealth; and, because they had many of them been servants, they assumed the name of Brutii*. And thus the nation of the Brutii grew up in Italy.

At this time in Sicily, Philistus, Dionysius's general, sailed to Rhegium, and transported above five hundred horse to Syracuse: and, joining to these a greater body of horse, and two thousand foot, he invaded the Leontines, who had fallen off from Dionysius. Surprising, therefore, the walls secretly in the night, he possessed himself of part of the city; upon which there was a hot engagement, and, by the help of the Syracusans, who came to the aid of the Leontines, Philistus, overpowered with numbers, was forced out again. 16

In the mean time Heraclides, Dion's admiral, being left in Peloponnesus, and hindered by storms and contrary winds, (so that he could not arrive at Sicily time enough to be assistant to Dion in his return into his country, and to be helpful in rescuing the Syracusans

* Rather Brettians; for they were called Brutii by the Romans, as a barbarous people.

from slavery), arrived at length, with twenty sail of gallies, and fifteen hundred soldiers; who, being a man of noble birth and of great esteem, and judged worthy of so great a trust, he was declared admiral by the Syracusans, and he and Dion, joining head and hand together, managed the war against Dionysius.

About the same time Philistus, being made lord-high-admiral by Dionysius, and having a fleet of sixty sail, well provided, entered the lists in a sea-fight with the Syracusans, who had a navy not fewer in number than the Dionysians. Whereupon there was a sharp fight, in which the valour of Philistus at the first prevailed; but at length, being surrounded by the enemy, the Syracusans from all parts making it their great business to take him alive, he, to avoid the disgrace and misery usually attendant on a state of captivity, killed himself, after he had served the tyrant to the utmost of his power, and had signalized his faithfulness above all the rest, and chiefest of his friends. The Syracusans, being victors, drew the mangled body of Philistus through the whole city, and at length cast it out in the open air, without burial.

Dionysius, having now lost the most valiant of all his friends, and knowing not where to find another fit for the place, sent ambassadors to Dion, with an offer at first of half the kingdom, and presently after
17 consented to give up the whole. But, when Dion answered—That it was but just he should surrender the castle to the Syracusans, upon having only some money, and some marks of honour conferred upon him, the tyrant hereupon said—He was ready to deliver up the castle to the people, upon condition that he and the mercenaries, with all the treasure they had got, might pass over to Italy. Dion's advice was, that the terms should be accepted: but the people, being wrought over to a contrary opinion by the importunate orators, opposed Dion, for that they doubted not but to take the castle by storm. Dionysius hereupon committed the custody of the castle to the stoutest of the mercenaries; but he himself, having brought aboard all his treasures and household goods, without being discovered, set sail, and landed in Italy.

In the mean time the Syracusans were divided into factions, while some were for Heraclides to have the chief command of the army, and likewise the sovereign power, because he was judged a person that was not ambitious of the tyranny; but others were for intrusting the chief power and authority in the hands of Dion. Moreover, there were great arrears due to the soldiers that came out of Peloponnesus to the assistance of the Syracusans. The city, therefore, being very low in money, and the soldiers defrauded of their pay, they gathered themselves into a body, being three thousand valiant men, all old

and expert soldiers, far excelling the Syracusans in courage: these exhorted Dion to go along with them, and leave the Syracusans, that they might be revenged of them in due time as a common enemy; which he at first refused; but the exigency of affairs requiring it, he at length took upon him the command of the foreigners, and joining himself to them, marched to the Leontines: but the Syracusans getting into a body, pursued the mercenaries, and engaged them in their march, but were forced to retire, with the loss of a great number of their fellow citizens.

But Dion, though he had obtained a great victory, yet he was willing to forget the injuries offered him by the Syracusans. For when they sent a trumpet to him to have liberty to carry off the bodies of the dead, he not only agreed to that, but freely discharged many prisoners without ransom. For many, when they were on the point of being knocked on the head in the pursuit, declared they were favourers of Dion's party; and by that means escaped present death.

Afterwards Dionysius sent Nypsius, a citizen of Naples, a valiant and expert soldier, as his general, and with him transport-ships laden with corn and other provisions, who, departing from Locris, made strait for Syracuse. 18

In the mean time, the garrison-soldiers of the tyrant, in the castle, though they were then driven to the utmost extremity for want of bread, yet endured famine for some time with great resolution. But at length nature yielding to necessity, and having no prospect of relief any other way, they called a council of war in the night, and resolved to surrender the castle and themselves to the Syracusans the next day. Night therefore being now ended, the mercenaries sent trumpets to treat for peace, which was no sooner done, but presently Nypsius, at spring of day, arrives with the fleet, and anchored in the port of Arethusa*. Whereupon their present necessities were suddenly changed into large and plentiful supplies of all sorts of provisions. Then the general, having landed his men, called a council of war, and in an oration suitable for the occasion, so spoke to them, that he wrought them to a resolution cheerfully to undergo all future hardships to the utmost extremity. And thus the Acropolis, ready to be delivered into the hands of the Syracusans, was unexpectedly preserved. Hereupon the Syracusans with all speed manned as many gallies as they had at hand, and suddenly attacked the enemy, while they were discharging their vessels of their corn and provisions: and although this incursion was sudden and unexpected, and that the

* A fountain called Arethusa, near Syracuse.

garrison in the castle opposed the enemy's galleys in a tumultuous and disorderly manner, yet it came to a formal sea fight, in which the Syracusans got the victory, and sunk some of the enemy's ships, took others, and forced the rest to the shore. Being encouraged with this success, they offered to the gods abundance of sacrifices for the victory: but giving themselves in the mean time to quaffing and drinking, and likewise slighting them in the castle as a beaten enemy, they were careless in their guards: so that Nypsius, desirous to repair his late loss by a new engagement, orders a select body of his men in the night, and suddenly assaults the wall lately built; and finding the guard, through overmuch confidence, and their surfeiting and drunkenness, fallen fast asleep, set scaling ladders (made for the purpose) to the walls; by which means some of the stoutest fellows of the garrison mounted the wall, killed the centinels, and opened the gates. This sudden assault being made upon the city, the Syracusan commanders, not yet recovered of their drunken fit, endeavoured to help their fellows as well as they could. But through their wine not knowing how to use their hands, some were knocked on the head, and others took to their heels. And now the city being taken, and almost all the soldiers issued out of the castle, and entered within the walls, and the citizens, by reason of this sudden and unexpected surprise, and the confusion that was amongst them, being even at their wits end, all places were filled with slaughter and destruction: for the tyrant's soldiers being above ten thousand men, and in good order and discipline, none were able to withstand them, but through fear and confusion, and the disorder of an ungovernable multitude, through want of officers, all went to wreck. When they came into the forum, being now conquerors, they presently rushed into the houses, and ransacked and plundered to a vast amount, and made captive a great multitude of women, children, and servants. In the strait and narrow passages, and some other places, the Syracusans made resistance, and never ceased fighting; multitudes being killed, and as many wounded. And even all the night long they killed one another as they happened to meet in the dark; so that every part of the city was covered and strewed with dead carcases.

As soon as it was day, the light discovered the greatness of the calamity and misery. The citizens having now no means left to be delivered, but by the aid and assistance of Dion, sent forth some horsemen with all speed to the city of the Leontines, earnestly to entreat him that he would not suffer the country to be a prey to the enemy, but that he would pardon their former miscarriages, and commiserate them in their present distress, and relieve and raise

up their country from that low and despicable condition in which they then were.

Dion, who was a man of a brave spirit, and had a soul well principled with the rudiments of philosophy, and so was mild, and easy to be persuaded, remembered not the former injuries of the citizens, but hired his soldiers to march away to the expedition, and with these he made a swift march to Syracuse, and came to the Hexapylum*. There he drew up his army, and marched forward with all speed; and there met him above ten thousand women and children, and old people, who fled out of the city, who all prostrated themselves at his feet, and beseeched him with tears that he would rescue them from their wretched and miserable condition. The soldiers of the castle having now accomplished what they aimed at, after they had plundered all the houses about the forum, set them on fire, and then breaking into the rest, made a prey of all they found in them, at which very nick of time, in the very height of their rapines, Dion forcing into the city in many places at once, sets upon the enemy, now eager in plundering, and killed all he met as they were carrying away all sorts of household goods bundled upon their shoulders. For coming upon them on a sudden, as they were scattered here and there, bringing away their prey, they were all easily knocked on the head. After four thousand and upwards were slain, some in the houses, and others in the streets and highways, the rest fled into the castle, and shut the gates upon them, and so escaped.

Dion, when he had performed this exploit, (the most glorious of any ever before done), quenched the fire, and so preserved the houses that were all in flames, and firmly repaired the wall that fronted the castle; and thus by one and the same piece of work, he both defended the city, and straitened the garrison within the Acropolis. Then he cleansed the town of the dead bodies, erected a trophy, and sacrificed to the gods for the deliverance of his country.

On the other hand, the people, to testify their gratitude to Dion, called a general assembly, and by an unanimous vote made him chief governor, with full and absolute power, and conferred upon him the honours due to a demigod.

Afterwards, agreeable to the glory of his other actions, he freely pardoned all that had maliciously injured him, and, by his frequent admonitions, brought the people to mutual peace and concord: for all the citizens of all ranks and degrees highly honoured and applauded him, as their great benefactor, and as the only saviour of their country.

* The six gates so called.

CHAP. V.

The continuance of the Social War. Iphicrates and Timotheus joined admirals with Chares, by the Athenians. Iphicrates and Timotheus accused by Chares, and fined and removed. Chares joins with Pharnabazus, and routs the Persians. The end of the Social War. Philip subdues the confederates.

IN Greece the Social War growing on apace, wherein the Chians, Rhodians, Coians, and Byzantines, joined together against the Athenians, great preparations were made on both sides to decide the quarrel by a sea fight. The Athenians, though they had rigged out a fleet of sixty sail, under the command of Chares, yet they sent forth others, for the further strengthening of them that were employed before, under the command of two of the most eminent of their citizens, Iphicrates and Timotheus, who were invested in equal power of command with Chares, to carry on the war against their rebellious confederates.

On the other side, the Chians, Rhodians, and Byzantines, being furnished with an hundred sail from their confederates, waste and spoil the islands Imbros and Lemnos, belonging to the Athenians: thence they made for Samos with a great army, and harassed the country, and besieged the city both by sea and land. Many other islands, likewise, under the government of the Athenians, they wasted and spoiled, and by that means amassed a treasure for carrying on the war.

The Athenian generals, therefore, joining their forces, resolved in the first place to besiege Byzantium: but the Chians and their confederates raising their siege at Samos, and preparing to relieve Byzantium, the fleets on both sides met in the Hellespont. And now, just as they were ready to engage, there arose suddenly a violent tempest, which prevented their design. However, Chares was resolved to fight, though Nature herself, with the wind and seas, conspired against him; but Iphicrates and Timotheus, by reason of the storm, refused. Chares (attesting the faithfulness of the soldiers) accused his colleagues of treason, and wrote letters to the people of Athens, whereby he informed them that they declined fighting purposely out of design; at which the people were so incensed, that they condemned them both; and having fined them in many talents, revoked their commissions.

Chares now having the sole command of the fleet, designing to free the Athenians from charge and expense, committed a very rash act. Pharnabazus had revolted from the king, and was now ready to engage, with a very small force, the Persian lord-lieutenants, who had in their army seventy thousand men: Chares joins this man with all his forces, so that they totally routed the king's troops: and Pharnabazus, in gratitude for the service, gave him as much money as was sufficient to pay all his soldiers. This act of Chares was at first very grateful and acceptable to the Athenians; but when the king, by his ambassadors, complained of the injury done him by Chares, they altogether changed their notes, and were as far the other way: for a rumour was spread abroad, that the king had promised three hundred sail for the aid and assistance of the enemies of the Athenians: upon which the people were so terrified, that they decreed to adjust matters with the revolters; and finding them as willing to embrace terms of peace as themselves, the business was easily composed. And this was the end of the Social War, after it had continued four years.

In the mean time, in Macedonia, three kings, that is to say, of Thrace, the Pæones, and the Illyrians, confederated against Philip. These princes, being borderers upon the Macedonians, could not brook, without envy, his growing power: and though they had formerly experienced that they were not his equal match singly, (being not long before conquered by him), yet by joining their forces together, they confidently concluded that they should be able to deal with him. But Philip coming suddenly upon them, while they were raising their forces, and as yet without any formed troops being in readiness, in this surprise he broke them in pieces, and obliged them to yield to the yoke of the Macedonian kingdom.

CHAP. VI.

The beginning of the Sacred or Phocian war. Philomelus seizes the temple at Delphos, after he had routed the Locrians. How the oracle at Delphos was first discovered; and the beginning of the Tripod. The Athenians and others join with Philomelus.

355/4

13 AFTER Callistratus was created archon at Athens, and Marcus Fabius and Caius Plotius consuls of Rome, the war called the Sacred War broke forth, which continued nine years: for Philomelus the Phocian, (inferior to none in impudence and wickedness), having seized the temple at Delphos, occasioned the Sacred War, on the account following:

After the Lacedæmonians were routed by the Thebans at the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans made great complaints against them in the court of the Amphictyons, for their seizing of Cadmea: upon which they were adjudged to pay to them a great sum of money. The Phocians, likewise, were accused and condemned by the same court, to pay many talents to the use of the oracle at Delphos, because they had intruded into a large piece of land, called Cirrha, which belonged to the oracle, and had tilled and ploughed it.

But the mulct being neglected to be paid, the Hieromemones* accused the Phocians in the senate of the Amphictyons, and prayed them, if the money were not paid, that the lands of the sacrilegious persons might be confiscated, and devoted to the deity. They re-required, likewise, that the others who were condemned (among whom were the Lacedæmonians) should pay what was due upon that account; and prayed, that unless they observed what was so ordered, that they should be prosecuted as hateful enemies by all the Grecians. This decree of the Amphictyons being ratified and approved of by all the Greeks, the country of the Phocians was upon the point of being devoted to those sacred uses. Philomelus, who was in the greatest esteem at that time amongst them, told the people—That the fine was so excessive, that it could not possibly be paid; and to suffer their country to be sacrificed, it would not only argue them to be cowardly and poor-spirited, but be dangerous to that degree, that it would tend to the utter ruin of them and their families: and he did

* The priests and officers of the temple.

all he could to make it out, that the decree of the Amphictyons was most unjust, and highly injurious, inasmuch as for a little and inconsiderable spot of land, they had imposed a mulct far exceeding the proportion and merit of the offence; and therefore advised them to rescind the decree; and that there were reasons sufficient to justify their so doing: and among others he alledged, that heretofore the oracle was under their power and protection: and cited the verses of Homer, the most antient and famous of all the poets, as a witness of the truth of what he said, who speaks to this effect:

> Epistrophus and Schedius did command
> (Iphitus' valiant sons) the Phocian band,
> Who Cyparis and Pitho till'd. *Ogilb.*

Therefore the contest is to be for the custody and patronage of the temple, which he said belonged to the ancestors of the Phocians; and that if they would commit to him the absolute power, as chief commander in this affair, he promised to manage it with the utmost care and dexterity.

Upon which, the Phocians (out of fear of the mulct imposed upon them) created Philomelus sole and absolute general. Hereupon Philomelus diligently pursued the performance of his promise; and to that end presently made a journey to Sparta, and had private conference concerning the business with Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians, alledging, that it was as much the interest and concern of Archidamus, as his, to have the decrees of the Amphictyons rescinded; for that the Amphictyons had likewise unjustly injured the Lacedæmonians by giving judgment against them. He thereupon discovered to him his design of seizing upon the temple at Delphos; and that if he prevailed in bringing the oracle under his care and patronage, he would annul all the decrees of the Amphictyons. Archidamus approved well of what he said; but for the present would not appear openly to be aiding in the matter, but assured him that he would join in all things privately, in supplying him with money, and mercenary soldiers. Philomelus then having received from him fifteen talents, and adding as many more of his own, raised soldiers from all parts: a thousand he listed from among the Phocians, whom he called Peltastates*. And after he had collected a considerable force, he attacked the temple: some of the Delphians, called Thracidæ, opposed him; but those he slew, and gave up all they had as plunder to the soldiers. He commanded the rest (whom he perceived to be in no small fright) to be of good courage, for they should suffer no prejudice.

* Those who carried short shields.

4 And now the report of the seizing the temple was spread far and near; upon which the Locrians, who were next borderers, marched against Philomelus with a considerable army, and fought him near Delphos, but were routed; and, after a great slaughter made amongst them, fled back to their own country.

Philomelus, puffed up with this victory, cut the decrees of the Amphictyons out of the pillars, and destroyed all the records concerning them that were condemned. In the mean time, he caused reports to be spread abroad in every place, that he neither designed to rob the temple, nor commit any other mischief, but only to recover an antient right descended to them from their ancestors; and to that end had a desire to make void the unjust decrees of the Amphictyons, and so to defend the antient laws of the Phocians. But the Bœotians,
25 assembled in council, made a decree to relieve the temple, and forthwith raised an army.

Philomelus in the mean time drew a wall round the temple, and raised many soldiers, and added to their pay half as much more as their due amounted unto; and, making choice of the best soldiers among the Phocians, he enrolled them, and, in a short time, got together so great an army, as amounted to no less than five thousand men: so that, possessing himself of all the passages to Delphos, he became formidable to his enemies. Then, marching into the territories of the Locrians, he wasted a great part of the country, and at length encamped near a river that ran close by a very strong fort, which he besieged; but, after some assaults, not being able to take it, he raised the siege, and engaged with the Locrians, in which he lost twenty of his men, whose bodies not being able to recover by force, he sent a trumpeter to have them delivered.

The Locrians denied the bodies, and made answer—That there was a general law among all the Grecians, that sacrilegious persons should be cast forth, and not allowed any burial. Highly provoked at this repulse, he fought again with the Locrians, and, with great valour and resolution, slaughtered some of his enemies, and possessed himself of their bodies; and so forced the Locrians, in exchange, to deliver the dead.

And now, being master of the field, he ranged up and down, and wasted the country of Locris; and, loading his soldiers with plunder, returned to Delphos.

Afterwards, desiring to know from the oracle what would be the issue of the war, he forced Pythia the prophetess to ascend the tripod, and give him an answer. Since mention is here made of the tripod, I conceive it not unseasonable to give an account of what has been handed down to us concerning it from antient times. It is re-

ported, that this oracle was first discovered by some goats; for which reason such creatures are most commonly sacrificed by the Delphians, when they come to consult the oracle. The discovery is related in this manner—There was an opening or gulph in the earth in that place, now called "Adytum of the Temple;" about this the goats straggled as they were feeding: for at that time they of Delphos had no religious regard to the place. It often happened that when any goat came near to the gulph, and looked down, it would fall a-leaping and dancing in a wonderful manner, and make an unusual noise, far different from that at other times. A shepherd wondering at the novelty of the thing, drew towards the place to learn what might be the cause; and looking down, he acted the same part with the goats: for as they were moved and acted upon as by some enthusiasm, so he likewise was inspired with a spirit of prophecy. The news presently spreading abroad among the inhabitants, how wonderfully they were affected that looked down into the chasm, many flocked to the place, and out of curiosity made experiments; and as many as came near, were always acted upon with a spirit of divination. For these reasons, the place was accounted the residence of some oracle: for some time, therefore, it was a practice, that those who had a desire to know future events, would approach to this den, and there return answers of things that were to come one to another. But whereas many, through an excess and transport of mind, would leap into the gulph, and so were never more seen, it was judged advisable by the inhabitants, to avoid the like danger for the future, that some one woman should be consecrated propheteſs, and that by her the answer of the oracle should be delivered; and that an engine should be made for her, whereon she might sit; and by that means be inspired without any danger, and give answers to them who consulted her concerning future events.

This machine had three feet, from whence it was called the Tripod, whose figure and shape almost all the tripods of brass made to this day are formed to imitate. But sufficient, we conceive, is said concerning the manner of discovering the seat of the oracle, and for what reasons the tripod was made.

It is reported, that at the first, virgins were assigned to this office, because, in their nature, they are more pure and harmless, and of the same sex with Diana; and besides, as they were judged fittest to keep the secrets of the oracle. But it is said, that of latter times one Thessalus Echecrates, coming to the oracle, upon sight of the virgin propheteſs, for her admirable beauty, fell in love with her, and ravished her; which wicked act caused the Delphians to make a law—That no young virgin for the future, but a grave woman of fifty years

of age (in a virgin's dress, to keep up the memory of the antient mode in divination) should preside, and return the answers. These are the old fabulous stories that are told concerning the first discovery of the oracle.

27 But to return to the acts of Philomelus; who, being now lord of the temple, commanded Pythia to answer him from the tripod, according to the antient rite and custom of the country. When the prophetess answered him, saying—This is the custom of the country; he commanded her, with threats, to ascend the tripod: whereupon she, submitting by force to the authority of the imposer, answered him—That it was lawful for him to do what he pleased. At which he was very jocund, and said he had received an answer fit for his purpose; and thereupon presently caused the answer to be recorded, and exposed to be read; that so it might be evident to all, that the god had given him liberty to do what he pleased. Then he called a general assembly, and rehearsed to them the divine oracle, and desired them all to be faithful and courageous; and then betook himself again to the business of the war. Moreover, a prodigy appeared to him in the temple of Apollo: for an eagle hovering over it, and at length casting itself down to the ground, pursued the pigeons (that were fed and kept in the temple) from place to place, so that she snatched away some even from the altars themselves. Those that were versed in interpreting things of this nature declared, that this portended that Philomelus and the Phocians should possess themselves of all the treasures of the temple. Being greatly puffed up with this encouragement, he singles out the choicest of his friends to send as messengers abroad, some to Athens, others to Lacedæmon, and others to Thebes, and other most remarkable cities of Greece, with this apology—That he had seized upon Delphos, not with a design to commit any sacrilege, but to regain the patronage of the temple for his country; and declared, that he was ready to give an exact account to all the Greeks of the money, and all the dedicated gifts there, both as to weight and number, whoever should require the same. And lastly he desired, that if any, out of envy or malice, should make war upon the Phocians, that they would rather join with him against such, or at least stand neuters. The ambassadors acquitting themselves with all diligence in this matter, the Athenians, Lacedæmonians, and some others, entered into the confederacy, and promised them assistance; but the Bœotians, with the Locrians, and some others, were of a contrary mind, who took up arms in defence of the oracle, against the Phocians. These were the things done in the course of this year.

CHAP. VII.

The battle at Phædra, between Philomelus and the Locrians. The parties engaged in the Phocian war. The battle between the Bœotians and Phocians. Philomelus killed. Onomarchus made general: his dreams, successes, and death.

NOW Diotimus executed the office of archon at Athens; and Cneius Manlius, and Caius Martius, of consuls at Rome; when Philomelus, having a prospect of the storm of war that was rushing in upon him, hired a great number of soldiers, with whom he joined the most expert and choicest of the Phocians. But, though he was in want of money, yet he still forbore to meddle with the sacred treasures, but got sufficient to pay the mercenaries out of the estates of the greatest men among the Delphians. When he had raised a considerable army, he marched into the field, that all might take notice that he was ready to fight with any enemy that appeared against the Phocians. Upon this the Locrians made out against him, and fought with him at a place called the Rocks of Phædra, whom he routed, and killed multitudes of them, and took many prisoners, and forced some of them to cast themselves down headlong from the top of the rock.

After this battle, the Phocians grew very high-crested upon the account of their prosperous success. The misfortune, on the other hand, greatly discouraged the Locrians; they sent, therefore, an ambassador to Thebes, to desire them to afford their assistance both to them and the oracle. The Bœotians, both out of their piety towards the gods, and for confirmation of the decrees of the Amphictyons, wherein they were greatly concerned), solicited by their ambassadors the Thessalians, and others of the Amphictyons, to join with them in the war against the Phocians. Upon which (after that the Amphictyons had decreed war to be made upon the Phocians) there arose great uproars and factions throughout all Greece. Some were for assisting the oracle, and prosecuting the Phocians with revenge, as guilty of sacrilege; others were for defending them. And, while both the cities and countries were thus distracted in their councils, the Bœotians, Locrians, Thessalians, Perrhæbeans, the Dorians, Delopians, Athamanes, Achaians, Phthiots, Magnesians, Æneians, and some others, resolved to assist the god. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and some others of the Peloponnesians, joined as confederates

with the Phocians. The Lacedæmonians, with some others, readily joined, for these reasons, viz. When the Thebans had overcome them in the battle at Leuctra, they prosecuted the Spartans in the high court of the Amphictyons, because Phœbidas the Spartan had seized upon Cadmea, and demanded five hundred talents in compensation of the injury; but the Lacedæmonians, being fined so much, and not paying the mulct imposed in the time limited by the law, the Thebans exhibited a new complaint against them for the double injury.

The Lacedæmonians therefore, being condemned by the Amphictyons in a thousand talents, and being much indebted and behindhand, made use of the same pretence the Phocians did before (that is)—That the Amphictyons had pronounced an unjust sentence against them. And therefore (though it was for the public good) yet they forbore to undertake the war of themselves, upon the quarrel of the condemnation; but judged that it might carry a better face, if they could avoid the decree of the Amphictyons, under the covert of the Phocians. For these reasons they were very forward to patronise their cause; and in the mean time contrived to gain the tutelary right of the temple to themselves.

30 And now upon certain information that the Thebans had prepared a very great army against the Phocians, Philomelus resolved to strengthen his forces with more mercenaries: but in regard more money was requisite for carrying on of the war, he was necessitated to make use of the sacred treasures, and therefore rifled the temple. And because he promised half as much more as their ordinary pay to the mercenaries, a vast number of men flocked in to him, and for the sake of the largeness of the pay, multitudes listed themselves: but no moderate and sober man gave up his name to be enrolled in the lists of the army, out of a pious and religious respect to the oracle. In the mean time every base fellow, that for the sake of gain, valued not the gods in the least, but flocked eagerly to Philomelus: and so in a short time he got together a strong body of men, who were impatient to share in the sacred treasures of the temple. And thus abundance of wealth was the means whereby Philomelus presently formed a complete army, and without delay marched into the country of Locris with above ten thousand horse and foot. The Locrians being joined with the Bœotians, met him; whereupon there happened a fight with the horse on both sides, in which the Phocians were conquerors.

Not long after, the Thessalians, with the assistance of them that bordered upon them, to the number of six thousand, marched into Locris, and engaged with the Phocians at a hill called Argola, and

were worsted. Afterwards the Bœotians coming to their assistance with thirteen thousand men, and the Actæans out of Peloponnesus, in assistance of the Phocians, with fifteen hundred, both armies near one and the same place, encamped over against the other. It then happened that a great number of the mercenaries, as they were foraging, fell into the hands of the Bœotians; and all of them being brought before the walls of the city, they commanded a proclamation to be made, that those men who had joined in arms with the sacrilegious persons, were adjudged by the Amphictyons to be put to death, and it was no sooner said but the thing was executed, and all were run through with spears and darts. This so exasperated the mercenaries of the Phocians, that they earnestly pressed Philomelus that the enemy might be dealt with in the same manner, and would not suffer him, by their restless importunities, to be quiet; and presently they took many of the enemy, as they were dispersed in the fields, and brought them alive to the general, who delivered them all up to the soldiers, to be darted to death. By this retaliation, it came to pass that the enemy left off this insulting and cruel kind of execution. 31

Afterwards, both the armies moving into another part of the country, and in their march passing through woods and rough places, on a sudden, and unexpectedly, the forlorn hopes of both met one another, upon which they at first skirmished, but at length it came to a fierce and bloody battle, in which the Bœotians, overpowering the Phocians in number, totally routed them, and multitudes, both of the Phocians and mercenaries, were slain in the pursuit, by reason of the rough and difficult passes out of the woods. Philomelus, in these straits and exigencies, behaved himself with great courage and resolution, and, after many wounds received, was forced to an high precipice, and, seeing no possible means of escape, and fearing the punishment and torments prisoners used to undergo, cast himself down headlong from the rock; and thus (meeting with the due reward of his sacrilege) he ended his days: but his colleague Onomarchus, taking upon him the command of the army, marched back with those that had escaped the slaughter, and received those that fled as they came straggling in to him.

In the mean time, while these things were doing, Philip of Macedon took Methone, pillaged it, and laid it equal with the ground; and forced all the villages and countries to submit to the Macedonian yoke.

In Pontus, Leucon, king of Bosphorus, died, after he had reigned forty years; and Spartacus, his son, succeeded him, and reigned five years. And, in the mean time, the war began between the Ro-

mans and the Falisci, in which there was nothing done worth taking notice of, but only harassing the country of the Falisci by incursions.

In Sicily, Dion, the general of the army, was murdered by the mercenaries of Zacynthus, and Callippus, who instigated them to the act, was made chief commander in his place, and enjoyed it for the space of thirteen months.

32 When Eudemus executed the office of archon at Athens, and the Romans intrusted the consular dignity with Marcus Fabius and Marcus Popilius, the Bœotians, after the victory gained over the Phocians, returned with their forces into their own country, supposing that Philomelus, the author and ring-leader of the sacrilege, (being justly punished both by the gods and men), by his remarkable end would deter others from the like piece of wickedness. But the Phocians, having at present some respite from war, went again to Delphos, and, calling together a general council of all their confederates, they consulted concerning the renewing of the war. Those that were lovers of justice, were for peace; but the prophane and impious, and such as minded only their gain and advantage, were for war, and used their utmost endeavours to find out some or other that would patronise their wicked designs.

Onomarchus therefore, in a premeditated speech, (the chief end of which was to advise them to stick to what they had before resolved), stirred up the people to renew the war; not so much for the advancement of the public good, as to promote his own private advantage. For he had many mulcts, as well as others, imposed upon him by the Amphictyons; which, not being able to pay, and therefore judging that war was more desirable than peace as to his circumstances, by a plausible speech he incited the Phocians to persist
.4 in what Philomelus had begun. Upon which, being then created general, he reinforced himself with many foreign soldiers, and recruited his broken troops; and, having augmented his army with a multitude of foreign mercenaries, he made great preparation to strengthen himself with confederates, and other things necessary for
33 the carrying on the war. And he was the more encouraged in his design by a dream which he had, which did presage (as he thought) his future greatness and advancement: in his sleep it appeared to him as if the brazen Colossus, dedicated by the Amphictyons, and standing in the temple of Apollo, had by his own hands been made higher, and much bigger than it was before. Hence he fancied, that the gods portended that he was to become famous in the world for his martial exploits. But it fell out quite otherwise, for, on the contrary, it signified—That the mulct imposed by the Amphictyons

upon the Phocians, for their sacrilege and violation of the treasures of the temple, would be much enhanced, and advanced to a still greater sum by the hands of Onomarchus, which at length came to pass.

Onomarchus, therefore, after he was created general, caused a great number of arms, both of iron and brass, to be made; and coined gold and silver money, which he dispersed among the confederate cities; he sought particularly to gain the magistrates by these baits and largesses. 2

Moreover he corrupted many of the enemy, drawing some into the confederacy, and working upon others to remain neutral in the mean time. And all this he easily effected, through the covetousness of those he wrought upon. For by his bribes, he prevailed with the Thessalians, the most considerable of the confederates on the other side, to stand neuter. Those among the Phocians that opposed him, he imprisoned, and put to death, and exposed their goods to public sale. He then marched into the enemy's country, and took Thronium by assault, and sold all the inhabitants for slaves. The Amphissenians, likewise, being greatly terrified, he forced to a submission, and possessed himself also of the cities of the Dorians, and wasted and spoiled the country. Thence he marched into Bœotia, and took Orchomenus; and when he was even ready to lay siege to Chæronea, he was worsted by the Thebans, and so returned into his own country.

About this time Artabazus, who had rebelled against the king, still continued his war with those lord lieutenants of the provinces that were ordered out against him. At the first, while Chares, the Athenian general assisted him, he valiantly stood it out against the enemy. But when he left him, wanting aid, he made his application to the Thebans for relief; who thereupon sent Pammenes general, with five thousand men, over into Asia; who, joining with Artabazus, routed the royalists in two great fights, and thereby advanced both his own reputation, and the glory and honour of his country. For it excited the admiration of all men, that the Bœotians, at the very time when they were deserted by the Thessalians, and in the most imminent danger from the Phocian war, which then threatened them, should transport forces into Asia, and be conquerors in all their engagements.

In the mean time a war broke out between the Argives and the Lacedæmonians, who beat the others at Ornea, and took the town, and then returned to Sparta. Chares, likewise, the Athenian general, with his fleet, entered the Hellespont, and took Sestos, the most considerable town upon that coast, and put all the young men 34

that were able to bear arms, to the sword, and carried away the r as slaves.

.3 About the same time, Cersobleptes, the brother of Cotys, ene to Philip, but in league with the Athenians, delivered up all cities in Chersonesus (except Cardia) to the Athenians, who sent lonies thither to inhabit the towns, which were to be divided amor them by lot.

.4 Philip, therefore, discerning that the Methoneans* designed deliver up their city (which was of great moment in the war) to enemy, laid close siege to it, which the citizens defended for sc time; but being too weak to cope with him, they were forced to s render upon these condities—That all the citizens should depart of Methone with all their clothes.

.5 Being possessed of the place, he razed the city to the ground, : divided the territory among the Macedonians. During this sie Philip lost an eye by the stroke of a dart.

35 Afterwards being invited by the Thessalians, he marched w his army into Thessaly. And in the first place, in aid of the Thes lians, he fought with Lycophron, tyrant of Pheræ.

Lycophron then applied to the Phocians for assistance, who the upon sent to him Phayllus, the brother of Onomarchus, with sev thousand men; but Philip routed the troops of the Phocians, a drove them out of Thessaly. Upon which Onomarchus, thinking be lord of all Thessaly, came to the assistance of Lycophron with whole army.

Philip opposed him, both with his own and the forces of Thessalians, but Onamarchus, overpowering him by numb routed him in two several battles, and killed many of the Mace nians; insomuch as Philip was brought into very great straits.

His soldiers were hereupon so dejected, that they were ready desert him; but with much ado, and many persuasions, he at len brought them over to a due obedience, and within a short time af returned into Macedonia. But Onomarchus made an expedit into Bœotia, and fought and routed the Bœotians, and posses himself of Coronea.

In the mean time Philip marches again with his army out of M cedon into Thessaly, and encamps against Lycophron, the tyrant Pheræ, who being too weak for him, sent for aid to the Phocia promising to use his utmost endeavour to order and dispose of things throughout Thessaly for their advantage. Whereupon On marchus came to his assistance by land with above twenty thousa foot and five hundred horse.

* In Thrace.

Philip having persuaded the Thessalians to join with him, raised above twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse.

Forthwith a bloody battle was fought, in which Philip, by the advantage and valour of the Thessalian horse, got the day, and Onomarchus and his men fled towards the sea.

It happened that Chares, the Athenian admiral, passed by with a great navy, at the same instant as a cruel slaughter was made among the Phocians, and therefore those that fled cast away their arms, and endeavoured to swim to the galleys, amongst whom was Onomarchus.

In conclusion there were slain of the Phocians and mercenaries above six thousand, amongst whom was the general himself; and no less than three thousand were taken prisoners.

Philip hanged* Onomarchus; and the rest, as sacrilegious persons, he caused to be thrown into the sea.

Onomarchus thus coming to his end, Phayllus, his brother, was created general of the Phocians; and he, to repair the damage sustained, raised great numbers of foreign mercenaries, doubling the former and usual pay, and further strengthened himself with additions of his confederates; he likewise made a great number of arms, and coined both gold and silver. 36

About the same time Mausolus, a petty king of Caria, died, after he had reigned four-and-twenty years. To whom succeeded Artemesia, (who was both his sister and wife), for the space of two years.

At that time, likewise, Clearchus, tyrant of Heraclea, when he was going to the feast of Bacchus, was assassinated, in the twelfth year of his reign. Timotheus, his son, succeeded him, and reigned fifteen years.

In the mean time the Tuscans, who were at war with the Romans, harassed and wasted a great part of their enemy's territory, making incursions as far as to the river Tiber, and then returned to their own country.

The friends of Dion raised a sedition at Syracuse against Callippus, but being dispersed and worsted, they fled to the Leontines. Not long after, Hipparinus, the brother of Dionysius, arrived with a navy at Syracuse, and fought and beat Callippus; upon which he was driven out of the city, and Hipparinus recovered his father's kingdom, and enjoyed it for two years.

† Crucified.

CHAP. VIII.

Phayllus continues the Phocian war. Aryca razed. Phay dies of a consumption. War between the Lacedæmonians Megalopolitans. Chæronea taken by Phalæcus. War betw the Persians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians. Salamis, in Cypr besieged. The cruelty of Artaxerxes Ochus towards the Si nians. The calamity of Sidon.

3[illegible] WHEN Aristodamus was archon at Athens, and Caius Sulpi bore the consulship at Rome, the hundred and seventh olympiad celebrated, wherein Smicrinus the Tarentine was victor. T Phayllus, the Phocian general, after the death of his brother, be to repair the affairs of the Phocians, now almost at the last ext mity, through the late rout and slaughter of the soldiers. being possessed of a vast treasure, he raised a great army of mer naries, and brought over many to join with him in the war. A being very free of his purse, he not only brought over private m to his party, but also prevailed with famous cities to be his con derates: for the Lacedæmonians sent him a thousand soldi and the Achaians two thousand; but the Athenians sent him t thousand foot, and four hundred horse, under the command Nausicles.

Lycophron and Pitholaus, tyrants of Pheræ, after the death Onomarchus, being destitute of succours, delivered up Pheræ i the hands of Philip; and though they were discharged upon th oaths to be quiet, yet they collected two thousand mercenaries, a went over to Phayllus, to assist the Phocians: and not a few of t smaller cities assisted them by their bountiful contributions towa the soldier's pay. For gold, feeding and kindling men's covetou ness, from a prospect of gain urged them forward to grasp at th own advantage. Upon these encouragements Phayllus marc with his army into Bœotia, but is overcome at Orchomenum, with t loss of many of his men.

Afterwards, there was another battle at the river Cephisus, whe in the Bœotians had the better, and killed four hundred, and to five hundred prisoners. A few days after, a third fight took place Coronea, where the Bœotians had again the advantage, and kill fifty of the Phocians, and took a hundred and thirty prisoners.

But having done at present with the affairs of the Bœotians a

Phocians, we return to Philip, who, when he had overcome Onomarchus in so signal a battle, freed the Pheræans from the yoke of tyranny, and restored the city to liberty. And having settled all other matters in Thessaly, he marched towards Pylos, to fight with the Phocians: but being denied passage by the Athenians, he returned into Macedonia, which kingdom he enlarged both by the help of his sword, and likewise by his piety towards the gods. 38

In the mean time Phayllus marched with his army towards the Locrians, called Epicnemidii, and assaulted and took by force some cities; but one called Aryca he gained in the night by treachery, but was presently repulsed and beaten out, with the loss of two hundred of his men. Afterwards, encamping at a town called Abas, the Bœotians surprised the Phocians in the night, and killed a great number of them. Upon which success they were so encouraged, that they made incursions into the territories of the Phocians, and, harassing and spoiling the country round about, heaped together abundance of plunder. But in their return, coming to relieve Aryca, which was then besieged, Phayllus fell suddenly and unexpectedly upon them, and routed them; and then taking the city by storm, plundered it, and razed it to the ground. But at length he fell into a lingering distemper*, which continued a long time, and, after great torments in his body, as he justly deserved, he died, leaving Phalæcus the son of Onomarchus, (instigator of the sacred war), to be general of the Phocians, who being as yet but a very raw youth, he appointed Mnaseas, one of his friends, to be his tutor and governor.

Some time after, the Bœotians attacked the Phocians in the night, and killed Mnaseas the general, and two hundred of his soldiers.—Not long after, in an engagement between a party of horse at Chæronea, Phalæcus being worsted, lost many of his men.

During these transactions, there were great commotions in Peloponnesus, upon these occasions. The Lacedæmonians fell out with them of Megalopolis; and therefore Archidamus, their general, made incursions into their borders: with which the Megalopolitans, being highly incensed, and not being able to contend by their own strength, sought for relief from their confederates. Upon which the Argives, Sicyonians, and Messenians, assisted them with all the force they could muster. After them, the Thebans came in to their assistance with four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, under the command of Cephision. Being thus strengthened, the Megalopolitans made an expedition, and encamped at the fountains of Aphæus. On the other side, the Lacedæmonians were joined by three thousand foot from the Phocians, and by an hundred and fifty horse from Lycophron 39

* A consumption. Some say, he was burnt in the temple at Abas.

and Pitholaus, who were lately deposed from their government over the Pheræans. And, having got together a considerable army, they encamped at Mantinea. But, marching hence to Ornea, a city belonging to the Argives, they took it before the enemy could come up to them; for this place was in league with the Megalopolitans: and, though the Argives broke forth upon them, yet they were overcome in the engagement, and lost above two hundred men.

Then the Thebans, double the Lacedæmonians in number, but much inferior to them in their order of discipline, came upon them; upon which there was a sharp engagement, and, even while the victory was doubtful, the Argives flagged, and made away, with all their confederates, to their cities. But the Lacedæmonians entered into Arcadia, and took Elisunta by storm, and, after they had plundered the town, returned to Sparta.

Not long after the Thebans, with their confederates, routed the enemy at Telphusa, and, with the slaughter of many of them, took Anaxandrus, the general, and several others, to the number of sixty, prisoners. Presently after, they became conquerors, likewise, in two other battles, and cut off many of their enemies. At length, after a remarkable victory gained by the Lacedæmonians, the armies on both sides returned to their several cities; and, the Lacedæmonians and Megalopolitans entering into a truce, the Thebans returned into Bœotia.

In the mean time Phalæcus, continuing still in Bœotia, took Chæronea; but, upon the Thebans coming in to its relief, he was forced to quit it again. Afterwards, the Bœotians entered Phocis with a great army, and wasted and spoiled a great part of it, and harassed all the country round about, and plundered and destroyed every thing that was in their way. They took also some little towns, and, loading themselves with abundance of plunder, returned into Bœotia.

When Thessalus was chief magistrate at Athens, and Marcus Fabius and Titus Quintius executed the consulship at Rome, the Thebans, wearied out with the toils of the Phocian war, and brought very low in their treasure, sent ambassadors to the king of Persia to solicit that king to supply them with a sum of money; to which Artaxerxes readily consented, and without delay furnished them with three hundred talents. However, there was little or nothing done this year worth taking notice of between the Bœotians and Phocians, except some skirmishes, and harassing the countries of each other.

In Asia, the Persian king having invaded Egypt some years before with a numerous army; but, miscarrying in his design, at this time renewed the war against the Egyptians, and after many worthy ac-

tions performed by his valour and diligence, he recovered Egypt, Phœnicia, and Cyprus. But that the history may be made more plain and evident, we shall first declare the causes and grounds of the war, looking back a little to the times proper for the occasion.

The Egyptians having heretofore rebelled against the Persians, Artaxerxes, surnamed Ochus, notwithstanding, sat still and quiet, being no ways adicted to arms. And though armies under the command of several captains had been sent forth, yet, through the treachery and unskilfulness of the generals, he was often unfortunate and unsuccessful. On which account, though he was greatly contemned by the Egyptians, yet his love to his ease and pleasure had that ascendency over him, as to induce him patiently to bear the disgrace. But now, when the Phœnicians and kings of Cyprus, in imitation of this disloyalty of the Egyptians, and in contempt of him, were all running into rebellion, the king was at length roused, and determined to make war upon them. But he judged it not advisable or prudent to manage the war by his deputies and generals, but resolved to go himself, and try his own fortune and conduct in the defence and preservation of his kingdom. To that end he made great preparations of arms, darts, provisions, and forces; and raised three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse; and rigged out a fleet of three hundred galleys, besides six hundred ships of burden, and other transport ships for all sorts of provisions. This was the origin of the war in Phœnicia.

In Phœnicia there is a famous city called Tripolis its name agreeing with the nature of the place; for three cities are contained within its bounds, a furlong distant from one another, one called the city of the Arcadians, the other of the Sidonians, and the third of the Tyrians. It is the most eminent of all the cities of Phœnicia, being that where the general senate of all the Phœnicians usually meet and consult about the weighty affairs of the nation. The kings, lords lieutenants, and generals then in Sidon, carrying themselves by their severe edicts rigorously and haughtily towards the Sidonians, the citizens being so abused, and not being longer able to brook it, studied how they might revolt from the Persians. Upon which, the rest of the Phœnicians being wrought upon to vindicate their liberty, sent messengers to Nectanebus the king of Egypt, then at war with the Persians, to receive them as confederates; and so the whole nation p[illegible]pared for war. And as Sidon then exceeded all the rest in wealth, and even private men by the advantage of trade had grown very rich, they built a great number of ships, and raised a potent army of mercenaries; and both arms, darts, and provisions, and all other things necessary for the war, were prepared. And that they might appear

first in the war, they spoiled and ruined the king's garden, cutting down all the trees where the Persian kings used to recreate and divert themselves. Then they burnt all the hay which the lord-lieutenants had laid up for the use of the horses. At last, they seized upon the Persians, who had so exulted over them, and led them to punishment. And in this manner began the war of the Persians with the Phœnicians: for the king, being informed what the rebels had so impudently done, threatened to revenge it upon all the inhabitants of Phœnicia, especially upon the Sidonians. To this end, he rendezvoused all his army, both horse and foot, at Babylon, and presently marched away against the Phœnicians. In the mean time, while the king was upon his march, the governor of Syria, and Mazæus, lord lieutenant of Cilicia, joined together against the Phœnicians: on the other side, Temnes, king of Sidon, procured for their assistance four thousand Greek mercenaries from the Egyptians, under the command of Mentor the Rhodian; with these, and a body of the citizens, he engaged with the lord lieutenants, and got the day, and expelled them out of Phœnicia.

While these things were acted in Phœnicia, the war in Cyprus began at the same time, the one depending much upon the other. There were nine great cities in this island, under whose jurisdiction were all the other smaller towns. Every one had its separate king, who managed all public affairs; but all were subject to the king of Persia.

All these entered into a confederacy, and, after the example of the Phœnicians, shook off the yoke; and, having made all necessary preparations for the war, took upon them the absolute power and sovereignty in their own several dominions.

Artaxerses, being enraged at this insolence, wrote to Idrieus*, prince of Caria, (then lately come to the throne, a friend and confederate of the Persians, as all his ancestors were before him), to raise him both land and sea-forces, for his assistance against the kings of Cyprus. Upon which, he forthwith rigged out a fleet of forty sail, and sent on board eight thousand mercenaries for Cyprus, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Evagoras, who had been for some years before king of the island. As soon as they landed in Cyprus, they marched then strait to Salamis, the greatest of the cities, where they cast up a trench, and fortified themselves, and so closely besieged the city both by sea and land. The island had continued a long time in peace and quietness, and therefore was grown very rich; so that the soldiers, who had now the power to range over the country, had got together great treasures: which

* Or Gariew.

plenty and confluence, being noised abroad, many on the opposite continent, in hopes of gain, came flocking out of Syria and Cilicia, to the Persian camp. The army of Phocion and Evagoras being increased to double the number, the petty kings were brought into great straits, and much terrified. And in this condition was Cyprus at that time.

About this time the king of Persia marched with his army from Babylon, and made towards Phœnicia: but Mentor, general of the Sidonians, when he heard how great an army was approaching, and considering how unequal in number the rebels were, he privately consulted his own safety. To that end he secretly despatched away from Sidon a faithful servant of his own, called Thessalion, to Artaxerxes, promising to betray Sidon to him; and that he would effectually assist him in subduing Egypt, he being in that respect more especially able to serve him, because he was well acquainted with all the places in Egypt, and knew exactly the most convenient passages over the river Nile. The king was wonderfully pleased when he heard what Thessalion said, and promised that he would not only pardon Mentor for what he had done, but would bountifully reward him, if he performed what he had promised. But Thessalion further added, that Mentor would expect that the king should confirm his word by giving out his right hand. Upon which the king was so incensed (as being distrusted) that he gave up Thessalian into the hands of the officers, with command to cut off his head. When he was led to execution, he only said this—Thou, O king, doest what thou pleasest; but Mentor, who is able to accomplish all I have said, will perform nothing that is promised, because thou refusest to give him assurance on thy part. Upon hearing of which, the king altered his mind, and commanded the officers to discharge the man; and so he put forth his right hand to Thessalion, which is a most sure and certain earnest among the Persians of performance of what is promised. Then he returned to Sidon, and secretly imparted to Mentor what he had done.

In the mean time the king, counting it his greatest happiness if he could subdue Egypt, (which he had before attempted in vain), sent ambassadors to the chiefest cities of Greece, to solicit some auxiliary forces from them. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians returned answer—That they would still continue friends to the Persians; but that they could not supply them with forces. But the Thebans commanded a thousand heavy-armed men to be sent to the assistance of the king, under the command of Lacrates. The Argives likewise furnished him with three thousand men, but sent no captain with

them, because the king had expressly by name appointed Nicostratus to command them, and they were unwilling to contradict him. He was a man of great account, both as to council and execution, having both valour and prudence, assistant one to another. And, because he was of vast strength of body, imitating Hercules in his arms, he carried both a club and a lion's skin in every battle. Neither were the Grecians who inhabited upon the sea-coasts of Asia wanting on their parts, but sent out six thousand men: so that all the auxiliary forces from the Grecians amounted to ten thousand. But, before these came up, the king had passed through Syria, and entered Phœnicia, and encamped not far from Sidon.

In the mean time, while the king spent a considerable time in making preparation, the Sidonians had been very active and diligent in furnishing themselves with arms and provisions; and besides, had drawn a treble deep and broad trench, and a high wall round the city. They had likewise a brave body of tall, handsome, and stout men of the citizens, well exercised and trained up in martial discipline out of the schools: and this city went far beyond all the rest of the cities of Phœnicia for wealth, and all other sumptuous ornaments, both for state and grandeur: and that which was not the least among the rest, they were furnished with a hundred gallies, of three and five oars on a bank.

75 And now Temnes* became a party with Mentor (who commanded the mercenaries out of Egypt) in the treachery, and left Mentor to keep a certain quarter of the city, in order to help forward the execution of the treason; and himself went out, with five hundred soldiers, upon a pretence to go to the common assembly of the Phœnicians: for he had in his company a hundred of the best quality of the citizens to be senators, as was pretended; but these he caused to be seized, and delivered up into the hands of Artaxerxes, as soon as they came near where the king was, who received him as his friend, but ordered the hundred noblemen, as authors of the rebellion, to be darted to death.

Presently after, when five hundred more of the chiefest of the Sidonians came to him with all the badges of submission imaginable, he called Temnes back, and asked him whether he was able to deliver the city into his hands, (for he earnestly desired to possess himself of the place upon any terms whatsoever, rather than upon treaty, to the end that the utter ruin of the citizens might be a terror to the rest), when Temnes assured him he was able to effect it, the king, being still implacable, caused all the five hundred (who carried olive-

* Here Mentor is put for Temnes in the Greek

branches before them, as supplicants for mercy, and as tokens of submission) to be shot to death with darts. Afterwards, Temnes readily persuaded the Egyptian mercenaries to receive him and the king within the walls; and so, by this treacherous contrivance, Sidon came again into the hands of the Persians. Then the king, judging that Temnes could do him no further service, caused his throat to be cut likewise.

In the mean time, the Sidonians had burnt all their shipping before the king came, lest any of the inhabitants, consulting their own safety, should get away by sea. At length, when the Sidonians saw that the enemy had entered, and many thousands of men ranging here and there, and dispersed all over the city, they shut themselves up, with their wives and children, in their houses, and set them on fire, and so were all consumed together. It is said there were above forty thousand (with household servants) that perished in these flames.

After this destruction of the Sidonians, by which the whole city and inhabitants were consumed to ashes, the king sold the rubbish and relicts of the fire for many talents: for, the city being very rich, there was found a vast quantity of gold and silver melted down by the flames. Thus sad was the calamity under which the Sidonians suffered. The rest of the cities, being terrified with this destruction, presently surrendered themselves to the Persians. A little before this Artemisia, the princess of Caria, died, having governed two years: Idrieus, her brother, succeeded in the principality, and reigned seven years.

In Italy, the Romans made a truce with the Prænestines, and entered into a league with the Samnites; and cut off the heads of two hundred and sixty in the forum, of those that sided with the Tarquins.

In Sicily, Leptines and Callippus, the Syracusans, being furnished with a considerable army, besieged Rhegium, which was still held by a garrison of Dionysius the younger; and, having forced out the garrison, they restored the Rhegians to their antient government.

CHAP. IX.

Evagoras beheaded in Cyprus. Artaxerxes marches against Egypt, and gains it all by the policy of Mentor. Loses many of his men at the lake of Sorbon. Mentor advanced. Mentor's stratagem to subdue Hermeas, prince of Atarnea. Zena razed by Philip. The king of Egypt abdicates his kingdom, and flies to Ethiopia.

AFTERWARDS, Apollodorus being chief magistrate at Athens, and Marcus Valerius and Caius Sulpitius Roman consuls, all the cities of Cyprus surrendered themselves to the Persians, excepting Salamis, which was then besieged by Evagoras and Phocion, and which Protagoras, king of Salamis, stoutly defended.

In the mean time, Evagoras endeavoured to regain the kingdom of his ancestors, and contrived to be restored to his antient right, by the help of the Persian king. But, being afterwards accused before Artaxerxes, (who thereupon relieved Protagoras), he laid aside all hopes of being restored, and, having afterwards cleared himself of all that was laid to his charge, he was intrusted with the government of a larger province in Asia, which he so misgoverned, that he was forced to fly again into Cyprus, where, being seized, he had his head struck off. But Protagoras, voluntarily submitting himself to the Persian king, kept the kingdom of Salamis, without any rival, for the time to come.

In the mean time the king of Persia, after the ruin of Sidon, being joined by the forces that came from Argos, Thebes, and the antient cities, marched with his whole army against Egypt. When he came to the Great Lough*, or Lake, through ignorance of the places, he lost part of his army in the bogs there, called Barrathra. But, because we have before, in the first book, spoken of the nature of this lake, and the strange things there happening, we shall now forbear to repeat them.

Having passed these gulphs, he came to Pelusium, the first mouth of the river Nile, where it enters into the sea. Here the Grecians lay close to the city, but the Persians encamped forty furlongs off.

In the mean while, the Egyptians (in regard the Persians had given them a long time to prepare all things necessary for the war) had made strong defences and fortifications at all the mouths of the Nile,

* Sorbon is the Lake of Sorbon.

especially at Pelusium, because that was the first and most conveniently situated; where five thousand men were in garrison, under the command of Philophron. The Thebans, above all the Grecians, had a desire to give evidence of their valour, and to that end they first of all valiantly attempted to force the trench, which was both strait and deep, and carried it; but, as soon as they had gained it, those of the garrison made a sally; upon which there was a sharp engagement, insomuch that the dispute was very hot on both sides, and continued all the day, the night scarcely putting an end to the contest.

The next day the king divided the Greeks into three brigades; 417
each of which had a Greek commander, with whom was joined a Persian officer, one who was in the greatest estimation for valour and loyalty.

The first brigade was of the Bœotians, under the command of Lacrates a Theban, and Rosaces a Persian. This Rosaces was descended from some of those seven Persians who deposed the Magi, and was governor of Ionia and Lydia. He led a great body, both horse and foot, all barbarians.

The second brigade was composed of the Argives, commanded by Nicostratus, with whom was Aristazanes a Persian, who was employed as an envoy in all the special affairs of the king, and next to Bagoas, was the most trusty, and the chief of his friends. He had five thousand soldiers, and four-score gallies, under his command.

The third brigade was led by Mentor, he who betrayed Sidon, who formerly commanded the mercenaries; his colleague was Bagoas, a bold fellow, and none more ready in executing any villany, in whom the king put great confidence. He commanded the Greeks that were the king's subjects, and a great body of barbarians, besides a considerable navy. The king kept the rest of the army with himself, and was very careful in managing and overseeing the whole concern of the war.

The army of the Persians thus divided, Nectanebus, the king of Egypt, (though he was far short in number), neither valued the multitude nor the division of the Persian troops: for he had in his army twenty thousand Grecian mercenaries, as many Africans, and three-score thousand Egyptians, by them called warriors; and, besides these, was furnished with an incredible number of river-boats, fitted to fight in the river Nile. Moreover, he had defended that side of the river towards Arabia with many castles and garrisons, exactly fortified with trenches and strong walls, and was prepared with plenty of all other things necessary for the war. But, through imprudence

48 and want of good advice, he lost all. The chief cause of the miscarriage was his ignorance how to manage warlike affairs, and his security, upon the account of his having before beaten the Persians; for, at the time of that success, having had most expert commanders, Diophantus the Athenian, and Lanius the Spartan, who were both valiant and experienced soldiers, all things succeeded according to his heart's desire. But, being now conceited of his own sufficiency and ability to command and order the army, he would admit of no other assistant; and therefore, through want of skill and experience, nothing was managed to advantage, or becoming an expert commander.

Having therefore strongly garrisoned the towns, he himself, with thirty thousand Egyptians, five thousand Grecians, and half of the Libyans, defended the passages which lay most open and easy to invasions.

Things thus ordered on both sides, Nicostratus, who commanded the Argives, having, by some Egyptian guides, (whose wives and children the Persians kept as hostages), got through a certain cut or ditch, passed over with his fleet to a place as far out of sight as he could, and having landed his men there, encamped. Those who kept the neighbouring Egyptian garrisons, directly they learnt where the enemy was encamped, speedily marched against them with no less than seven thousand men, under the command of Clinus, of the isle of Coos, who drew up his men in battalia, in order to fight them: on the other side, those lately landed, likewise put themselves into a posture of defence; when a sharp engagement ensued, in which the Grecians on the side of the Persians so gallantly behaved themselves, that they killed Clinus the general, and above five thousand of the rest of his army.

Upon hearing of this defeat, Nectanebus was in a terrible fright, for that he believed the rest of the Persian troops would easily pass over the river. Being therefore afraid lest the enemy would bend all his force against Memphis, the seat-royal, he made it his chief care and concern to secure this place, and thereupon marched away with the army he had to Memphis, to prevent the besieging of it.

49 In the mean time, Lacrates the Theban, the commander of the first brigade, pushes on the siege of Pelusium; and having drained the water out of the trench, and turned it another way, he raised a mount, and there placed his engines of battery against the city. And after a great part of the walls were battered down, the Pelusians raised up others in their stead, and speedily made high wooden towers.

These conflicts upon the walls continued for some days, during

which time the Grecians that defended the place valiantly repelled the assailants. But as soon as they heard of the king's departure for Memphis, they were so affrighted, that they sent messengers to treat upon terms of surrender. Whereupon Lacrates agreeing with them upon the sacred tie of an oath, that upon their delivering up Pelusium, they should return to Greece with whatever they brought with them out of the town, they surrendered the place. Then Artaxerxes sent Bagoas with a garrison of Persians, to take possession of Pelusium, whose soldiers, when they entered the town, took away from the Grecians, as they were going out, many of those things that they had brought with them.

Being thus abused, they took it heinously, and with great complaints called on the gods, as witnesses and revengers of perjury and breach of faith.

Lacrates being justly indignant at this base dealing, attacked the barbarians, and killed some of them, and put the rest to flight, and so protected the Greeks thus injured contrary to the agreement confirmed by oath. And though Bagoas, who fled amongst the rest, and returned to the king, accused Lacrates for what he had done, yet the king adjudged that the soldiers of Bagoas were dealt with according to their merits, and punished those Persians that were authors of the rapine. And in this manner came Pelusium into the hands of the Persians.

But Mentor, commander of the third brigade, recovered Bubastis, and many other cities, to the obedience of the Persian king, by his own stratagem. For whereas all these cities were garrisoned by two sorts of people, Grecians and Egyptians; Mentor caused a report to be spread abroad, that Artaxerxes would receive most graciously, and pardon all those that of their own accord would give up their cities to the king; and on the other hand, that all such as he might take by force, should fare no better than Sidon. He also commanded that all the gates* should be opened, and that all who wished might be permitted to go away. So that all the Egyptian captives in the camp being gone without any opposition, the report was in a short time spread abroad through all the cities of Egypt. Whereupon all the towns were presently filled with seditions, through quarrels and dissentions between the Egyptians and the foreign auxiliaries. For all parties strove who should be most active and forward in betraying their several garrisons, every one aiming at his own advantage, by an interest in the favour of the conqueror. And the first that began was Bubastis. For as soon as Mentor and Bagoas encamped before

* Gates of the camp.

the city, the Egyptians, unknown to the Grecians, sent one of their countrymen to Bagoas, and promised to surrender the city to him, if they might be all pardoned. This being discovered by the Grecians, they pursued and seized him that was sent, and by threatening and affrighting him, made him confess the truth of the matter. Upon which, being highly enraged, they violently attacked the Egyptians, killed some, wounded others, and drove the rest into a narrow corner of the city.

They that were thus assailed, gave intelligence to Bagoas of what was done, and entreated him, that without delay, he would take possession of the city, which they would deliver up to him upon his approach.

In the mean time, the Grecians sent a herald to Mentor, who secretly advised them to set upon the barbarians as soon as Bagoas had entered the town. Bagoas, therefore, having entered with his Persians, but without the consent of the Greeks, as soon as part of the soldiers were let in, the Grecians shut the gates, and suddenly attacked the barbarians, and killed them every man, and took Bagoas himself prisoner, who, coming to understand that there was no means left for his deliverance but by Mentor, he earnestly entreated him to interpose for his preservation, promising that for the future he would never undertake any thing without his advice. Mentor prevailed with the Grecians to discharge him, and to surrender the city, so that the whole success and glory of the action was attributed to him.

Bagoas being thus set at liberty by his means, entered into a solemn covenant of friendship, upon oath, with Mentor, and faithfully kept it till the time of his death; so that these two always concurring and agreeing, were able to do more with the king, than all his other friends, or any of his kindred. For Mentor being made the lord lieutenant of Artaxerxes over all the Asiatic shore, was materially serviceable to the king, both by procuring soldiers out of Greece, and by his faithful and diligent administration of the government.

Bagoas commanding all as viceroy in the higher parts of Asia, obtained such power, through his consultation with Mentor, on all occasions, that he had the kingdom at command; neither did Artaxerxes any thing without his consent. And after the king's death, his power was so great that the successors were ever nominated and appointed by him, and all the affairs of the kingdom were so entirely under his management, that he wanted nothing but the name of a king. But we shall relate these things in their proper place.

After the surrender of Bubastis, the rest of the cities, out of fear, submitted and delivered up themselves upon articles, into the hands of the Persians.

51 In the mean while Nectanebus, who was now at Memphis, seeing the quick movements of the enemy, durst not venture a battle in defence of his sovereignty, but abdicating his kingdom, packed up a great deal of treasure, and fled into Ethiopia. And so Artaxerxes possessed himself of all Egypt, and demolished the walls of all the cities, especially those that were the greatest, and of the most account; and heaped together an infinite mass of gold and silver, by despoiling the temples. He also carried away all the records and writings out of the most antient temples; which Bagoas a short time after suffered the priests to redeem for a great sum of money. Then he sent home the Greek auxiliaries with ample rewards to every one according to their deserts, for their services; and intrusting Pherendates with the government of Egypt, he returned with his army laden with spoil, triumphing in the glory of his victory, to Babylon.

52 At the time when Callimachus was lord chancellor at Athens, and Marcus Fabius and Publius Valerius were Roman consuls, Artaxerxes advanced Mentor for the great services he had done him, especially in the Egyptian war, above all his friends; and that he might put a mark upon his valour by a reward more than ordinary, he bestowed upon him a hundred talents of silver, and rich furniture for his house. He likewise made him prefect of all the Asiatic shore, and general of his army, with absolute power to suppress all rebellions in those parts.

Mentor being in near alliance and kindred with Artabazus and Memnon, (who had not long before made war upon the Persians, and had now fled out of Asia, to Philip, in Macedonia), by his interest with the king procured their pardon, and thereupon sent for them both to come to him, with their families: for Artabazus had by Mentor and Memnon's sister, eleven sons and ten daughters; with which numerous progeny Mentor was greatly delighted, and advanced the young men, as they grew up, to high places of command in the army.

53 The first expedition which Mentor made was against Hennias, the prince or tyrant of Atarnea*, who had rebelled against Artaxerxes, and was possessed of many strong cities and castles: upon making him a promise to procure the king's pardon, he brought him to a parley; and upon that occasion having surprised him, he imprisoned

* Atarnea, in Mysia, over against Lesbos.

him, and possessing himself of his seal-ring, he wrote letters in his name, to the several cities, signifying that through the means of Mentor he had been restored to the king's favour: and he sent away, likewise, with those that carried the letters, such as he had ordered to take possession, in the name of the king, of all the forts and castles. The governors of the cities, giving credit to the letters, and being, likewise, very desirous of peace, delivered up all the towns and forts to the king in every place throughout the country.

All the revolted cities being recovered by this trick of Mentor's, without any hazard or fatigue, the king was highly pleased with him, as having acted the part of a brave and prudent general.

And with no less success, partly by policy, and partly by force of arms, he reduced in a short time the other captains that were in rebellion. And thus stood affairs in Asia at this time.

.9 In Europe, Philip, king of Macedon, made an expedition against the Chalcidean* cities, and took Zena, and razed it to the ground, and caused other cities, through fear, likewise to submit. He also made another attack upon Pheræ, and cast out its prince Pitholaus. About that time Spartacus, king of Pontus, died, after having reigned five years. Parysades, his brother, succeeded him, and governed eight-and-thirty years.

CHAP. X.

Philip takes Olynthus, and other cities in the Hellespont. The Athenians jealous of Philip, and instigated by Demosthenes. Philip's policies. The value of the riches taken out of the temple at Delphos. Dionysius sent presents to Delphos, which were taken by the Athenians. His letter to the Athenians. The temple burnt. The end of the Phocian war. The punishments decreed by the Amphictyons against the Phocians. The miseries of the sacrilegious persons. Timoleon sent to Syracuse.

'2 AFTER the end of this year, Theophilus ruled as archon at Athens, and Caius Sulpitius and Caius Quintius executed the consular dignity at Rome, at which time was celebrated the hundred and eighth Olympiad, in which Polycles of Cyrene bore away the crown of victory.

* In Thrace.

At the same time Philip made an expedition against the cities of the Hellespont, of which Micaberna and Torone were betrayed into his hands. Then he made against Olynthus (the greatest city of those parts) with a very numerous army, and having first routed the Olynthians in two battles, he laid siege to the town; upon which he made many assaults, and lost a great number of his men in their approaches to the walls. At length, by bribing Euthycrates and Lasthenes, the chief magistrates of Olynthus, he entered the city by treachery, and plundered it, and sold all the citizens for slaves, and exposed to sale all the prey and plunder under the spear. Whereby he furnished himself with abundance of money for carrying on the war, and put all the rest of the cities into a terrible fright.

Then he bountifully rewarded such as had behaved themselves with courage and valour, and having exacted vast sums of money from the richest of the citizens of the surrounding cities, he made use of it to corrupt many to betray their country; so that he himself often boasted that he had enlarged his dominion more by his gold than by his sword.

In the mean time, the Athenians being jealous of the growing greatness of Philip, ever after sent aid to them whom he invaded by his arms, and despatched ambassadors to all the cities to desire them to look to their liberties, and to put to death such of their citizens as should be discovered to go about to betray them, promising withal to join with them on all occasions. At length they proclaimed open war against Philip.

Demosthenes the orator (at that time the most eminent in politics and eloquence of all the Grecians) was the chief instrument that incited the Athenians to take upon them the defence of all Greece: but the city could not cure that desire of treason that infected many of the citizens; so many traitors there were at that time all over Greece. And therefore it is reported, that Philip having an earnest desire to gain that once strong and eminent city, and one of the inhabitants of the place telling him it could never be taken by force, he asked him whether it were not possible that gold might mount the walls; for he had learnt by experience, that those who could not be subdued by force, were easily overcome by gold. To this end he had, by means of his bribes, procured traitors in every city; and such as would receive his money, he called his friends and guests. And thus with evil communications he corrupted men's manners.

After the taking of Olynthus, he celebrated olympic games to the gods, in commemoration of his victory, and offered most splendid sacrifices; and in regard there were a vast number of people collected

together, he set forth specious sports, and recreating plays, and invited a great number of strangers to his feasts: and in the midst of his cups would talk courteously and familiarly with them, and drink to many, and reach over the cup to them with his own hands. To many he gave rich gifts, and made large and liberal promises to all, to the end that his kindness and generosity might be proclaimed abroad by them that had had experience. During the time of his feasting, observing Satyrus the stage-player to look discontented, and knit his brow, he asked him, why he only would not accept of the fruits of his bounty and generosity? To which he answered, that he would very willingly receive a certain gift from him; but he was afraid if he should ask it openly, he would deny him. Upon which the king began laughing, and bid him ask what he pleased, and he would freely bestow it upon him. Upon which he desired that two young maids, in the flower of their age, the daughters of one that was his host, might be given to him from among the captives; whose liberties he craved not to make any gain or advantage of them himself, but really to give them portions out of his own estate, and procure them husbands, and likewise to prevent their being injured by any unworthy attempt. The king so approved of this request, that he not only forthwith ordered the virgins to be delivered to Satyrus without ransom, but bestowed upon him, likewise, many other rich gifts and presents, as special marks of his favour and bounty; so that many, excited with the hopes of reward, strove which should serve Philip most, and be the first that should betray their country into his hands.

The next year Themistocles was archon at Athens, and Caius Cornelius and Marcus Popilius were Roman consuls; at which time the Bœotians overran the country of the Phocians with depredations, and beat the enemy at Hyampolis, killing about seventy of them. But not long after, engaging with the Phocians in another battle, they were routed at Coronea, and lost many of their men. And whereas the Phocians were possessed of some small towns in Bœotia, the Bœotians made an inroad upon them, and shamefully spoiled and destroyed all their standing corn; but in their return were beaten.

While these things were transacting, Phalæcus, the general of the Phocians, being convicted of sacrilege, in converting the sacred treasure of the temple to his own use, was deprived of his commission, and three others were created in his place, viz. Democrates, Callias, and Sophanes, who managed the business and trial concerning the sacred treasures, at such time as the Phocians demanded an account of them that had the disposing of it. The greatest part of

the money was found to be intrusted in the hands of Philo; who not being able to give a clear account, was condemned; and being put upon the rack by order of the generals, he named many of his accomplices. At length, being tortured to the utmost extremity, he died upon the rack, and thus came to an end worthy of his impiety.

The robbers indeed restored the rest of the money that was left, but they themselves were put to death, as sacrilegious persons. The first of the former generals, Philomelus, forbore to meddle with the sacred treasures; but his brother and successor Onomarchus converted much of those treasures to the use of the war. The third general, Phayllus, brother of Onomarchus, while he executed that command, made use of many of the consecrated things of the temple, for the paying off the foreign soldiers: for he melted down and coined into money the hundred and twenty golden tiles dedicated by Crœsus, king of Lydia. In the same manner he dealt with the three hundred golden bowls, (or viols), every one weighing two minas; and likewise the lion and woman of gold, all which weighed thirty talents of gold: so that all the gold, according to the value of silver, would amount to four thousand talents. And, besides these, there were things in silver, dedicated by Crœsus, and others, carried away by all the generals, in their several times, above the value of six thousand talents: so that the whole sum, both in gold and silver, amounted to above ten thousand talents.

There are some authors who say, that there was as much treasure sacrilegiously taken away, as Alexander afterwards found in the treasury of the Persians. Phalæcus, likewise, with the officers of the army, went about to dig up the pavement of the temple, because some person had told him that a vast treasure of gold and silver lay under it: for confirmation of the truth of it, he brought in the testimony of that most antient and famous poet Homer, where he says thus:—

> Of all the gold in Phœbus' marble fane,
> Which Pytho's rocky treasuries contain.

And just as the soldiers began to dig near to the tripod, a sudden earthquake terrified the Phocians; so that the gods seeming by such manifest token to threaten vengeance upon the sacrilegeous persons, they desisted. But the first author of that impiety, Philo, (of whom we spoke before), in a short time after, felt the just vengeance of the deity. But notwithstanding the whole guilt of this impious sacrilege be imputed to the Phocians, yet both the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, who assisted the Phocians, were partners in the offence, for they had more money paid to them than was proportion-

able to the number of the soldiers which they sent: for indeed at that very time the Athenians carried it but impiously towards the oracle; for but a little before this robbery at Delphos, when Iphicrates lay with the fleet before Corcyra, and Dionysius, prince of Syracuse, had sent some statues of gold and ivory to Olympus and Delphos, he by chance intercepted the vessels which transported them; and having now possession of the dedicated goods, sent to Athens to know how he must dispose of them; the Athenians bid him never scrupulously examine, or make inquiry after those things that were said to belong to the gods, but to consider how to provide for the maintaining of the army. In obedience to which decree of his country, he exposed the sacred ornaments of the gods to sale under the spear. Upon which the prince, being highly incensed against the Athenians, wrote to them in this manner:

Dionysius, to the Senate and People of Athens.

IT is not fit that I should say health to you, since ye have been so sacrilegious against the gods, both by sea and land; and, having intercepted the images which we had sent, in order to be devoted to the gods, you have converted them into money, and so have prophanely abused the mightiest of the gods, Apollo at Delphos, and Jupiter at Olympus.

This affront against the gods the Athenians never hesitated at, and yet they were accustomed to boast and glory, that the god Apollo was their ancestor. The Lacedæmonians also, though they were famous amongst all nations for the oracle of Delphos, and in the most weighty affairs do consult there at this very day, yet they never scrupled to join in the sacrilege with these impious robbers of the temple.

But now the Phocians, who had three towns strongly fortified in Bœotia, made an inroad into Bœotia, and, being joined by great numbers of mercenaries, wasted and spoiled the enemy's country; and, in several incursions and skirmishes, got the better, and so returned. The Bœotians therefore, being overpressed with the burthen of the war, and having lost many of their soldiers, and besides, being in great want of money, sent ambassadors to Philip, to crave his assistance. This was very welcome news to the king, to see that they were brought low, having long desired to have their Leuctra courage curbed and tamed: however, he sent them a great number of men, merely upon this account, lest he should be thought to be careless in the matter concerning the spoiling of the temple. Then

the Phocians built a castle at a town called Abæ, near the temple of Apollo; at which time, being attacked by the Bœotians, some of them presently fled, in disorder, to the neighbouring cities; others, to the number of five hundred, got into the temple, and there perished. Many other things happened to the Phocians at that time, as by a divine hand; but that which was most remarkable was this—They that fled into the temple thought themselves safe under the care and protection of the gods; but it fell out quite contrary, for divine providence brought condign punishment upon these sacrilegious persons. There were many straw beds round about the temple, and it happened that the fire left in the tents of those that fled caught hold of some of them; upon which, on a sudden, the flame so mounted that it consumed the temple, with all those that fled into it: for, it seems, God would not spare these sacrilegious persons, notwithstanding all their supplications.

Archias was then lord-chancellor of Athens, and Marcus Æmilius and Titus Quinctius were invested with the consulship at Rome, when the Phocian war (which had continued ten years) was ended in the following manner:—When both the Bœotians and Phocians were brought low with the continual fatigues of the war, the Phocians, by their ambassadors, craved aid of the Lacedæmonians, who sent them a thousand heavy-armed men, under the command of Archidamus, the king of Sparta. In like manner the Bœotians prayed assistance from Philip; who thereupon, being joined by the Thessalians, entered Locris with a great army, where, finding Phalæcus (restored again to his command) with a considerable body of mercenaries, he prepared to fight him. Phalæcus was then at Nicæa, who, finding himself not able to engage with Philip, sent ambassadors to him to treat. Thereupon a peace was concluded upon these conditions—That Phalæcus, with all those then with him, might march away whither they thought fit. Whereupon Phalæcus, (after ratification on both sides), without any further delay, departed with those forces he had with him, to the number of eight thousand, into Peloponnesus: and the Phocians, now hopeless, gave up themselves into the power of Philip.

The king having, without fighting, unexpectedly put an end to the Sacred War, joined in a senate with the Thessalians and Bœotians; in which it was decreed—That the great council of the Amphictyons should be assembled, to whose decision all matters should be wholly referred.

By them afterwards it was decreed—That Philip and his posterity should be received as members into the council of the Amphictyons,

and should have the privilege of a double voice, as the Phocians (whom he conquered) had before: that the walls of three cities in Phocis should be demolished: and, that the Phocians should never after have any thing to do with the temple, or be members of the court of the Amphictyons: that they should never be possessed of horse or arms, until they had made restitution to the oracle of the money they had sacrilegiously taken away. Moreover, that the exiles of Phocis, and whoever they were that were partners with them in the sacrilege, should be accounted accursed, and driven out of every place. Likewise, that all the cities of the Phocians should be razed to the ground, and turned into villages, every one of them not to contain above fifty houses, and not to be less than one furlong distant from each other; yet that the Phocians should keep their lands, but should pay a tribute to the oracle every year of sixty talents, until they had paid the sum entered in the registers at the time when the sacrilege was committed: that Philip, with the Bœotians and Thessalians, should set forth the Pythian games, because the Corinthians were partners in the impiety with the Phocians: that the Amphictyons, together with Philip, should break in pieces, upon the rocks, all the arms of the Phocians and mercenaries, and then burn the remains: and lastly, that they should deliver up all the horse.

When they had despatched this, they made laws and orders for the restoring of the oracle to its former state, and all other matters relating to religion and the public peace, and the advancing of amity and concord amongst the Grecians. All these decrees of the Amphictyons were allowed and confirmed by Philip, who carried himself towards them with great respect in all things, and then marched back with his army into Macedonia, and not only purchased honour by his piety and martial conduct, but made many advances towards the future enlargement of his dominions: for he had long coveted to gain the sovereign command of all Greece, and to make war upon the Persians, which indeed at length happened. But of these things we shall hereafter give a particular account in their due time.

Let us now, therefore, return to what properly is an appendant, and, of course, annexed to the precedent history: yet we judge it our duty first to relate the judgments inflicted by the gods upon the sacrilegious robbers of the oracle; for vengeance overtook all of them in general, not only those who were the chief ringleaders, but even them that had the least hand in the sacrilege.

Philomelus, the first and chief contriver of seizing the temple, by a

certain fate of war was brought into such a strait, as that he cast himself headlong from the top of a rock.

His brother Onomarchus, having taken upon him the command of the heartless and discouraged army, was afterwards, with his Phocians and mercenaries, totally routed in Thessaly, and he himself taken and crucified.

Phayllus, the third, who spoiled the oracle of the greatest part of its sacred treasures, that he might not altogether escape punishment, wasted away by a lingering disease*.

Phalæcus, the last of them, having robbed the temple of all that was left, wandered up and down in great terror, and in divers hazards and troubles, for a long time together; not in any favour to him more than the rest of his confederates in wickedness, but that he might be longer tormented, and that the vengeance executed might be more remarkable to all wherever he went. After his flight, whereby he escaped being a prisoner, at the first he remained, with his mercenaries, about Peloponnesus, and maintained his soldiers with the money he had sacrilegiously got into his hands from the temple. Afterwards he hired some great transport-ships at Corinth, and, having four other small vessels of his own, he prepared for a voyage into Italy and Sicily, hoping either to possess himself of some city in those parts, or that he and his men might be employed by some or other as mercenaries.

There was at that time a war broken out between the Lucanians and Tarentines. He pretended to the soldiers that went along with him, that he was sent for by the Sicilians and Italians; but, when he came into the open sea, some of the soldiers who were on board in the largest vessel, with Phalæcus, discoursed among themselves, and declared their suspicions one to another—That it was but a pretence, and that none had sent for them: for they saw no commanders go along with him, who were sent from any that desired their assistance; and they perceived that the voyage undertaken was long and tedious, and full of hazards: and therefore, concluding that Phalæcus was no longer to be credited, (dreading the expedition beyond sea), they conspired, especially the officers of the mercenaries, and, with their drawn swords, so threatened both Phalæcus and the pilot, that they compelled them to tack about, and return: the like being done in the other ships, they all came back, and arrived in Peloponnesus; and, being rendezvoused at Malea, a promontory of Laconia, they therefound the Gnossian ambassadors, who accidentally were come hither to list some foreign soldiers. After some discourse had passed

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* A consumption.

between them and Phalæcus, and the other officers, the pay in hand was so large, that all of them sailed away with the ambassadors to Crete; and, having landed at Gnossus*, they presently took the city Lyctus at the first assault. But unexpected assistance came in suddenly to the expulsed Lyctians: for the Tarentines being at that time engaged in a war with the Lucanians, sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, from whom they were descended, to supply them with auxiliaries; upon which the Spartans, upon the account of their kindred, were ready to assist them; and to that end had both naval and land forces ready, under the command of Archidamus the king of Sparta. And being now ready to set sail for Italy, at that very time came some from the Lyctians, earnestly desiring that they would help them in the first place. The Lacedæmonians agreed to it, and passed over to Crete, where they routed Phalæcus and his mercenaries, and recovered the country for the Lyctians.

63 Then Archidamus made for Italy, and there assisted the Tarentines, and was killed in fight, behaving himself with great valour and resolution. He was an excellent commander, and of good reputation in other respects; but ill spoken of, by reason of his joining with the Phocians, as the principal promoter and author of the seizing of the temple and city of Delphos. He was king of Lacedæmon three-and-twenty years, and his son Agis succeeded him, and continued fifteen years.

Afterwards all the mercenaries under Archidamus, and who were concerned in the robbing of the oracle, were killed by the Lucanians. But Phalæcus being driven out of Lyctus, besieged Sidon†; and while he was preparing his engines to batter the walls, and making his approaches to the city, the engines were set on fire, and consumed by a thunderbolt from heaven, and a great number of the soldiers who endeavoured to save them, were consumed by fire from heaven, amongst whom was Phalæcus himself: though there be some who report, that he was run through the body by one of his own soldiers whom he had provoked. Those soldiers that were left, were hired by the Elian exiles, and transported into Peloponnesus, who assisted them against their own countrymen. But the Arcadians, who assisted the Elians, routed them, and killed a great number of the mercenaries, and took four thousand prisoners; which the Arcadians and Elians divided amongst themselves; and the Arcadians sold those under the spear that fell to their share: but the Elians put all theirs to the sword, for their impiety in robbing of the oracle.

64 And in this manner all the sacrilegious robbers, and those that took

* Or Cnosus, a city in Crete. Lyctus, another city in Crete. † A city of Crete.

part with them, met due punishment for their wickedness. Likewise the most famous cities that shared with them in their impiety, being afterwards conquered by Antipater, lost both their authority and liberty at once. Moreover, the wives of the most principal men of Phocis, who had decked themselves with necklaces of gold robbed from Delphos, met with the deserved punishment of their impiety. For, one that wore the chain of Helen, turning whore, stained all the glory of her beauty by prostituting herself to every filthy wretch. Another who adorned herself with the ornaments of Eriphyle, in a fury of madness and rage, had her house set on fire by her eldest son, and she and her habitation consumed together. In this manner (as we said before) those that dared thus to despise and contemn the deity, were overtaken by divine vengeance. On the contrary, Philip, who appeared in defence of the oracle, ever prospering from that time, for his piety, was at last declared supreme governor of all Greece, and gained the largest kingdom in Europe. And now, having given an account of the Sacred War, so far forth as we judged necessary, we shall return to things of another nature.

In Sicily, the Syracusans, labouring under intestine seditions, and enslaved under the tyranny of many that lorded over them, sent ambassadors to Corinth, to desire that a general should be despatched to them, who might take charge of the city, and give a check to the ambition of such as sought to tyrannise. Upon which, it seemed very just and reasonable to the Corinthians to help those who were originally descended from them; and therefore they decreed to send them Timoleon, the son of Timodemus, who was accounted the most valiant and expert commander among them; in short, he was a person every way virtuous: but there was one thing remarkable happened to him, which much forwarded his being chosen general.

Timophanes, his brother, the richest and most daring man among the Corinthians, had some time before given evident signs of his ambition to aspire to the sovereignty. For, about that time, having armed and got together a company of lewd fellows, and such as were in debt, and needy, he went up and down the market-place, seeming not to have the least thoughts of the principality, but in truth acting in the mean time as an absolute tyrant. But Timoleon, who abhorred monarchy, at the first advised his brother to forbear, and lay aside such projects and designs: but he, being not only regardless of what was said to him, but rather growing every day more audacious and peremptory, Timoleon, because he could not work upon him by

words, killed him in the market-place. Upon which a great tumult was raised, and the citizens, upon the commission of so horrid an act, running in and flocking together, the matter came to a faction and sedition in the city: for some declared, that Timoleon, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of a citizen, should undergo the punishment due to his offence by the law; but others were of a contrary opinion, and said, that he deserved rather to be commended, as one that had despatched a tyrant out of the way.

A senate therefore was called, and the matter brought before the court, where his enemies most bitterly inveighed against him; but those who were more moderate and favourable, consulted together to preserve him. And, while the business remained in debate, not yet decided, the ambassadors from Syracuse arrived, and, imparting their embassy to the court, they very seasonably desired a general to be sent them: upon which the senate determined to send Timoleon; and, that he might the better behave himself, a most strange proposal was offered him, to choose as he pleased: for they let him know—That, if he carried himself well towards the Syracusans in his command, then they would judge him to be one that had killed a tyrant; but, if he were covetous and oppressive, he should be condemned as a murderer of his brother.

Timoleon therefore, not so much out of fear of what was threatened by the senate, as excited by the principles of his own innate virtue, managed affairs in Sicily with great honour and reputation to himself, and advantage to the Sicilians. For he subdued the Carthaginians, rebuilt the Grecian cities which were destroyed by the barbarians, and restored all Sicily to its liberty. Lastly, having gained Syracuse, and the Greek desolated cities, he filled them all with inhabitants, and made them very populous. But we shall treat of these matters in their proper place, and come to that part which is coherent to the history.

CHAP. XI.

Timoleon's expedition into Sicily. The Carthaginian army in Sicily. Dionysius returns into Syracuse: is beaten by Hicetas. Hicetas gains Syracuse. Timoleon's escape from Rhegium. Timoleon routs Hicetas, and gains Syracuse. Philip invades the Illyrians. Dionysius expelled. Timoleon makes good laws. Philip invades Thrace.

NOW Eubulus was chief magistrate at Athens, and Marcus Fabius and Serulius Sulpitius were consuls at Rome. At this time Timoleon the Corinthian, advanced by the Syracusans to the sovereign command of all their forces, prepared for his voyage into Sicily, and loosed from Corinth with four gallies, manned with seven hundred mercenaries, and attended with three skiffs. In his passage he was joined by three vessels more from the Leucadians and Corcyrians, and so with ten sail passed over the Ionian sea. In this voyage an unusual and remarkable thing happened to Timoleon, the providence of the gods seeming to favour his undertaking, and thereby to point out the future fame and glory of his actions. For, all the night, a light like a burning torch in the heavens went before him, till the fleet came to the coasts of Italy: for he was before told at Corinth, by the priests of Ceres and Proserpina, that in the night the goddesses appeared to them, and told them, that they would sail along with Timoleon to the island that was peculiarly consecrated to them. Timoleon therefore, and all those with him, were very cheerful, under the apprehension that the gods favoured their enterprise; and thereupon Timoleon dedicated one of the best of his ships to the goddesses, and ordered that it should be called the Sacred Ship* of Ceres and Proserpina. And now, when the fleet came safe as far as Metapontum in Italy, there arrived a galley which had the Carthaginian ambassadors on board, who, upon a conference with Timoleon, charged him, upon his peril, not to begin any war, or so much as to set his foot upon Sicily. But he, being encouraged by them of Rhegium, who promised to join with him, departed with all haste from Metapontum, designing by his speed to prevent the report of his coming: for he was in great fear lest the Carthaginians, who were much stronger at sea, should block up his passage into Sicily. Therefore he made off with all speed to Rhegium.

* Or called Ceres and Proserpina.

67 The Carthaginians, having a little before received intelligence that a great war was likely to break out through all Sicily, carried themselves with all civility towards the confederate cities; and, putting an end to all quarrels, entered into leagues of amity and friendship with the princes of the island, especially with Hicetas, general of the Syracusans, who was the most potent. At length the Carthaginians, having raised a great number of forces both by sea and land, transported them into Sicily, under the command of Hanno, their general. They had with them a hundred and fifty sail of long ships, a land-army of fifty thousand men, three hundred chariots, and two thousand carts or carriages, drawn by two horses each; and, besides these, a great number of arms of all sorts, and engines of battery, and an infinite store of corn, provision, and all other things necessary for war. The first city they attacked was Entella; and, having wasted and spoiled the lands round about, they shut up the inhabitants by a close siege. The Campanians possessed the city at that time, and, being terrified at the multitude of their enemies, sent for aid to the other cities, who hated the Carthaginians; but none of them came in to their assistance, except those of Galeria, who sent them a thousand armed men, who were intercepted by the Carthaginians, and every man cut off. The Campanians, who inhabited Ætna, at first prepared to help them of Entella, upon the account of their consanguinity; but, hearing of the slaughter of the Galerians, they judged it more adviseable to sit still. Dionysius at that time
68 had regained his former sovereignty over the Syracusans. Hicetas therefore led a great army thither, and encamped at Olympus, fortifying himself with a breast-work and a trench, and drew up against Dionysius, then acting as a tyrant in the city. But he protracted the siege for some time, through want of provision, and marched away to Leontium, from whence he first moved. But Dionysius pursued him, and fell upon his rear, which occasioned the whole army to engage. For Hicetas wheeled about, fought, and routed him, killing three thousand of his mercenaries upon the spot, and putting the rest to flight; and he pursued them so hotly, that he fell pell-mell with him into the city, and so possessed himself of the whole city of Syracuse, except the Island. And thus went matters between Hicetas and Dionysius at this time.

But Timoleon, arriving at Rhegium the third day after the taking of Syracuse, lay with his fleet in the port next to the city. At that time came into the port twenty Carthaginian gallies. The Rhegians, favouring Timoleon, called an assembly, and proposed terms of compounding matters: so that the Carthaginians, supposing Timoleon would be persuaded to return home, were not careful to place

sufficient guards: Timoleon therefore himself (not giving the least ground to suspect his flight) kept close to the court, but ordered, that nine of his ships should set sail, and make away with all the haste they could. In the mean time, while the thoughts of the Carthaginians were intent upon the speeches of the Rhegians, which were lengthened out purposely and by design, Timoleon privately withdrew himself, and made to the ship that was left; and, hoisting sail, he thus escaped. The Carthaginians, thus deluded, endeavoured to pursue him; but, because he had got too far off, and night approached, Timoleon, with his whole fleet, arrived safe at Tauromínium. Andromachus, the prince of that city, (who always was a friend to the Syracusans), courteously received the refugees, and was greatly serviceable to them in their avoiding of the pursuers. Hicetas afterwards, with an army of five thousand men, came against Adranum, and encamped near the city. But Timoleon, drawing some regiments out of Taurominium, marched from thence, having with him at the most but a thousand men. And, going out of the town in the twilight, he reached Adranum the next day: there he fell upon the Hicetians at the very time they happened to be at meat, and broke in upon their camp, and killed three hundred, and took six hundred prisoners, and possessed himself of all the camp. To this stratagem he added another: for he made straight away with all speed to Syracuse, and, despatching his march with great activity, he broke into the city on a sudden, having, by the swiftness of his march, arrived there before those that fled. And these were the transactions of this year.

Lycisco executed the office of archon at Athens, and Marcus Valerius, and Marcus Popilius, were created Roman consuls, when the hundred and ninth Olympiad was celebrated, wherein Aristolocus the Athenian won the course. This was likewise the first time that the Romans entered into a league with the Carthaginians. In Caria, Idrieus, prince of the Carians, died, after he had reigned seven years, whom Ada (both his wife and sister) succeeded, and governed four years. 69

In Sicily, Timoleon, being strengthened with the confederacy of them of Adranum and Tyndaris, greatly increased his army. In the mean time there was great confusion in Syracuse, because Dionysius had got possession of the Island, Hicetas held the Achradina and the new city, and Timoleon the rest of the city; and lastly, the Carthaginians had entered the great harbour with a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, and lay near encamped with an army of fifty thousand men. And now Timoleon was in great perplexity, being environed by so many enemies, when on a sudden the tables were

turned. First, Marcus, prince of Catana, with a great army, came in to the assistance of Timoleon. Afterwards many of the forts and castles (out of a love of liberty) sided with him. And presently the Corinthians sent ten gallies full of soldiers, and pay for them, to Syracuse.

By these supplies Timoleon took heart, and the Carthaginians were so discouraged and affrighted, that they very imprudently sailed out of the harbour, and drew off their whole army, and marched away into their own territories. Hicetas being thus stripped of all assistance, Timoleon, now stronger than the citizens, possessed himself of all Syracuse. Presently after he received Messana (which had sided with the Carthaginians) into his protection. And this was the state of Sicily at that time.

.7 In Macedonia, Philip, who bore an hereditary hatred against the Illyrians, and had with them an everlasting controversy, invaded their country with a powerful army, and wasted and spoiled their lands, and, after the taking of many towns, returned with rich booty into
,8 Macedonia. Afterwards, making an expedition into Thessaly, he drove all the tyrants out of the cities, and, by this means, gained the hearts of the Thessalians: for, by gaining them to be his allies, he hoped easily to procure an interest in all Greece; and, by the issue, it appeared so afterwards: for the bordering Grecians presently, in imitation of the Thessalians, very readily entered into a league with Philip.

70 Pythodorus was now lord-chancellor of Athens, and Caius Plautius, and Titus Manlius, executed the consular dignity at Rome. At this time Dionysius, being brought into great extremity of danger, and in a terrible fright, was wrought upon by Timoleon to surrender the castle, and, upon condition of abdicating the government, had liberty safely to depart to Peloponnesus, with all his goods and moveables.

And thus he, through sloth and cowardice, lost this so eminent and famous a principality, bound fast (as they used to term it) with an adamant, and spent the rest of his days in a poor and mean condition*; whose change of fortune, and course of life, exhibit a clear example to those who, like fools, boast in the times of prosperity: for he, who a little before had four hundred gallies at command, not long after, in a small skiff, was conveyed to Corinth, and became a spectacle, to admiration, of a wonderful change. Timoleon, having possessed himself of the Island and castles lately held by Dionysius, demolished all the forts and palaces of the tyrant throughout the island,

* It is said, he kept a private school at Corinth till he was very old.—*Just.* lib. 21.

and freed all the towns from the garrisons; and he continually employed himself in framing of laws, and instituted such as were most proper for the administration of the democracy: and, in his making such as related to private contracts, he had a special regard to equality and mutual recompence. Moreover, he appointed a chief magistrate to be yearly chosen, whom the Syracusans call the Amphipolus* of Jupiter Olympus; and the first Amphipolus was Callimenes. From hence arose the custom amongst the Syracusans of noting their years by the respective governments of these magistrates, which continues to this very time of writing this history, and, though the frame of the government be now changed: for, since the Romans imparted the laws of their city to the Sicilians, the office of the Amphipolus has still continued, being now grown old, and having been executed above three hundred years. And thus stood the affairs of Sicily at that time.

In Macedonia, Philip, having persuaded all the Greek cities in Thrace to concord amongst themselves, made an expedition against the Thracians. For Cersobleptes, the Thracian king, was continually destroying the Greek cities in the Hellespont, and harassing and spoiling the country. Therefore Philip, to put a check to the designs and progress of the barbarians, invaded them with a great army, and was so victorious, that he forced them to pay a tenth, as a tribute, to the kingdom of Macedonia. And, by building strong towns in convenient places, he curbed the insolence of the Thracians. The Greek cities therefore, being freed from their fears, with great eagerness entered into a league of confederacy with Philip. 71

As to writers, Theopompus of Chios composed an history of the acts of Philip, in three books, in which are interwoven the affairs of Sicily: for, beginning with the sovereignty of Dionysius the elder, he comprehended an account of the transactions of fifty years, and ended with the expulsion of Dionysius the younger. These three books are from the forty-first to the forty-third year of the fifty years.

* Servant of Jupiter Olympus.

CHAP. XII.

The acts of Timoleon in Sicily. The preparations of the Carthaginians against Timoleon. The remarkable siege of Perinthus by Philip. Pexodorus expels his brother Adam from the principality in Caria. Byzantium besieged by Philip.

72 WHEN the chief magistracy of Athens was in the hands of Sosigenes; and Marcus Valerius, and Marcus Publius, executed the office of consuls at Rome, Arybas, king of the Molossians, died, after he had reigned ten years, leaving the kingdom to his son Æacidas, the father of Pyrrhus; but, by the help of Philip of Macedon, Alexander, the brother of Olympias, succeeded Arybas.

In Sicily, Timoleon marched against the Leontines, (to whom Hicetas had joined himself, with a great army, and in the first place besieged the new city (as it was called). But the garrison being very strong, they easily repulsed the assailants; and thereupon he raised the siege, without effecting any thing. Then he made for Engyum, (at that time under the tyranny of Leptines), and plied it with continual assaults, being very earnest and intent to set them free, by the expulsion of Leptines.

While Timoleon was thus employed, Hicetas marched away from Leontium with all his forces, and besieged Syracuse; but, having lost there a great part of his army, he hastened back to Leontium. Timoleon at length so terrified Leptines, that, under the terms of safe conduct, he was sent away to Peloponnesus; and, by these banishments, Timoleon exposed to the Grecians the trophies of his victory over the tyrants. And forasmuch as Apolloniades was likewise under the power of Leptines, he received the Apollonians into his protection, and restored them, as well as the Engyans, to their liberty.

73 But being in great want of money, so that he knew not how to pay the soldiers, he ordered a thousand armed men, commanded by expert officers, to make incursions into the Carthaginian territories. These harassed the country far and near, and got together abundance of rich plunder and spoil, and brought it to Timoleon, who exposed all to public sale, and raised a vast sum of money, whereby he paid the soldiers for a long time beforehand. Presently after, he possessed himself of Entella, and put to death fifteen of the citizens, who adhered to the Carthaginians, and restored the rest to their liberty. Timoleon growing every day in reputation for his valour

and conduct, all the Greek cities throughout Sicily readily submitted to him, and he as readily set them at liberty to govern by their own laws. Many cities likewise of the Sicani, Sicilians, and other countries subject to the Carthaginians, sent presently their ambassadors to him, in order to be received into a league, and to be his confederates.

But the senate and people of Carthage perceiving that their officers were sluggish and inactive in the management of the war, determined to send over others with a considerable additional force; and to that end, with all despatch, they raised out of their own city, and from among the Africans, all such as they judged able to bear arms for this expedition. And besides, they took care to be provided with a sufficient stock of money, and listed mercenaries out of Spain, Gaul, and Liguria*. They fitted out likewise a great navy, both of long ships and others, for carrying provision, and in all other respects were so careful and diligent, that nothing was wanting that was necessary.

At the time when Nicomachus was chief magistrate at Athens, and Caius Martius, and Titus Manlius Torquatus, were Roman consuls, Phocion the Athenian subdued and expelled Clitarchus prince of Eretria, whom Philip had set over that city. 74

In Caria, Pexodorus†, the younger brother, expelled Adam out of the principality, and reigned five years, to the time of Alexander's expedition into Asia. But the power of Philip still increasing, he marched with an army against Perinthus‡, which favoured the Athenians, and much obstructed him in his designs. He pushed on the siege therefore with all eagerness, and to that end incessantly battered the walls with his engines, from time to time relieving those that were tired with fresh men: he made likewise approaches with towers four score cubits high, mounting much above the walls, whereby he greatly annoyed the besieged, being so high above them: he so plied them likewise with his battering rams, and undermined the foundations of the walls to that degree, that a great part of them tumbled down. But the Perinthians defended themselves with that valour, that they speedily raised up a new wall; upon which there were such disputes and fighting, the one to gain, and the other to defend the wall, that it was to be admired.

In the mean time, while they were thus eagerly contending on both sides, Philip being well furnished with shot, mightily galled them upon the wall. But the Perinthians, though they lost many men every day, were reinforced with supplies of men, darts, and shot, from Byzantium; so that thereby becoming of equal force with the

* In Italy, now the straits of Genoa. † Pizodarus.

‡ A city in Eubœa, now Negropont.

enemy, they took courage, and valiantly stood to it for the preservation of their country.

However, the king remitted nothing of his former heat and diligence; and dividing his army into several battalions, girt the city round, and relieving his men by turns, assaulted the walls continually night and day. He had an army of thirty thousand men, and a vast multitude of darts and engines, both for battery and other
75 purposes; so that the besieged were very sorely pressed. The siege having now continued long, and many of the townsmen killed and wounded, and provisions growing scanty, the town was on the point of being surrendered; when fortune favouring the distressed, handed to them an unexpected deliverance. For the growing power of the king being noised abroad throughout Asia, the king of Persia, who now began to suspect the greatness of Philip, commanded by his letters the lords lieutenants of the sea-coasts to assist the Perinthians with what forces they could. Upon which, they all unanimously sent to Perinthus a great number of mercenary soldiers, plenty of coin, sufficient provisions, weapons, and all other things necessary for war. The Byzantians likewise sent thither a commander, and the best of their soldiers. The forces now equal on both sides, and the war revived, there was now again so sharp an encounter, both to gain and defend the city, as that none could possibly exceed; for Philip, by the continual battering of the rams, brought down part of the wall, and by his shot forced the besieged from the bulwarks, so that he made his way, with a strong body of men, through the ruins of the wall, and scaled the bulwarks that were before cleared of them that should have defended them. The matter being disputed hand to hand at the sword's point, death and wounds followed, inasmuch as the rewards of victory put life into the valour of both parties: for the Macedonians being assured they should have the plunder of a rich city, and likewise be honourably rewarded by Philip, were resolved valiantly to undergo all hardships whatsoever. The besieged, on the other hand, having as it were before their eyes the miseries attending a place taken by storm, with generous and undaunted resolution shunned nothing of hazard for their own pre-
76 servation, and that of their country. The situation of the place contributed much all along to the besieged for baffling of the enemy: for Perinthus is situated on the sea-side, upon a rising neck of land, in a peninsula stretched out a furlong in length: the houses are close together, and very high; for one stands above another, according to the ascent of the hill; and the form of the city represents, as it were, a theatre. And therefore, though a large breach had been made in the walls, yet they within were but little prejudiced thereby; for the

strait and narrow passages being barricadoed, the higher houses were in stead, and as advantageous as a wall. Philip therefore having gained the wall, after much toil and hazard, found another far stronger, made by the situation of the houses: and besides all these disadvantages, he saw that every thing necessary for war was readily, and in great abundance, sent to them from Byzantium; therefore he divided his army into two bodies; the one half he left with the best of his commanders to carry on the siege, and with the rest he marches speedily away to Byzantium, and lays close siege to it on a sudden. Upon which the townsmen were put into great fear and perplexity, having before sent away their soldiers, arms, and other things necessary for war, to the Perinthians. These were the things done at Perinthus and Byzantium at that time. Here Ephorus, one of the writers, ends his history with the siege of Perinthus. In his memoirs he comprehends the affairs both of the Greeks and barbarians, from the ruturn of the Heraclidæ*, for the space of almost seven hundred and fifty years; and divides his history into thirty books, to every one of which he adjoins a preface. Diyllus, the Athenian, continues this history of Ephorus, treating of the actions of the Grecians and barbarians to the death of Philip.

CHAP. XIII.

The Athenians aid Byzantium. Philip raises the siege. The Carthaginians transport forces into Sicily. The remarkable victory of Timoleon over the Carthaginians. The acts of Timoleon in Sicily. The works of Hiero in Sicily.

WHEN Theophrastus was lord chancellor at Athens, and Marcus Valerius, and Aulus Cornelius Roman consuls, the hundred and tenth olympiad began, in which Anticles the Athenian was victor. Philip then besieging Byzantium, the Athenians judging he had broken the peace they had made with him, forthwith fitted out a great fleet against him in aid of the Byzantines; whose example those of Chios, Coos, and Rhodes, and other Grecians followed, and sent auxiliaries to the same place. Whereupon, Philip being startled at the forces of the Grecians, raised both his sieges, and made peace with the Athenians and the rest of the Grecians that were in arms against him. 77

* This return was about the time the ark was taken by the Philistines, eighty years after the ruin of Troy.

In the mean time, the Carthaginians, after their great preparations, transport their forces into Sicily, which with those that were before in the island, amounted to seventy thousand foot; and horse, chariots, and waggons, no fewer than ten thousand. They had also a navy of two hundred men of war, and above a thousand transport ships for the conveying of horses, arms, and provisions. Timoleon, though he was informed of this great preparation, yet was not at all affrighted with the barbarians, though his army was but small. He was at this time engaged still in war with Hicetas, but at length agreed the matter, and, by the accession of his forces, greatly increased his army.
78 And now he judged it most for his advantage to transfer the war with the Carthaginians into their own territory; by this means to preserve the country of his confederates, and, on the other side, by waste and spoil, to weaken the enemy: to this end, he forthwith mustered his army, consisting of Syracusans, mercenaries, and other confederates; and, in a general assembly, by a pithy oration, advised them to be courageous, for that all now lay at stake: which was received with general acclamation, and all pressed him without delay to be led forth against the enemy. Whereupon he advanced, not having with him above twelve thousand men: but as soon as he came into the confines of Agrigentum, there arose a sudden mutiny in his camp; for a mercenary soldier called Thrasius, a bold and impudent fellow, none exceeding him in that respect, (lately a companion of those Phocians who robbed the temple of Delphos), committed a fact agreeable to his former villanies: for whereas most of them who had a hand in that sacrilege were overtaken by divine vengeance, (as before related), this fellow only seemed to have escaped; and at that time endeavoured to persuade the mercenaries to a defection: for he bawled it out—That Timoleon was crazed and distracted, and that he was leading the soldiers to certain and unavoidable destruction: the number of the Carthaginian army (he said) was six times more than they; and so well furnished with all things necessary for war, that none could compare with them; and yet he assured them of victory, playing away the lives of the soldiers, as it were, at dice, because he was not able to pay them their arrears, which had been advancing for a long time together: he persuaded them therefore to return to Syracuse, and demand their pay, and not follow Timoleon in that desperate expedition.

79 This discourse was not unpleasant to the mercenaries; and while they were just ready to revolt, Timoleon, by entreaties and large promises, at length prevailed and put an end to the mutiny. However, a thousand men followed Thrasius, whose punishment was deferred for the present. And in the mean time Timoleon wrote to his friends

at Syracuse to receive the deserters courteously, and pay the mercenaries their wages; and so by this means he altogether extinguished the fire of sedition; but excluded those obstinate mutineers from the glory of a famous victory.

In the mean time, having with fair words reduced the rest to their former obedience, he marched towards the enemy, who lay encamped not far off. Then he called the army together, and encouraged them to the battle, by setting forth and aggravating the sloth and cowardice of the Carthaginians, and putting them in mind of the successes of Gelon. And when all with one voice cried out for fighting without delay with the barbarians, at that very time passed by some carriage-horses laden with bundles of parsley to strew in the tents. Timoleon thereupon declared, that it was an omen of victory; for, (as he said), the crown at the Isthmian games* was made up of the same herb. Hereupon, the soldiers, by the command of Timoleon, made themselves crowns of parsley; and with these round their heads, with great joy, marched against the enemy, as if the gods had assured them of certain victory; as by the issue it appeared to be: for beyond all expectation they overcame their adversaries, not only by their own valour, but by the special help and assistance of the gods. For Timoleon, with a well-appointed body of men, marched down from the tops of certain hills to the river; and upon a sudden, being himself in the middle of the battle, attacked ten thousand of the barbarians that were but newly passed over. Upon which, there was a very sharp engagement, in which the valour and activity of the Greeks so far prevailed, that a mighty slaughter was made among the barbarians. Whilst those that first passed over took to their heels and fled, the whole Carthaginian army came over the river in order to repair their loss. Hereupon the battle was renewed; and while the Carthaginians were with their multitude hemming in the Grecians round, on a sudden, there arose such a violent storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, with a raging tempest of furious winds, which beat upon the backs of the Grecians, but fell foul upon the faces of the barbarians: so that Timoleon's army with ease endured this tempestuous shock; but the Carthaginians, not able to bear the pressure of so many adversaries, being at the same time hewn down by the Grecians, quitted the field and fled: and the whole body made to the river, where both foot, horse, and chariots, were in such confusion mixed one amongst another, and trodden under foot one by another, and pierced through their bodies by one another's swords and spears, that a miserable slaughter was made without any possibility of re-

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* Games in honour of Neptune, celebrated every fifth year, in the Isthmus near Corinth.

lief. Others being forced in heaps into the river by the enemy's horse, and pursued close at their backs, after receiving many wounds, there perished. And many, though they were never touched by the enemy's swords, yet, through fear, and the throng and difficulties of passage over the river, being pressed in heaps one upon another, there breathed out their last. And that which contributed not a little to the common destruction, the river was swolen to that excessive height, that many (especially such as attempted to swim over the water with their arms) were drowned. In conclusion, two thousand five hundred, who made up the sacred brigade of the Carthaginians, and for valour and the glory of their arms, and greatness of their estates, excelled all the rest, fought valiantly, and were cut off every man. Of the rest of the common soldiers there were slain at least ten thousand, and above fifteen thousand taken prisoners. Many of the chariots being broken in pieces in the fight, only two hundred fell into the hands of the Grecians; but all the bag and baggage. The greatest part of the arms were lost in the river: but a thousand brigandines*, and ten thousand shields, were brought into the tent of Timoleon; of which some were hung up in the temples at Syracuse, and others distributed among the confederates: others were sent to Corinth, and ordered
51 to be dedicated to Neptune. And although very rich spoils were taken, (for the Carthaginians abounded in gold and silver, plate†, and other furniture of great value, according to the grandeur and riches of their country), yet he gave all to the soldiers, as the reward of their valour. The Carthaginians that escaped, with much ado got to Lilybæum, in such fear and consternation, that they durst not go on board their ships, in order to return to Africa; as if, through the anger of the gods, they should be swallowed up in the Lilybæan sea.

As soon as the news of this overthrow was brought to Carthage, their spirits were mightily broken, and they expected that Timoleon would invade them with his army upon the first opportunity: therefore, they forthwith recalled Gisco, the brother of Hanno, from his banishment, and being a stout man, and an experienced soldier, created him general. But looking upon it not advisable for the future to venture the lives of the citizens, they resolved to hire soldiers out of other nations, and especially from among the Grecians, not doubting but that many would list themselves, by reason of the large pay promised by the rich Carthaginians. They sent likewise ambassadors into Sicily, with orders to strike up a peace upon any terms whatsoever.

52 After the end of this year, Lysimachides was created chief gover-

* Coats of mail. † As flaggons, cups, &c.

nor of Athens, and Quintus Servilius, and Marcus Rutilius, bore the office of consuls at Rome. Then Timoleon, as soon as he returned to Syracuse, in the first place expelled those as traitors out of the city, who had deserted him through the instigation of Thrasius. These being transported into Italy, they seized upon a sea-port town of the Brettii*, and plundered it. Upon which the Brettii were so enraged, that they forthwith came against them with a great army, took the town by storm, and put every man of them to the sword. And such was the miserable end of these deserters of Timoleon, as the just punishment of their former villany.

Afterwards he took Posthumius the tyrant, and put him to death, who had infested the seas with his piracies, and came at that time into the port of Syracuse as a friend. He received likewise with all demonstrations of kindness five thousand persons, whom the Corinthians had sent over to plant new colonies. The Carthaginians now, by their ambassadors, having earnestly sued to him for peace, he granted it to them upon these terms—That all the Greek cities should be set free; that the river Lycus should be the bounds between the territories of both parties; and, that the Carthaginians should not for the future assist any of the tyrants against the Syracusans. Having afterwards subdued Hicetas, he ordered him an honourable burial: and took Ætna by storm, and put all the Campanians to the sword. And he so terrified Nicodemus the tyrant of the Centuripians, that he fled out of the city. Then he forced Apolloniades, who lorded it over them of Argyra, to abdicate the government; and the inhabitants thus freed, he enrolled them as citizens of Syracuse. To conclude, having rooted up all the tyrants throughout the whole island, and freed the cities from their oppression, he received them all into his protection, and they became his confederates. Then he caused proclamation to be made throughout all Greece—That the senate and people of Syracuse offered houses and lands to all who were willing to be members of the commonwealth of Syracuse: upon which, many came flocking over as to the possession of a new inheritance. At length forty thousand new planters had their shares by lot in those lands that yet remained undivided within the territories of Syracuse; and ten thousand were allotted to Argyra, being a very large and pleasant country.

Not long after, he caused all the antient laws of Diocles for the government of the Syracusans, to be reviewed and amended. Such part of them as concerned private commerce and inheritances he altered not; but those that related to the administration of the public government, and the commonwealth, he amended as he thought

* Brutii.

most expedient. Cephalus, a Corinthian, a learned and prudent man, was chiefly concerned in this emendation and correction of the laws. When this business was finished, he translated the Leontines into Syracuse, and greatly enlarged Camarina with multitudes of inhabitants. And to sum up all, he brought things to that pass throughout all Sicily, (now through his care in perfect peace and tranquillity), as that the cities in a very short time abounded in wealth, and all earthly blessings. For through the seditions and intestine wars, (which Sicily laboured under for a long time together), and the many tyrants that set up for themselves, it was brought to that miserable condition, that the cities were depopulated, and the lands lay waste and untilled, and no crops to be had for the supply of daily food. But now that there were many plantations of colonies blessed with a constant peace, and the land was every where manured and improved by the labour of the husbandman, it began to yield all sorts of fruits, which being vended (with great advantage) to the merchants, the inhabitants grew exceeding rich in a very short time. And this abundance of wealth occasioned in that age many stately structures to be erected up and down in honour of the gods. As one among the rest near to the Island of Syracuse, called the House of Sixty Beds, built by Agathocles, for greatness and beauty excelling all the works in Sicily; and because (as it were in contempt) it overtopped all the temples of the gods, (as a manifest indication of their anger), it was beaten down by a thunderbolt. At the lesser haven likewise, there were towers built of outlandish stone, in which were inscriptions cut, and the name of Agathocles, who raised them. Besides these, not long after, were built by Hiero the king, an Olympus* in the market-place, and an altar near the theatre a furlong in length, and in height and breadth proportionable.

In the lesser cities likewise, as in Argyra, (which by reason of the richness of the soil, as aforesaid, received new colonies), he built a theatre, (the most glorious of any in Sicily next to that at Syracuse), and erected temples to the gods, built a court, a market-place, and stately towers, and raised over the tombs and monuments many large pyramids of admirable workmanship.

* A temple.

CHAP. XIV.

Elatea taken by Philip. Great consternations in Athens for fear of Philip. The Bœotians join with the Athenians through the solicitations of Demosthenes. Python, a famous orator. The battle of Chæronea, between Philip and the Athenians. Lysicles the Athenian general put to death. Philip rebuked by Demades; made general of Greece. Timoleon dies.

WHEN Charondas executed the office of lord-chancellor of Athens, and Lucius Æmilius, and Caius Plotius, were Roman consuls, Philip king of Macedon being in amity with many of the Grecians, made it his chief business to bring under the Athenians, thereby with more ease to gain the sovereignty of Greece. To that end, he presently possessed himself of Elatea, and brought all his forces thither, with a design to fall upon the Athenians, hoping easily to overcome them, in regard they were not (as he conceived) prepared for war, by reason of the peace lately made with them; which fell out accordingly. For after the taking of Elatea, some hastened in the night to Athens, informing them that Elatea was taken by the Macedonians, and that Philip was designing to invade Attica with all his forces. The Athenian commanders, surprised with the suddenness of the thing, sent for all the trumpeters, and commanded an alarm to be sounded all night: upon which, the report flew through all parts of the city, and fear rouzed up the courage of the citizens. As soon as day appeared, the people, without any summons from the magistrate, (as the custom was), all flocked to the theatre. To which place, as soon as the commanders came, with the messenger that brought the news, and had declared to them the business, fear and silence filled the theatre, and none who were used to influence the people had a heart to give any advice. And although a crier called out to such as ought to declare their minds, what was to be done in order to their common security, yet none appeared who offered any thing of advice in the present exigency. The people therefore, in great terror and amazement, cast their eyes upon Demosthenes, who stood up and bid them be courageous, and advised them forthwith to send ambassadors to Thebes, to treat with the Bœotians to join with them in defence of the common liberty; for the shortness of time (he said) would not admit of an embassy of aid from the other confederates, for that the king would probably invade Attica within two days; and

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seeing that he must march through Bœotia, the main and only assistance was to be expected from them. And it was not to be doubted, but that Philip, who was in league with the Bœotians, would in his
5 march solicit them to make war upon the Athenians. The people approved of his advice, and a decree was forthwith recorded, that an embassy should be despatched as Demosthenes had advised. But then it was debated, who was the most eloquent person, and so most fit to undertake this affair. Whereupon, Demosthenes being pitched on to be the man, he readily complied, forthwith hastened away, prevails with the Bœotians, and returns to Athens. The Athenians therefore, having now doubled their forces by the accession of the Bœotians, began again to be in good heart; and presently made Chares and Lysicles generals, with command to march with the whole army into Bœotia. All the youth readily offered themselves to be enlisted, and therefore the army with a swift march came suddenly to Chæronea in Bœotia. The Bœotians wondered at the quickness of their approach, and were thereupon as diligent themselves, and hastening to their arms, marched away to meet the Athenians; and being joined, they there expected the enemy.

Philip indeed had first sent ambassadors to the council of the Bœotians, amongst whom the most famous was Python; for he was so eminent for eloquence, that in the senate he was set up to encounter Demosthenes in the business relating to the confederacy, excelling indeed the rest by far, but judged inferior to Demosthenes. Demosthenes himself, in one of his orations, glories (as if he had done some mighty thing) in a speech of his against this orator, in these words:—"Then I yielded not a jot to Python, strutting in his confidence, as if he would have overwhelmed me with a torrent of words." However, though Philip could not prevail with the Bœotians to be his confederates, yet he resolved to fight with them both. To this end, (after a stay for some time for those forces that were to join him), he marched into Bœotia with an army of at least thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Both armies were now ready to engage, for courage and valour neither giving place to the other; but as to number of men, and skill in martial affairs, the king was far superior. For, having fought very many battles, and for the most part coming off a conqueror, he had gained much experience in matters of war; on the other hand, Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus, (the Athenian's best commanders), were now dead; and Chares, the chief of them that were left, differed but little from a common soldier, as to
6 the wisdom and conduct of a general. About sun-rising, the armies on both sides drew up in battalia. The king ordered his son Alexander, (who was then newly come to man's estate, and had even at

that time given evident demonstrations of his valour, and the sprightliness of his spirit in managing affairs), to command one wing, joining with him some of the best of his commanders. He himself, with a choice body of men, commanded the other wing, and placed and disposed the regiments and brigades in such posts and stations as the present occasion required. The Athenians marshalled their army according to the several nations, and committed one part to the Bœotians, and commanded the rest themselves. At length the armies engaged, and a fierce and bloody battle was fought, which continued a long time with great slaughter on both sides, uncertain which way victory would incline, until Alexander, earnest to give an indication of his valour to his father, charged with a more than ordinary heat and vigour, and, being assisted by many stout and brave men, was the first that broke through the main body of the enemy next to him, with the slaughter of many, and bore down all before him; and, when those that seconded him did the like, then the regiments next to the former were broke to pieces. At length, the earth being strewed with heaps of dead carcases, those with Alexander first put the wing opposed to them to flight. The king himself, likewise, at the head of this regiment, fought with no less courage and resolution; and, that the glory of the victory might not be attributed to his son, he forced the enemy opposed to him to give ground, and at length totally routed them, and so was the chief instrument of the victory. There were above a thousand Athenians killed in this battle, and no fewer than two thousand taken prisoners. A great number likewise of the Bœotians were slain, and many fell into the hands of the enemy.

After the battle, Philip set up a trophy, and, having given liberty for the burying of the dead, he sacrificed to the gods for the victory, and distributed rewards to the soldiers who had signalised their valour, according as every one had deserved.

Some report, that Philip, having appointed a wanton and luxurious banquet with his friends, in ostentation of his victory, in his cups, passing through the throng of the prisoners, most contumeliously taunted the miserable wretches with their misfortune. Whereupon Demades the orator, one of the captives, spoke boldly to him, and framed a discourse, in order to curb the pride and petulance of the king, in words to this effect—"Since Fortune, O king, has represented thee like Agamemnon, art thou not ashamed to act the part of Thersites?" With this sharp reproof, they say, Philip was so startled, that he wholly changed his former course, and not only laid aside the coronets, and all other badges of pride and wantonness that attended his festivals, but, with admiration, released the man that had

reprehended him, and advanced him to places of honour. In conclusion, he became so far complaisant, and moulded into the civilities of Athens, through his converse with Demades, that he released all the captives without ransom; and, remitting his pride and haughtiness, (the constant attendant upon victory), he sent ambassadors to Athens, and renewed the peace with them: and, placing a garrison in Thebes, made peace likewise with the Bœotians. After
8 this overthrow, the Athenians put to death Lysicles, the general of the army, upon the accusation of Lycurgus, who was the most highly preferred of any of the orators of that age. He had executed the office of lord-treasurer of the city (with great commendation) for the space of twelve years, and all his life long had been in great reputation for his virtue and honesty; but a most bitter accuser. The excellence and sharpness of whose speech, if any desire to know, he may best judge by his words used against Lysicles, which follow:

"O Lysicles, thou wast the general of the army; and, though a thousand citizens are slain, two thousand taken prisoners, a trophy erected to the dishonour of this city, and all Greece enslaved, and all this done thou being captain and general, yet darest to live and view the light of the sun, and blushest not to shew thy face in the forum, thou who art born the monument of thy country's shame and dishonour!"

A thing very remarkable happened at this time. For, when this battle was fought at Chæronea, the same day and hour another was fought in Italy, between the Tarentines and Lucanians, in which Archidamus, the king of Lacedæmon, was slain, who had reigned three-and-twenty years. Agis, his son, succeeded him, and governed nine years. About that time likewise died Timotheus, prince of Heraclea, in Pontus, in the fifteenth year of his principality, whose brother Dionysius succeeded, and reigned two-and-thirty years.

9 Phrynicus bore the office of chief magistrate of Athens, and Titus Manlius Torquatus, and Publius Decius, were invested with the consular dignity at Rome, when Philip, bearing himself very haughtily, on account of his victory at Chæronea, and having struck a terror into the most eminent cities of Greece, made it his great business to be chosen generalissimo of all Greece. It being therefore noised abroad, that he would make war upon the Persians, for the advantage of the Grecians, and that he would revenge the impiety by them committed against the sacreds of the gods, he presently won the hearts of the Grecians.

He was very liberal and courteous likewise to all, both private men and communities, and published to the cities, that he had a desire to consult with them concerning matters relating to the pub-

lic good. Whereupon a general council was called, and held at Corinth, where he declared his design to make war upon the Persians, and what probable grounds there were of success, and therefore desired the council to join with him as confederates in the war.

At length he was created general of all Greece, with absolute power, and thereupon he made mighty preparations for that expedition; and, having ordered what quota of men every city should send forth, he returned into Macedonia. And thus stood the affairs and concerns of Philip.

In Sicily, Timoleon, after he had settled all things in right and due order in Syracuse, died, having governed eight years. The Syracusans, who highly honoured him for the many great services done to their country, buried him in great state and pomp, and, when the body was to be brought forth, great multitudes were got together, and the Syracusans published a decree—That two hundred minas should be expended upon the charge of his funeral, and that his memory should be honoured yearly for ever with music, horse-coursing, and Gymnic sports, because he had subdued the barbarians, planted colonies in the greatest Greek city in Sicily, and rescued the Sicilians from slavery.

About this time Ariobarzanes* died, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, and was succeeded by Mithridates, who reigned five-and-thirty years. At the same time the Romans fought with the Latins and Campanians, near the city Suessa, and routed them, and confiscated part of their lands; and Manlius the consul, who gained the day, triumphed for the victory.

* King of Pontus.

CHAP. XV.

Philip consults the oracle at Delphos. Marries his daughter Cleopatra to the king of Epirus. Encouraged to the Persian war by Neoptolemus's verses. Philip's pride. His murder. The cause of it, how it was done, and by whom.

91 WHEN Pythodorus was chief governor of Athens, and Quintus Publius, and Tiberius Æmilius Mamercus, were Roman consuls, the hundred and eleventh Olympiad was celebrated, wherein Cleomantis Cletorius won the prize. In this year Philip began the war against the Persians, and forthwith sent Attalus and Parmenio before into Asia, to free the Greek cities there from slavery. He himself, intending to have the concurrence of the gods, consulted the oracle at Delphos, whether or no he should be victorious over the king of Persia. The answer was thus—

> The ox is crowned when 's end is near at hand,
> To offer him a man doth ready stand.

This doubtful answer Philip construed to his own advantage, as if the oracle had expressly foretold, that he should lead away the Persian king as a victim to the sacrifice: but, in truth, it fell out quite otherwise, and, by the effect, it appeared that it had a contrary signification, to wit, that Philip, in a throng, at the time of a sacred festival, was to be knocked on the head like a bullock crowned with a garland for sacrifice.

In the mean time, he was very jocund, as if he had conquered Asia already, and concluded the gods were engaged with him in the expedition. Without delay, therefore, he offered most costly and magnificent sacrifices, and, at the same time, solemnized the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra, by Olympias: he married her to Alexander, king of Epirus, brother of Olympias. Having, therefore, a desire of a considerable appearance of the Grecians at this nuptial festivity, conjoined with his religious sacrifices, he made most pompous preparation for the entertainment of his friends and guests, both in music, dancing, and feasting.

To this end, he invited those that were his special friends and familiars, all over Greece, and commanded his servants and attendants that they should invite as many strangers from all places as were of their own acquaintance. And his main design in all this was, that he might assure all the Grecians of his kindness towards

them, and testify his gratitude, by these friendly entertainments, for the honours conferred upon him. A vast concourse of people, therefore, were got together from all parts, to the solemnity of these nuptials, which were magnificently solemnized at Ægea*, in Macedonia, with all sorts of sports and plays; so that not only noblemen and persons of quality, but even many great cities, presented Philip with crowns of gold. Among the cities, Athens made one; and, when the common cryer, with a loud voice, presented the crown sent from them to Philip, he closed with this—That if any plotter of treason against Philip should hereafter flee to Athens for shelter, he should be forthwith delivered up. By this accidental publication of the cryer, it seemed to be intimated (as it were by some divine providence) that some piece of treachery was near at hand to be executed. 92

There were several other such words (as by a divine instigation) uttered, which portended the king's death. There was then at the festival, Neoptolemus, the tragedian, remarkable above all others for the loudness of his voice, and famous and eminent in other respects. The king had commanded him to repeat some verses which he had been ordered to compose, especially relating to the Persian expedition. Whereupon he began to recite a witty poem, proper (as he thought) to Philip's intended passage into Asia, wherein he set forth the glory and greatness of the Persian king; and, though he was so famous all the world over, yet that fortune would some time or other bring him down. The poem was thus—

> Your minds are higher than the sky o'ergrown,
> The greatest part of earth you wish your own;
> Houses to houses join; fools without end,
> You would your lives as well as lands extend.
> But doleful death, alas! although ye do
> Creep towards, 'twill gallop unto you,
> Of long hopes very shortly cut the clue.

He added likewise others in the same sense with these. But Philip, resting wholly upon these recited, his thoughts were altogether full of his conquering the king of Persia; and he much revolved in his mind the answer given him by the oracle, which agreed in all points with the words of the tragedian.

After the feast for that time was ended, and the sports were to be renewed the next day, a great number of people in the night time flocked into the theatre. And whereas twelve images of the gods, (amongst other sumptuous preparations), most curiously wrought

* Or Ægeas.

and richly adorned, were brought forth in pompous procession, the image of Philip, clothed like the gods in every respect, made the thirteenth, hereby arrogating to himself a place, as if he would be
93 enthroned among the gods*. The theatre being now full, he himself came forth, clothed in a white robe, his life-guards following him at a great distance, designing thereby to evidence it to all, that he judged himself secure in the hearts and affections of the Grecians, and therefore stood not in need of the guard of his halberteers. While he was thus with loud and joyful acclamations cried up (as it were) to the stars, and the whole multitude resounded his praise, upon a sudden, and beyond all men's expectation, he was treacherously murdered.

But, for the clearer and more distinct understanding of the history in this matter, we shall first relate the causes and grounds of this assassination.

There was one Pausanias, a Macedonian, of the city called Orestis, one of the king's esquires of the body, and, for his beauty, dearly beloved by him. This man, taking notice how much another youth of the same name was doated on by Philip, attacked him with very foul and opprobrious language, telling him he was an hermaphrodite, for that he prostituted himself to the lust of every one that would. He was much incensed at this disgrace, but concealed it for awhile. Afterwards, consulting with Attalus what was to be done for the future, he determined presently after, in an unusual manner, to put an end to his own life. For, within awhile after, in a battle wherein Philip was engaged against Pleuratus, king of the Illyrians, Pausanias in the heat of the fight interposed himself between the king and the enemy, and received all the darts upon his own body that were cast at the king, and so died upon the spot. The manner of his death being noised abroad, Attalus, one of the courtiers, and in great esteem with the king, invited the other Pausanias to a feast, and, after he had made him drunk, exposed his body, thus overcharged with wine, to be abused by the filthy lusts of a company of base, sordid fellows†. When he was sober, he was highly enraged at the abominable abuse, and complained against Attalus to the king; who, though he was much offended at the wickedness of the act, yet, by reason of his relation to him, and because he had at present occasion to make use of him in his service, he would not punish him: for he was uncle to Cleopatra, whom the king had married as his second

* There were twelve chief gods among the Greeks, who were called Olympii; their names were, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Neptune, Vulcan, Apollo, Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus.—Vide *Herodotus in Terpsichore.*

† Mule-tenders, or ostlers.

wife, and was designed general of the army sent before into Asia, being a very stout and valiant man. To pacify therefore Pausanias, whose spirit was highly exasperated at the intolerable injury done him, he bestowed on him many rich gifts, and advanced him to a more honourable post in his guards. But Pausanias's anger was 94
implacable, and therefore he determined not only to revenge himself upon the author of this abuse, but upon him that waved doing him justice by the inflicting of punishment. And Hermocrates the sophist greatly confirmed him in this his resolution. For Pausanias conversing with him, and in discourse asking him, by what means a man might make himself most famous?—The philosopher answered, by killing him that had done the greatest things; for, whenever he is named, then he likewise that killed him will be sure to be remembered. Pausanias, making use of this answer as an incentive to his rage, the restlessness of his disturbed spirit would admit of no further delay, but laid his design in the time of the festivals in this manner: he first placed horses at the gates of the city, then he himself returned and stood at the entrance into the theatre, with a Gallic sword secreted under his coat. Philip had commanded his friends that came along with him to go before him into the theatre, and his guards were at a considerable distance from him: whereupon the traitor, perceiving that the king was alone, ran up to him, and, stabbing him in the side, through the body, laid him dead at his feet, and forthwith fled to the horses that were prepared for him at the gates. Hereupon presently some of the life-guards ran to the body, and others pursued the assassin, amongst whom were Leonatus, Perdiccas, and Attalus. Pausanias nimbly mounted his horse, and made so swiftly away, that he would certainly have escaped, but that a branch of a vine caught hold of the heel of his shoe, and so entangled him that he fell: upon which Perdiccas, with the others, came upon him as he was endeavouring to rise, and, after many wounds given him, there slew him. And thus Philip (the most 95
potent of all the kings in Europe in that age, and who, for the greatness of his dominion, associated himself for majesty into the number of the twelve gods) came to his end, after he had reigned about four-and-twenty years.

This king, from very small beginnings, gained the largest dominion in Greece; and he is judged to have enlarged the bounds of his kingdom not so much by arms, as by his fair tongue, and his complaisant and courteous demeanor towards all he had to deal with: for it is reported, that Philip himself would often boast more of his military art and policy, and of the gaining of his enemies by fair

words, than in the strength and valour of his soldiers: for he had used to say—That the honour of winning of battles was common and due to the rest of the army with himself; but the praise and commendation due to affability and a pleasant converse, was peculiar to himself alone.

And thus, being now come to the death of Philip, we shall end this book, as we at first designed. The following we shall begin with the succession of Alexander into his father's kingdom, and endeavour to comprehend all his actions in one book.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK XVII.

PREFACE.

THE former book, being the sixteenth of our history, began with the reign of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and comprehended not only the things done by him to the very day of his death, but the actions and affairs of other kings, cities, and countries, during the space of four-and-twenty years. Having now, in this, to declare what followed, we shall begin with the reign of Alexander; and, in treating of the actions of this prince, from the beginning to the end, we shall take along with us the most remarkable things done through all parts of the world.

And the relations (we conceive) will be the better remembered, if things be methodically digested, as it were, into distinct heads, so as that the beginning and end may, as by one thread, be knit one to the other: for this king did great things in a very short time, and excelled all the princes that ever were before him in his wonderful achievements, effected by his own valour and policy: for he conquered a great part of Europe, and almost all Asia, within the space of twelve years; so that his fame was (deservedly) advanced to that degree, that in glory he surmounted all the heroes and demi-gods.

But we need not (we judge) in a preface anticipate any of the worthy actions of this king; for the particular relations themselves will sufficiently evidence his greatness, and the fame and glory of his name. Alexander, therefore, descended from Hercules on the father's side, and from Achilles on the mother's, seemed to derive his valour, as well as his person, from such famous ancestors.

The time thus stated for this present relation, we return to the course of our history.

CHAP. I.

Conspiracies of the cities against Alexander. The Athenians send ambassadors to Alexander, to beg pardon. He is made general by the Amphictyons. Attalus killed by Alexander's command. The wickedness of Bagoas. Darius commended. Raises forces. A description of Mount Ida. Alexander invades the Illyrians, and others. Thebes besieged by Alexander, and razed. The miseries of Thebes. Prodigies. Alexander demands Demosthenes and others to be delivered up to him by the Athenians: their answer. He returns into Macedonia, and feasts his soldiers.

WHEN Evænetus was lord-chancellor in Athens, and Lucius Furius and Caius Manlius* were Roman consuls, Alexander ascended the throne, and, in the first place, executed justice upon the murderers of his father: and, when he had with great care celebrated his funeral, he set in order the great concerns of the kingdom much better than most expected: for, being very young, and upon that account despised, he sought first to win the common people by fair words and courteous addresses. Amongst others, he told them, that the name of the king only was changed, but that the government should not be managed in any respect worse than it was when his father was alive. He courteously, likewise, gave audience to the ambassadors, and desired the Grecians that they would have the same kindness for him as they had for his father, which he so esteemed, that he looked upon it as part of his inheritance. Then he employed himself in the frequent training of the soldiers, and in martial exercises, and brought the army readily to submit to his commands. Attalus, the uncle of Cleopatra, Philip's other wife, conspired to gain the kingdom; and therefore he resolved to take him out of the way. For Cleopatra was brought to bed of a son a few days before the death of Philip, and Attalus was sent a little before, as general, with Parmenio his colleague, with an army into Asia, where, by his bribes and fair tongue, he so gained the hearts of the soldiers, that the army was wholly devoted to him: and therefore the king conceived he had just cause to be jealous of him, lest, if he should side with the Grecians, (whom he knew were his enemies), he should by that means gain the kingdom

* Manius.

for himself. Therefore he made choice of Hecateus, one of his friends, and sent him with a considerable army into Asia, with command to bring over Attalus alive, if he could; and, if he could not effect that, to take the first opportunity to kill him. When he came into Asia, he joined his forces with Attalus and Parmenio, and watched a fit opportunity to execute what he was commanded.

In the mean time, Alexander being informed that many of the Grecians were hatching some mischief, in order to new commotions, his thoughts were greatly perplexed and disturbed. For the Athenians (Demosthenes stirring them up against the Macedonians) rejoiced at the news of Philip's death, and resolved that the Macedonians should no longer domineer over Greece. To this end, they sent over ambassadors to Attalus, and privately consulted with him concerning the management of the whole affair, and stirred up many of the cities to assert their liberties. The Ætolians made a decree to recal the exiles of Acarnania, whom Philip had driven out of their country. The Ambraciots, by the persuasion of Aristarchus, drove out the garrison that was there, and restored the democracy. The Thebans likewise decreed to cast out the garrison that was in the citadel of Cadmea, and that Alexander should never, with their consent, have command in Greece. The Arcadians also, as they were the only people that refused to give their consent that Philip should be general of Greece, so they now rejected Alexander. The rest of the Peloponnesians, as the Argives, Elians, Lacedæmonians, and some others, were with all their might for their own government. To conclude, many of the nations beyond Macedonia waited for an opportunity to rebel, and great commotions there were among the barbarians in those parts.

Notwithstanding all which, and the fears that were every where in the kingdom, and though he was but a youth, yet in a short time (beyond all expectation) he overcame all those difficulties, and made all plain and clear before him, reducing some to their duty by fair and smooth words, and others through fear and dread of punishments; and the rest he compelled by force to stoop to his sovereignty.

In the first place, he so far gained upon the Thessalians, both by promises of large rewards, and by his smooth and courteous language, (telling them how near of kin he was to them by his descent from Hercules), that they by a public decree declared him general of Greece, as that which descended to him from his father. Having gained this point, he brought over the bordering nations to the same good opinion of him. Then he went to Pylene, and, in the senate of

the Amphictyons he so managed his matters, that, by the general consent of all, he was created generalissimo of all Greece. He assured the Ambraciots, in a kind and smooth oration made to them—That he had that kindness for them, that he would presently restore them to that liberty which they so lately sought to recover. But, to strike the greater terror into those that regarded not his words, he came with a swift march with an army of Macedonians in an hostile manner into Bœotia, and, encamping near the Cadmea, struck a terror into the city of the Thebans.

About the same time the Athenians, hearing of the king's coming into Bœotia, slighted him no longer: for the quickness of the youth, and his diligent despatch of business, greatly terrified the revolters. Hereupon the Athenians ordered every thing they had in the country to be brought into the city, and the walls to be repaired and guarded as well as they could; and sent ambassadors to Alexander, to beg pardon that they had no sooner owned his sovereignty, and ordered Demosthenes to accompany the ambassadors: but he came not with the others to Alexander, but returned from Citheron to Athens; either because he was afraid, upon account of the speeches he had publicly made against the Macedonians, or that he was not willing to displease the Persian king: for it is reported that he had received great sums of money from the Persians to beat down the interest of the Macedonians by his orations; which was hinted (they say) by Æschines, in one of his speeches, wherein he upbraids Demosthenes for taking of bribes in these words—Now the king's gold plentifully bears all his charges; but this will not serve his turn long, for covetousness is never satisfied with abundance.

But to proceed, Alexander returned a very courteous answer to the ambassadors, which freed the Athenians from their fears, and he ordered all the ambassadors and members of the council* to meet him at Corinth; where, when those who were usually members of the general council were come, the king, by a gracious speech, so prevailed with the Grecians, that they created him general of all Greece, and decreed him aid and assistance against the Persians, in order to revenge the many injuries the Greeks had received from them. Having thus gained the honour he sought for, he marched back with his army into Macedonia.

Having now given an account of the affairs of Greece, we shall relate next what things were done in Asia: for, Attalus presently upon the death of Philip, began to set up for himself; and to that

* Of the Amphictyons.

end, made a league with the Athenians, in order by their joint concurrence to oppose Alexander. But afterwards he changed his mind, and sent a letter (written to him by Demosthenes) to Alexander, and in many smooth and flattering expressions, endeavoured to clear himself of all those crimes and miscarriages that were laid to his charge. However, he was afterwards killed by Hecateus, according to the king's command; upon which the Macedonian army in Asia laid aside all thoughts of a defection, for that Attalus was now gone, and Parmenio greatly loved Alexander.

But as we are now about to write of the kingdom of Persia, it is necessary that we begin our relation a little higher.

Lately, in the reign of Philip, Ochus* ruled over the Persians, hated by all for his ill nature and cruelty towards his subjects. Bagoas therefore, a colonel in the army, and an eunuch, but a wicked and beastly fellow, poisoned the king by the help of his physician, and placed the king's youngest son Arses upon the throne. He likewise murdered the new king's brothers, (who were yet very young), that being thus bereft of his relations, he might be more observant to himself.

But the young man abhorring the wickedness of this wretch, and plainly, by many tokens, discovering his design to punish him, Bagoas smelling it out, murdered Arses and all his children, in the third year of his reign.

The royal family being thus extinct, and none of that race left who could make any title to the crown, he advanced one of his friends, called Darius, to the kingdom. He was the son of Arsanes, the brother of Artaxerxes king of Persia. But the fate of Bagoas was very remarkable; for having habituated himself to cruelty, he resolved likewise to poison Darius in a medicinal potion: but this treason being discovered, the king sent in a friendly manner to speak with him; and when he came delivered to him the cup, and forced him to drink it off. And indeed Darius was judged worthy to enjoy the kingdom, being looked upon as the most valiant man among the Persians: for heretofore, when Artaxerxes was engaged in a battle against the Cadusians, one of the enemy, of a strong body, and courageous spirit, challenged any of the Persians there present to a single combat; which when none would dare to undertake, this Darius entered the list, and killed the Cadusian. For which he was highly rewarded by the king, and gained the chiefest reputation for valour among the Persians. And for this reason also, he was accounted worthy of the

* Darius Ochus.

crown of Persia, and began to reign about the same time that Philip died, and Alexander succeeded in the kingdom.

The valour therefore of Alexander meeting with such a man as this for his adversary to cope with, was the occasion that so many battles were fought for the empire with that resolution as they were. But these matters will appear more clear hereafter, when things come to be more distinctly and particularly related: for the present we shall return to the orderly course of the history.

Darius* being advanced to the throne of Persia, a little before the death of Philip, he was contriving how to avert the war threatened, and bring it over to Macedonia itself: but when he was dead, and so the king freed from that fear, he slighted and despised the youth of Alexander: but being for his volour, and activeness of spirit in despatch of business, at length created general of all Greece, the fame and valour of the young man was in every man's mouth.

And Darius now began to look about him, and employed his chief care to raise forces, and fitted out a great fleet, and made choice of the best officers he could procure to command his army, which was now very great and numerous; among whom Memnon, the Rhodian, was one, a brave man, both for valour and discipline: him the king commanded to march to Cyzicus† with five thousand men, and to endeavour to take that city: who, in order thereto, marched his army over the mountain Ida. Some fabulously report that this mountain was so called from Ida of Meliseus. It is the highest mountain of any about the Hellespont. In the middle is a cave, as if it were made on purpose to entertain the gods, in which it is reported, that Alexander‡ gave judgment concerning the goddesses.

Here it is said, the Idæa Dactyli§ were born, who were the first that were taught to work in iron by the mother‖ of the gods.

A thing also very wonderful and remarkable is ascribed to this place: for, at the rising of the dog-star¶, there is such a serenity and calmness of the air upon the top of the mount, as if it were there above all storms and winds; and then even at midnight the sun seems to rise, so that its rays appear not in a circular form, but casts abroad flames of fire here and there at a great distance, so that it seems as if flakes of fire in several places overspread the earth; which, within a little while after, are contracted into one body, till they come to the

* Darius Codomanus. † Cyzicus, an island in the Propontis, and a city there.

‡ This was Paris, the son of Priam, called Alexander, who decided the controversy between Juno, Minerva, and Venus, by giving the golden apple to Venus as the fairest. Paus. l. v. c. 19.

§ The sons of Minerva and Apollo. ‖ Cybele. ¶ In August.

quantity of three plethras*. At length, when the day is at hand, there appears, as it were, the complete body of the sun enlightening the air as it uses to do at other times.

But to proceed: Memnon having passed over this mountain, assaults Cyzicus on a sudden, and was very near surprising of it. But failing in his design, he harassed the country, and returned loaden with a rich booty.

In the mean time, Parmenio took Grynium by storm, and sold all the inhabitants for slaves. Then he besieged Pitane; but Memnon appoaching, the Macedonians in a fright quitted the siege.

Afterwards Callas, with a body of Macedonians and other mercenaries, fought with the Persians in the country of Troas, and being overpowered with numbers, was beaten, and forced to retire to Rhetium. And in this condition was Asia at that time.

Alexander having quieted all the commotions in Greece, marched with his army into Thrace, which struck such terror into those people that had caused tumults and disorders there, that he forced them to submit to his government. Then he invaded Pœonia and Illyria†, and the people bordering upon them, and having subdued those that had revolted, he likewise brought under his dominion the barbarians next adjoining. While he was engaged in these wars, he received intelligence that many of the Grecians were about to revolt, and that a considerable number of the Greek cities, particularly Thebes, had already actually rejected his sovereignty. He was hereupon in a great rage, and returned into Macedonia, with a design to hasten into Greece to quiet the tumults and disturbances there.

In the mean time, the Thebans were intent upon driving the Macedonian garrison out of the Cadmea, and to that end besieged the citadel; and had no sooner done so, but Alexander was presently at the city walls, and lay before it with his whole army. The Thebans, before Alexander's approach, had so begirt the Cadmea with a deep trench, and a strong baricado of timber, that neither relief nor provision could be brought in to them. They had sent likewise to the Arcadians, Argives, and Elians, for their assistance; and solicited the Athenians by their ambassadors to join with them, and had received a great number of arms freely given to them by Demosthenes, with which they armed those that had none.

Among those, to whom the Thebans addressed themselves for assistance, the Peloponnesians had sent forces as far as to the Isthmus, and there ordered them to make a halt till the king came, who was then expected. The Athenians, though they had decreed aid to the

* Three hundred feet. † New Dalmatia, or Sclavonia.

Thebans, yet they sent no forces thither, intending first to observe how matters were likely to go.

The governor likewise of the castle of Cadmea taking notice what great preparations the Thebans were making for the siege, was very diligent to strengthen and fortify the walls, and had furnished the garrison with all sorts of weapons.

But after Alexander had arrived unexpectedly, and on a sudden, with his whole army out of Thrace, and that it was uncertain whether any assistance would come in to the Thebans, the forces of the enemy far exceeding them of Thebes, the officers called a council of war to consult what to determine, and there it was unanimously agreed to stand out in defence of the liberties of their country: which resolution being approved of by all the citizens, they earnestly set themselves to the carrying on of the war.

But the king forbore force for some time, to the end they might have time to recollect themselves, not thinking that one city only would engage with so great an army. For Alexander had with him above thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, all old experienced soldiers, (conquerors almost in every battle under Philip), in whose valour he so far confided, that he doubted not but by them to put an end to the Persian monarchy. However, if the Thebans had yielded to the present difficulty of the time, and had sent ambassadors to the Macedonians with terms of peace, he had no doubt complied with them, and granted whatever they would have desired. For he wished greatly to have all quiet in Greece, and to be free and undisturbed in his war against the Persians. But when he saw that he was slighted by the Thebans, he resolved to destroy the city, and by that means to terrify all others who for the future should dare to rebel. And now when the army was drawn out in battalia ready to engage, the king caused proclamation to be made—That any of the Thebans should have liberty to come in to him, and whosoever did, should enjoy the common liberty of Greece. On the other side, the Thebans, to shew themselves as forward in their ambition as the enemy, by the voice of a crier from a high tower made another proclamation—That whosoever had a desire to join with the great king* and the Thebans, to defend the liberties of the Grecians, and kill the tyrant of Greece, should be received by them. This touched him to the quick, and he was thereupon so enraged, that he vowed all sorts of deaths to the Thebans, and so commanded the engines to be prepared in order to an assault, and other things to be made ready for an engagement.

In the mean time, the Greeks considering the utter ruin that seem-

* King of Persia.

ed to hang over the heads of the Thebans, were greatly affected with the miseries wherewith they were likely to be overwhelmed, yet none durst appear to relieve the city, for that they had rashly and inconsiderately brought apparant destruction upon themselves: however, the Thebans were very forward and resolute to venture all to the utmost extremity, though they were a little startled with some prophecies and prodigies from the gods. The most remarkable was, that in the temple of Ceres, a slender spider's web was observed to spread out itself as broad as a cloak, and to represent the rainbow in an arched circumference. Concerning which, the oracle at Delphos gave them this answer—

The god to all, by this sign gives a call:
To thee, Bœotia, first; and neighbours all.

And the oracle in their own country returned them this other—

This web for one works bane,
And for another gain.

This prodigy happened about three months before the king came against Thebes. About the time of the king's arrival, the statues placed in the forum seemed to sweat to that degree, that great drops in every part stood upon them. Moreover, the magistrates were informed, that in the lake of Onchestus were heard voices like the roaring and bellowing of oxen. And that the waters in Dirce were to the view as if they had been all turned into blood. There were others from Delphos that reported, that the roof of the temple, built by the Thebans out of the spoils of the Phocians, appeared to be besmeared over with blood.

Those who addicted themselves to the interpretation of prodigies said—That the web portended the departure of the gods from the city; by the colour of the rainbow, was signified various troubles and turmoils; by the appearance of sweat, extreme miseries; and by the blood, slaughters and destructions in the city.

Therefore they advised the Thebans, that, insomuch as the gods plainly pointed at the ruin of the city—That they should not engage in fight with the enemy, but rather seek to agree matters some other way, which was much more safe.

But the Thebans abated nothing of their courage, but on the contrary, pushed forward by the heat of their spirits, encouraged one another with the remembrance of their famous victory at the battle of Leuctra, and other successes gained by their former valour. So that trusting more to the valour of their arms, than making use of prudent councils, they ran headlong to the ruin of themselves and their country.

In the mean time the king, within the space of three days, put

all things in order, both for assaulting the city, and marshalling his army for battle. His army he divided into three parts: one part he ordered to assault the out-wall; another to fight the Theban army; and the third he kept for reserves to relieve his men, and renew the fight as there should be occasion. But the Thebans placed their horse within the ramparts. Their slaves that were manumitted, the exiles, and the strangers that were inhabitants, were ordered to defend the walls: and the Thebans themselves (though they were far inferior in number) were resolved to fight those Macedonians commanded by the king, that were ready to make the assault.

And now all the women and children ran to the temples, to make supplication to the gods to deliver them from the ruin that threatened them. When the Macedonians drew near, the trumpets sounded a charge, upon which both armies set up a great shout, and every one charged that battalion to which he was appointed. By day-break the darts flew one at another, and those being quickly spent, they fell to it with their swords hand to hand, so that the fight presently was very sharp and bloody. For the Macedonians, through their number (far exceeding the other) and the fierceness of their charge, put the enemy hard to it. On the other side, the Thebans being stronger-bodied men, and used to martial discipline by their continual exercise in the schools, and more resolved than the other, resolutely went through all difficulties whatsoever, so that many were wounded, and multitudes killed on both sides. In the heat of the battle, a man might have heard shouts for victory, and groans of dying men at one and the same time, and the Macedonians often calling out to one another, not to stain the glory of their former victories by any base act of cowardice in the present engagement; and the Thebans pressing theirs not to suffer their parents, wives, and children, to be miserable captives, and all their families exposed to the rageful lust of the Macedonians, but that they would remember the battles at Leuctra and Mantinea, and the noble actions for which they were famous all the world over. So that the obstinate resolution of both parties occasioned the issue of the battle to be very doubtful a long time.

Alexander perceiving how the love of liberty inflamed the courage of the Thebans, and that the Macedonians began to faint, commanded the reserves to relieve them that were engaged. Upon which, the Macedonians coming with a fierce and sudden charge upon the Thebans, now even tired out, bore them down and killed multitudes of them. However, the Thebans would not yield the enemy the day, but stood to it with that obstinacy, that they slighted all misfortunes, and their valour so strengthened their resolution, that they

cried out—That the Macedonians must own themselves worsted by the Thebans. And this is to be observed of them—That when all others (being still pressed upon by their enemies with fresh supplies one after another) are wont to flag, they only are the more courageous, even when their wearied enemy is relieved by fresh reserves.

While the armies were thus resolutely engaged, the king spied a portal without any guard, and sends away Perdiccas with some regiments in order to possess himself of the place, and so break into the city. Perdiccas having presently executed the king's command, the Macedonians through this little gate forthwith rushed into the city. And though the Thebans had a good while before worsted the enemy's first battalion, and were now engaged with the second, and full of hopes of a perfect victory, yet, when they understood that the enemy had possessed themselves of a part of the city, they forthwith retired within the walls. And then both the horse and foot hastened back with all speed into the city, and trod many of their fellow-citizens under foot, who there perished; and while they made into the city in this trepidation and confusion, many were killed by running upon their own weapons in the strait and narrow passages, and by falling into the trenches. And in the midst of this distraction, the garrison out of the castle of Cadmea, issued forth like a rapid torrent upon the backs of the Thebans, and fell upon them as they were in this disorder and confusion, and cut them down in heaps. The city being thus taken, multitudes of all sorts of cruelties were acted within the walls. For the Macedonians, by reason of that insolency of the common crier, were enraged against the Thebans beyond what the law of arms would allow, and with many threats in their mouths, flew upon the miserable people, and without any pity or compassion put all to the sword that were in their way. However, among all these calamities, the courage of the Thebans, and their love to their liberty, was such, that they were so far from minding the preservation of their lives, as that when they met any of their enemies, they would provoke them of their own accord to kill them. For after the city was taken, not a Theban asked any quarter from a Macedonian, not a man that sordidly bowed down at the feet of the conqueror. Neither had the enemy any pity, notwithstanding the valour of the miserable people; nay, the whole day (though it was long) was judged too short to satiate their most cruel revenge. The whole city was plundered, poor children, boys and girls, were dragged up and down, calling upon their mothers, by their names, with most lamentable outcries. And to comprehend all in a few words, whole families, with all their kindred, were hurried away, and the whole body of the people brought under miserable slavery. The bodies of

some of the Thebans, as they lay wounded upon the ground, though they were upon the point of expiring, yet clasping their enemy in their arms, breathed out their last with a sort of joy and content that their enemy died with them. Others, though they had but a mere trunk of a spear to lean upon, yet fought with whomsoever they met: and so by that last attempt made it evident, how far they preferred their liberty before their lives. And though there was so great a slaughter made, that every part of the city was filled with dead carcasses, yet none that saw the miserable condition of these poor wretches pitied them. For even the Grecians, as the Thespians, Platæans, Orchomenians, and some others who hated the Thebans, (and who then bore arms under the king), broke in with others into the city, and amongst these dreadful slaughters executed their malice upon them. So that many sad spectacles of most inhuman cruelty might be seen throughout the whole city, Grecians butchering Grecians without any compassion, and those of the same language, blood, and nation, without any regard to any of these obligations, knocked on the head one by another. At length, when night came, the houses were pillaged, women, young and old, were dragged out of the temples, (whither they had fled), and most vilely and filthily abused. There were killed of the Thebans above six thousand, and three thousand made captives, and a vast treasure carried away. Above five hundred of the Macedonians were slain, whom the king took care to bury. Presently after, the king caused the general senate of Greece to meet, and referred it to their determination how Thebes should be dealt with. When the matter came to be debated, some who hated the Thebans were for putting them all to the sword; and made it appear how they had joined with the barbarians against the Greeks. For in the time of Xerxes, they joined as confederates with the Persians against Greece, and were the only Grecians that were honoured as friends by the Persian king, and their ambassadors placed and preferred before kings. These, and such like, being remembered and enforced, they so incited the senators against the Thebans, that they decreed—That the city should be razed to the ground, and the captives sold for slaves; that all the fugitives of Thebes should be driven out of all parts of Greece, and no Theban should be entertained by any Grecian. Hereupon the king, according to the decree, razed the city, which struck a terror into all the Grecians that had revolted. By the sale of the captives, he raised four hundred and forty talents of silver.

After this, he sent to Athens to demand ten of the orators to be delivered up to him, (amongst whom Demosthenes and Lycurgus were the chief), because they had stirred up the people against him,

Upon which a general assembly was called, and when the ambassadors were introduced, and had delivered their message, the people were greatly troubled and perplexed, desiring on the one hand to preserve the honour and dignity of the city, and on the other hand to consult their own safety, considering the destruction of Thebes, and that some imminent mischief might befal themselves; and thus they were made more cautious by their neighbour's misfortunes. At length, after many speeches made in the assembly upon this account, Phocion, that good man, who differed from Demosthenes in his politics, stood up and said—That it would very well become those who were demanded, to imitate the daughters of Leos* and the Hyacinthides†, by offering up their lives of their own accord to prevent the ruin of their country. And he told them—That it was baseness and cowardice to refuse to die for the preservation of the city.

At this motion the people were highly incensed, and in a popular tumult threw Phocion out of the senate. Then the people (by a studied speech made by Demosthenes) being moved to compassion, declared—That they would defend the men to the utmost. At length Demades, wrought upon (as is reported) by the friends of Demosthenes, for five talents of silver, gave his opinion for the securing and preserving of the orators; and read the decree, which was drawn by himself with great cunning and artifice. In which was contained an apology for the orators, and a promise—That, if they were guilty, they themselves would punish them according to the laws.

The people approved and ratified what Demades had read, and sent him with some others to the king, with orders—That he should intercede likewise on the behalf of the Theban exiles, that the people of Athens might lawfully receive and entertain them.

Demades wisely managed his embassy, and by his eloquence prevailed with the king in every respect. For Alexander both pardoned the orators, and granted all other things the Athenians desired.

Then the king marched back with his army into Macedonia, and called a general council of his officers and chief friends, and when they were met together, he asked their opinion—What they thought of an expedition into Asia? When it was fit to begin the war? and how it was to be managed? The counsel, indeed, of Antipater and Parmenio was—That he should first marry and have issue to succeed

* Leos had three daughters, Pasithea, Theope, and Eubule, who were willingly sacrificed to put an end to a plague in Athens.—*Suid.*

† The Hyacinthides were six daughters of Erectheus king of Athens, who offered themselves to be sacrificed to gain a victory for their country against Eumolpus king of Thrace: so named from a village called Hyachinthus, where they were sacrificed.—*Suid.*

him, and then set upon matters that were of so great weight and concernment. But the king, who was naturally fierce, and could not endure stops and delays in business, rejected their advice. For he said—It was a mean and unworthy thing for him who was created general of all Greece, and had the command of an army that never knew what it was to be conquered, to stay at home merely to marry and beget children. Wherefore, after he had set before them the advantages of the war, and had encouraged them to undertake it, he offered most magnificent sacrifices to the gods at Dium in Macedonia, and exhibited the sports and plays which his ancestor Archilaus had instituted to Jupiter and the muses. This solemnity continued nine days, according to the number of the muses, a day for every muse. He provided likewise a pavilion which would contain a hundred beds*, where he feasted and entertained all his friends and commanders of his army, and ambassadors of cities.

After these sumptuous feasts were over, (in which he not only kindly entertained a vast number of people, but likewise distributed parts of the sacrifices, and other things suitable to the magnificence of the festival amongst his soldiers), he rendezvoused all his forces from all parts.

CHAP. II.

Alexander lands his army in Asia. The battle at Granicus. The forces of the Persians and of Alexander. Alexander kills Spithrobates; near being killed by Rhosaces. Miletus besieged and taken. Ada, queen of Caria, meets Alexander. Halicarnassus besieged, taken, and sacked. The strange act of the Marmarenses.

CTESIDES was lord-chancellor of Athens, and Caius Sulpitius, and Lucius Papirius consuls at Rome, when Alexander at the Hellespont passed over his army out of Europe into Asia. Being arrived at Troas with sixty sail of long ships, he was the first of the Macedonians that cast a spear out of the ship, which fixed in the earth upon the shore, and then leaped out of the vessel, signfying, that by the help of the gods he had taken possession of Asia, which was conquered by his spear.

Then he sacrificed to the ghosts of Achilles and Ajax, performing

* Upon which they sat at meat

all other rites and ceremonies proper to the veneration of those heroes. When that was done, he took an exact account of the number of those forces he had transported, which were found to amount to thirteen thousand* Macedonian foot, seven thousand confederates, and five thousand mercenaries. Parmenio had the chief command of all these. Besides these, there were the Odrysæ†, Treballians, and Illyrians, to the number of five thousand, and a thousand darters, called Agrianes; so that in the whole there were thirty thousand foot. For horse, there were eighteen hundred raised out of Macedonia, under the command of Philotas, the son of Parmenio. As many out of Thrace, commanded by Callas, the son of Harpalus. From the rest of Greece, six hundred led by Eurygius. Besides these, there were nine hundred Thracians and Pœonians in the van, whose commander was Cassander. The whole body of horse was four thousand five hundred‡. And this is the number of them that landed in Asia with Alexander.

In the mean time, he left under the command of Antipater, in Europe, twelve thousand foot, and eleven thousand five hundred horse§.

When he departed from Troas, and came to the temple of Minerva‖, the priest called Alexander, seeing the statue of Ariobarzanes (that had been lord-lieutenant of Phrygia) lie prostrate upon the ground before the temple, and observing several other good omens, came to the king, and told him—That he would be conqueror in a considerable horse engagement, especially if he fought in Phrygia, and that he should kill a great commander of the enemy with his own hand. And these things, he said, were foretold him by the gods, and especially by Minerva, who would be assistant to him in obtaining his victories.

Alexander, much taken with this prophecy, and relying upon it, offered to Minerva a most splendid sacrifice, and dedicated his arms to her, and took away others (that had been laid up there) in their stead, which he made use of in the first fight afterwards, and gained a most glorious victory by his own peculiar valour. But this happened some few days after.

In the mean time, the Persian lord-lieutenants and commanders, (who through their sloth were not able to put a stop to the progress of the Macedonians), met together to consult how to manage the war against Alexander. Memnon, the Rhodian, one there amongst them, (a very skilful general), was not for fighting, but to give a check to the Macedonians, by destroying the country all before them, that so

* It should be twelve thousand. † A people of Thrace, of the city Odrysæ.

‡ But by the particulars, they amount to five thousand one hundred.

§ The Greek is so, but the Latin fifteen hundred horse. ‖ At Ilium.

they might not be able to march forward for want of provisions: and was for bringing over both land and sea forces into Macedonia, by that means to make that the seat of the war. Although this was sound advice, (as the event made it afterwards evident), yet the rest of the commanders would not hearken to it, looking upon it as a thing dishonourable, and much reflecting upon the valour of the Persians.

All being therefore resolved upon a battle, forces were brought together from all parts, and the lord-lieutenants being now much superior in number, marched towards the Hellespont in Phrygia, and encamping close by the river Granicus, having the river for a defence between them and the Macedonians.

Alexander having intelligence of the forces of the barbarians, made a swift march, and came up so close to the enemy, that the river only separated both armies.

In the mean time, the barbarians stood in battalia at the foot of the hill, judging it would do their business effectually, and that they should be sure of the victory, by falling upon them in their passage over the river, and by that means breaking in pieces the Macedonian battalion*. But Alexander prevented the enemy, and with great courage passed over his army about the break of day, and drew up his men in order of battle. The barbarians drew up the whole body of their horse against the Macedonians, for they had before resolved to begin the fight with them. Memnon the Rhodian, and Arsamenes the lord-lieutenant, with their several regiments of horse, were in the left wing, supported by Arrites, who commanded the Paphlagonian horse; and next to him Spithrobates, lord-lieutenant of Ionia, with them of Hyrcania. In the left wing were two thousand Median horse, under the conduct of Arrheomithres, and the like number from Bactria. In the main body was a vast number of horse of other nations, of the best and most experienced soldiers; the whole amounting to above ten thousand horse.

The Persian foot were at least a hundred thousand men, who stood drawn up behind the horse, without moving a foot, because they concluded, that the horse themselves would serve the turn to rout the Macedonians.

And now the horse charged with great resolution on both sides, especially the Thessalians in the left wing, under the command of Parmenio, bearing the brunt of a brisk charge with undaunted courage.

Alexander with the choicest body of horse in the left wing, setting spurs to his horse, was the first that charged, and rushing into the thickest of his enemies, made great slaughter amongst them. The barbarians fought valiantly, striving to outdo the Macedonians, and

* Phalanx.

fortune at this time brought together the persons of the greatest quality into this place. For Spithrobates, the chief governor of the province of Ionia, a Persian, and son-in-law to Darius, a very valiant man, charged the Macedonians with a great body of horse, seconded by forty of his guard, all of his kindred, and inferior to none for valour and courage. With these he put the enemy hard to it, and attacked those about him with great resolution, killing some, and wounding others: and, when none were able to contend with him, Alexander rode up to the barbarian, and fought with him hand to hand.

Hereupon the Persian, concluding that the gods, of their special favour to him, had given him the opportunity of a happy combat, (especially if by his valour he should free all Asia from their fears, and by his own hands give a check to these audacious attempts of Alexander that rung through all the world, and prevent the dishonour of the Persians), was the first that cast his javelin at Alexander, and with such force and violence, that it pierced through his buckler and breast-plate, into his right shoulder-blade. The king, plucking out the dart with his own hand, threw it away, and, setting spurs to his horse, flew upon the Persian lord-lieutenant with that fierceness and violence, that he fixed his spear in the middle of his breast. Upon which the battalions of both armies there near at hand, in admiration of such a piece of singular valour, set up a great shout. But the point breaking in the breast-plate, so that the spear pierced no farther, the Persian made at Alexander with his drawn sword, who, having got another lance, threw it directly into his face, and pierced him through the head; at which instant Rhosaces, brother to him that was killed, came swiftly riding up, and gave the king such a blow, that he cut through his helmet, and wounded him slightly upon the head; and, just as he was ready to second his stroke, Clitus, surnamed Niger, posted up, and cut off the hand of the barbarian.

The kinsmen of the two brothers (now both fallen) came round about them, and at the first plied Alexander with their darts, and then fell to it hand to hand, and ran through all hazards, that they might kill Alexander. And, though he was environed with imminent hazards and dangers of his life, yet the throng of his enemies did not at all daunt him: for, though he had received three strokes through his breast-plate, and one cut upon his helmet, and had his buckler, which he brought from the temple of Minerva, thrice pierced through, yet he stirred not a foot, but stood his ground against all hazards and difficulties with undaunted resolution.

In the mean time other brave commanders fell round about him, amongst whom the most remarkable were Artyaxes, and Pharnaces

the brother of Darius, and Mithrobarzanes, the commander of the Cappadocians; so that many great officers being killed, and all the troops of the Persians routed and broken by the valour of the Macedonians, the first that fell upon Alexander were forced to take to their heels, and, after them, all the rest.

In this battle, by the confession of all, the valour of Alexander was cried up above all others; and he was reputed the chief instrument of the victory. The Thessalian horse managed their troops with that dexterity, and fought with that brave resolution, that, next to the king, they were most highly applauded, and gained exceeding honour and reputation.

After the horse was routed and fled, the foot, running in one upon another in confusion, fought awhile; but, amazed and dejected with the flight of their horse, they likewise turned their backs and made away.

There were killed in the Persian army above ten thousand foot, and at least two thousand horse, and above twenty thousand taken prisoners.

After the battle, the king buried those of his that were slain with great solemnity, by these honours to encourage his soldiers to fight the more readily. When he had refreshed his army, he marched forward through Lydia, and came to Sardis, which, with the citadel, and all the provisions and treasure therein, were voluntarily surrendered to him by Mithrenes* the governor.

In the mean time, those Persians that had escaped out of the battle, fled, together with their general Memnon, to Miletus, before which the king afterwards came, and assaulted it continually for several days together, still relieving his men from time to time with fresh supplies. The besieged at first easily defended themselves from the walls; for the city was full of soldiers, and plentifully furnished with weapons and all other things necessary for enduring a siege. But, as soon as the king began fiercely to batter the walls with his engines, and violently to push on the siege both by sea and land, and the Macedonians had forced their way through a breach of the walls, putting their enemies to flight in that part, the Milesians forthwith prostrated themselves as suppliants at the king's feet, and gave up themselves and the city to his mercy. Some of the barbarians were killed by the Macedonians, others fled out of the city, and the rest were all taken. He dealt kindly and mercifully with the Milesians; but, as for the others, he sold them all for slaves.

And now, having no further use for his navy, and being likewise expensive to maintain, he dismissed his fleet, except a few ships

* Or Mithrines.

which he detained for the conveying of his engines of battery, and other instruments useful for the besieging of towns; among which were twenty vessels from Athens.

There are some who say, that this discharging of the fleet proved Alexander a prudent general: for Darius being on his march, and it being therefore very likely that a great battle was to be fought, he conceived that the Macedonians would fight with more resolution when they saw there was no possibility of flight. And the very same project he contrived at the battle of Granicus, where he so ordered the matter, that the river should be at the backs of his soldiers, to the end that none might have a thought of flying, since the river threatened certain destruction to them that attempted it.

In following times Agathocles, king of Syracuse, followed this example of Alexander, and so gained a glorious victory. For, having transported a small army into Africa, he set all his ships on fire, to take away all hope from his soldiers of escaping by flight; by which means, being forced of necessity to stand to it courageously, he overcame many thousands of the Carthaginians drawn up against him.

After the taking of Miletus, both Persians and mercenaries, with their chiefest commanders, came flocking to Halicarnassus. This was then the greatest city in Caria, in which was a palace of the kings, adorned with most curious turrets and citadels.

About the same time Memnon sent away his wife and children to Darius, as well for their security, as to induce the king, having such considerable hostages in his hands, to intrust him with more confidence in the management of the war; which happened accordingly: for Darius presently sent letters to all the inhabitants of the sea-coasts of Asia, to be observant in every thing to all the commands of Memnon. Being made, therefore, general of the whole army, he provided all things necessary for the defence of Halicarnassus against a siege.

In the mean time, the king sent away his engines of battery, and corn and provisions, by sea, to Halicarnassus, and he himself, with his whole army, marched into Caria, and, wherever he came, he gained upon the cities by his smooth tongue and courteous behaviour. The Greek cities especially tasted of his grace and favour, for he gave all of them liberty to govern according to their own laws, and ordered that they should be free from tribute, declaring, that he had undertaken a war against the Persians, for the rights and liberties of the Grecians.

When he was upon his march, he was met by a woman of noble birth, called Ada, of the lineage of the king of Caria, who, upon

discourse with him concerning the right of her ancestors, entreated him to restore her to the kingdom of her grandfather, which he gave up to her, and bid her take it as her own; by which bounty to the woman, he gained the hearts of the Grecians, and all the cities sent their ambassadors to him; and, presenting him with crowns of gold, promised and offered to serve him in all things to the utmost of their power.

Alexander now encamped near to the city, and forthwith assaulted the town in a furious and terrible manner: for, at the very beginning, his soldiers by turns stormed the walls without any intermission, so that the conflict continued whole days together. Afterwards, he brought up all sorts of engines to the walls, and filled up the trenches before the city, by the help of three machines called snails, and then with his rams battered down the towers and walls that ran along between them. Part being thus beaten down, he engaged in the breach with the enemy, and endeavoured to force his way into the city over the rubbish. But Memnon easily repulsed the Macedonians, (who first assaulted the wall), there being many men within the city; and in the night, when the engines were brought up, he made a sally with a great body of men, and set fire to them. Upon which there were many sharp conflicts before the walls, in which the Macedonians far excelled the other for valour, but the Persians exceeded them in number of men, and all warlike provisions. But those upon the walls were of great advantage to the Persians that were engaged in the sally, by galling their enemies with their darts and arrows, attended with deaths and wounds; shouting of men and sounding of trumpets every where echoed in the air, while the soldiers on both sides, with loud acclamations, applauded the noble actions of their several parties.

And now some endeavoured to extinguish the mounting flames of the engines, and others, engaging with the enemy, made a grievous slaughter among their adversaries. Those within raised up other walls much stronger, instead of those that were battered down. The commanders, with Memnon, being in the front, encouraged their men to stand to it, offering great rewards to such as valiantly behaved themselves: so that it was incredible with what heat and spirit every one pushed forward to win the day. Then might be seen some carried out of the army so wounded that they were breathing out their last; others gathered round the bodies of the dead, and sharply engaged in striving to carry off the bodies, in order to their burial; others, but even now tired out with wounds and blows, presently (through the encouragement of the officers) recovering their spirits, fell to it briskly again.

Some of the Macedonians (among whom was Neoptolemus, an honourable person), were slain, even under the city gates. And now towers and two flankers were battered down; upon which some drunken soldiers of Perdiccas rashly in the night mounted the walls of the citadel: but Memnon, understanding what plight they were in, made a sally, and, being much superior in numbers, repulsed the Macedonians, and killed many of them, which being noised abroad, the Macedonians came flocking in to the aid of their fellows; upon which there was a brisk encounter. At length, when those with Alexander appeared, and joined with the rest, the Persians flagged, and were beaten back into the city. Then the king sent a trumpeter to make a truce, in order to carry off those Macedonians that were slain before the walls: but Ephialtes and Thrasybulus, both Athenians, and then in arms for the Persians, gave advice not to suffer the dead to be buried. However, Memnon granted what the king desired.

Afterwards Ephialtes, in a council of war, declared his opinion—That it was not advisable for them to stay till the city was taken, and so to be made prisoners, but for all the officers, with the mercenaries, to venture their lives for the safety and security of the rest, and to sally upon the enemy out of the city. Hereupon Memnon, perceiving Ephialtes to be prompted to action by an extraordinary impulse of valour, and placing great confidence in him by reason of his courage and the strength of his body, agreed to what he had advised. In order to which, he appointed two thousand mercenaries, of the best soldiers he could pick out, to sally with him, one half of whom were commanded to carry along with them lighted fire-brands, and the other to fall in upon the enemy. About break of day the gates were suddenly flung open, and the regiments issued out, and cast their fire-brands among the engines; upon which a great flame presently appeared. Ephialtes, at the head of others formed into a deep phalanx, charged upon the Macedonians, who were hastening to preserve and defend the engines. The king, quick in discerning what was to be done, placed the chief of the Macedonians in the front, and some of the chiefest soldiers next, in order to support them; and to these he added a third battalion, for valour exceeding all the rest. The whole body he led up himself, and fell upon the enemy, who seemed (through their firm and close order) to be impenetrable, and not to be broken by any force whatsoever.

In the mean time he commanded others to go to defend the engines, and quench the fire. Noise and clamour filled the camps, and the trumpet giving the alarm to battle, they fell to it, fighting

with more than ordinary valour, ambitious to purchase honour and renown. The Macedonians easily quenched the fire, but in the conflict those with Ephialtes got the better: for, with whomsoever he engaged, (being of a far stronger body than any of them), he certainly killed, and those that were upon the new wall slew many with their darts: for upon this wall there was a wooden tower erected, an hundred cubits high, full of engines for shooting of darts and arrows.

Many therefore of the Macedonians being killed, and the rest retreating by reason of the multitude of darts, and Memnon coming in to the assistance of the Persians with a far greater number, the king himself knew not well what to do. While those that issued out of the town thus prevailed, on a sudden the tables were turned: for the old Macedonians (who by reason of their age were to this time dispensed with, and not called to fight, though formerly victorious in many battles under King Philip) now, at this very instant, were stirred up to their antient courage and resolution; and, being both valiant and expert soldiers, (far beyond all the rest), they upbraided the cowardice of the fresh-water soldiers, who turned their backs, with most bitter taunts and reproaches. These presently getting into a body, and clapping their bucklers one into another, fell in upon the enemy, (now confident of an assured victory), and, having killed Ephialtes, and many others, forced the rest into the city; and the Macedonians, being mixed with the others in the night-time, entered pell-mell with them within the walls; but the king ordered a retreat to be sounded, and so they returned into the camp. After this, Memnon and the rest of the commanders consulted together, and determined to leave the city. In execution of which resolve, they left the best of the soldiers to keep the citadel, with sufficient provision and all other things necessary, and transported themselves, with the rest of the citizens, and all their wealth, into Coos.

Alexander about spring of day, understanding what was done, cast a trench, and built a rampart upon it round about the castle, and razed the city itself to the ground. Then he ordered part of his army to march farther up into the country, in order to force other provinces to his obedience. These forces valiantly brought under the power of Alexander all the nations as far as to the borders of the Greater Phrygia, and forced them to find provisions for their army.

Alexander himself subdued all the sea-coast of Asia to Cilicia, gaining many cities by surrender, and taking several forts and castles by storm, amongst which there was one that was taken after a wonderful manner, which, by reason of the rarity of the thing, is not to be passed over.

In the utmost borders of Lycia, the Marmarenses*, who inhabited upon a great rock, and well fortified, fell upon the rear of Alexander's army in their march thither, and slew many of the Macedonians, and carried away a great number of prisoners and carriage-horses. At which the king was so enraged, that he resolved to besiege the place, and used his utmost endeavour to gain it. But the Marmarenses, trusting to their own valour, and the strength of the place, manfully endured the siege; for they were assaulted two days together without any intermission, and were assured that the king would not stir from thence till he had taken the rock. The antient men, therefore, at the first advised the younger to forbear standing it out with such violence, and to make peace with the king upon as good conditions as they could; which, when they denied, and all resolved to part with their lives and the liberties of their country together, the graver men then advised them to kill all the old men, women, and children, and that those who were strong and able to defend themselves should break through their enemy's camp in the night, and fly to the next mountains. The young men approved of the counsel, and thereupon an edict was made—That every one should go to his own house, and eat and drink plentifully with his wife, children, and relations, and then expect the execution of the decree. But some of the young men who were more considerate than the rest (who were about six hundred in the whole) judged it more advisable to forbear killing their own kindred and relations with their own hands, but rather to set the houses on fire, and then to sally out at the gates, and make to the mountains for their security. This was presently agreed to, and the thing put in execution; and so every man's house became his sepulchre: and the young men themselves broke through the midst of their enemies, and fled to the hills near at hand. And these were the chief things done this year.

* Or Marmarians.

CHAP. III.

Mitylene taken by Memnon, Darius's general. His successes. He dies. Charidemus the Athenian unjustly put to death by Darius. Alexander falls sick: is recovered by Philip. Alexander seizes Alexander of Lyncestes, on account of his mother's letters. Alexander takes Issus. The memorable battle at Issus, where the mother, wife, two daughters, and son of Darius were taken. Alexander's noble behaviour towards them. Darius's letters and offers to Alexander. Darius prepares another army.

BUT in the following year, wherein Nicocrates was chief governor of Athens, and Cæsio Valerius, and Lucius Papirius, succeeded in the consular dignity at Rome, Darius sent a great sum of money to Memnon, and declared him general of all his forces. Hereupon he raised great numbers of men from all parts, and, fitting out a navy of three hundred sail, applied himself with great diligence to the prosecution of the war. To that end, he brought in Chios to join with him. Then he sailed to Lesbos, and presently took Antissa, Methymna, Pyrrha, and Erissa. But, as for Mitylene and Lesbos*, because they were much larger, and strongly garrisoned and well provided, he gained them not without many assaults, and the loss of many of his men, though he took them at length, with much ado. The fame of this action being presently noised abroad, many of the Cyclade islands sent ambassadors to him, to make leagues with him. Then there was a report spread abroad, that Memnon, with his whole fleet, was intending to invade Eubœa, which put all the cities into a great consternation. And some of the Grecians, being brought into the confederacy of the Persians, were heartened in hopes of a change of their affairs for the better. Besides, Memnon had corrupted many of the Greeks with money to sail in the same bottom with the Persians. But fortune put a stop to the progress of this man's success: for he fell sick of a mortal distemper, and died; and, by his death, the affairs of Darius went backward: for the king† hoped to have transferred the whole weight of the war out of Asia into Europe.

But, when he heard of the death of Memnon, he called his friends together, and asked their advice—Whether he should send a general

* Lesbos, a city in Lesbos. † Of Persia.

with the army, or go himself in person, and try his fortune with the Macedonians. Some were of opinion that the king should go himself, for they said that the Persians would then with more cheerfulness venture their lives. But Charidemus the Athenian, who was in great esteem for his valour and prudence as a general, (for, under Philip he gained great reputation, and was his chief and principal adviser in all his weighty affairs), advised Darius not to lay the kingdom rashly at stake, but still to continue lord of Asia, and keep the government in his own hand, and to appoint an experienced general to manage the concerns of the war. And he told him, that an hundred thousand men, of which number a third part should be mercenaries out of Greece, were sufficient for the expedition, and engaged that he would see the thing accomplished. The king at first agreed to what he said; but his friends peremptorily rejected this advice, suspecting that Charidemus sought for the chief command, with a design to give up all into the power of the Macedonians. Hereupon Charidemus was in such a rage, that he called them all cowards; with which words the king was much more offended than before: and whereas anger never suffers a man to consider wisely before hand, Darius ordered him to be bound in a belt, (which is the manner of the Persians), and delivered him to his guards to be put to death; who, when he was being led to execution, cried out—That the king would in a short time repent of what he had done in this matter, and would be punished for that unjust judgment against him by the loss of his kingdom. Thus fell Charidemus from the summit of all his hopes and expectations, through the unseasonable liberty of his tongue. But the king, as soon as his anger was over, presently repented of what he had done, and accused himself as guilty of a most horrid crime: but the power of a king could not undo that which was past remedy. Considering, therefore, how valiant the Macedonians were, and musing upon the courage of Alexander, he inquired where he might have a fit person to succeed Memnon in the chief command of the army; and, when none could be found, he was forced to run the hazard himself for the saving of his kingdom. He forthwith, therefore, ordered all his forces to be called together from all parts, and to rendezvous at Babylon. Then he made choice of such of his kindred and friends as he thought fit, and to some he gave commands in the army, according to their several qualities, and others he appointed to attend upon his person, as his life-guards. As soon as the time before fixed upon for the expedition was come, they all rendezvoused at Babylon, to the number of four hundred thousand foot, and an hundred thousand horse. Hence he marched away,

with this vast number of men, towards Cilicia*, taking along with him his mother, wife, and children, that is to say, a son and two daughters.

In the mean time, Alexander (while Memnon was living), hearing how Chios and the cities of Lesbos were surrendered into the hands of Memnon, and that Mitylene was taken by storm, and that he was ready to invade Macedonia with a navy of three hundred sail, and that many of the Grecians were upon the point of revolting), was very much perplexed and discontented: but, as soon as he heard of Memnon's death, his mind was more at rest. But within a short time after he fell desperately sick, and, growing worse and worse, sent for physicians, who, when they came, were all afraid to administer any thing, looking upon him as irrecoverable: but there was one Philip of Acarnania, (whose practice it was commonly to make use of desperate medicines), who promised to cure him by a potion: the king hereupon readily complied with this, especially because he heard Darius was on his march from Babylon. Then the physician delivered the potion, which, through the art and skill of Philip, and the advantage of the natural strength of the patient, presently cured the king; who being thus, beyond all hope, recovered, bountifully rewarded the physician, and received him into the number of his most faithful friends.

About the same time Alexander received letters from his mother, wherein (among other things which she thought fit to advise him of) she wished him to have a care of Alexander of Lyncestes†, who was a very valiant man, and of a generous disposition, and not inferior to any for his faithfulness to Alexander. But, many things concurring that seemed to fortify the accusation, he was seized and committed to custody, in order to his legal trial. But Alexander, having intelligence that Darius was within a few day's march, sent Parmenio before with the army, to gain the passes and the gates‡, as they were called; who, marching away with all speed, possessed himself of them, beating off the barbarians, who were there before him. Darius, that he might march with more ease, had left all his heavy baggage and rabble behind him at Damascus, a city of Syria. Hence he marched with all the speed he could, hearing that Alexander had previously possessed himself of all the difficult passes and places, as not daring to fight in the plain and open field, as he supposed. The inhabitants of all the places through which Alexander had passed, slighting the inconsiderable number of the Macedonians, and

* Cilicia, now Carmania, in the Turkish dominions. † In Macedonia.

‡ Syriæ Pylæ, or the gates of Syria.

frightened at the approach of the vast army of the Persians, without any regard to Alexander, sided with Darius, and readily supplied the Persians with provisions and all other necessaries, and, by the rule of their own opinions, adjudged the victory before-hand to the barbarians.

In the mean time, Alexander had possessed himself of Issus*, (surprised with the fear of his army), a considerable city of Cilicia; and, understanding by his spies that Darius was not above thirty furlongs distant, and that he was even now approaching, with his army so provided and in that order as to make them terrible to all, he judged that the gods highly favoured him, in putting such an opportunity into his hands, as that, by the gaining of one victory, he should ruin the whole empire of Persia. Hereupon he stirred up the spirits of his soldiers, (by a speech for the occasion), encouraging them to fight manfully, now all lay at stake. His regiments of foot and squadrons of horse he posted as the place and ground would best allow: the horse was placed before the whole body of the foot, which were ordered behind so as to support and relieve the horse. Being in the right wing himself, he marched on towards the enemy with the choicest of the horse. The Thessalian horse were in the left, for valour and skill far excelling all the rest. And now the armies came within the cast of a dart one of another, upon which there flew such a shower of darts from the barbarians against them with Alexander, that, through their multitude, they so brushed in their flight one upon another, that their force was much abated, and they did little harm. Then presently the trumpets on both sides sounded a charge, and the Macedonians were the first that set up a great shout, which being answered by the barbarians, all the hills and mountains there near at hand echoed with the noise. But the shout of the barbarians far exceeded the other, being made by five hundred thousand men at once.

Then Alexander looked every where round about to spy out Darius, whom having found, he made at him (with those horse that were with him) with all the speed imaginable, desiring not so much to conquer the Persians, as to gain the present victory by his own personal valour. In the mean time, the whole body of horse engaged, great slaughter being made on both sides; but the valour of those engaged caused the victory to hang a long time in suspense, appearing sometimes here and sometimes there, by changes and turns. No dart cast or stroke given by any was in vain, but did some execution, for in such a multitude the mark was sure to be hit. So that great numbers were wounded, and others, fighting to their last breath,

* Issus, now Laiazzo, under the Turks.

chose rather to lose their lives, than part with their honour. And the officers, at the head of their regiments, so bravely behaved themselves, that they put life and courage into the common soldiers. There might then be seen all sorts of wounds, and as various and sharp contests for victory. Oxathres, a Persian, and brother of Darius, a very valiant man, as soon as he saw Alexander make so fiercely at Darius, was resolved to undergo the same fortune with his brother, and therefore charged Alexander's body with the best of the horse he could make choice of out of his own troops, and, knowing that his love to his brother would advance his fame and reputation above all other things among the Persians, he fought close by his chariot, and with that courage and dexterity, that he laid many dead at his feet; and, inasmuch as the Macedonians were as resolute on the other side not to move a foot, the dead bodies rose up in heaps round about the chariot of Darius. And, every one striving to lay hold of the king, both sides fought with great obstinacy, without any regard of their lives. In this conflict many of the Persian nobility were slain, amongst whom were Antixyes and Rheomitres, and Tasiaces, the lord-lieutenant of Egypt. And many of the Macedonians likewise; and Alexander himself (compassed round by the enemy) was wounded in the thigh. The chariot-horses of Darius, receiving many wounds, and frightened at the multitude of carcases that lay in heaps round about them, grew so unruly, that they would have hurried Darius into the midst of his enemies, if he had not in this extremity caught hold of the reins himself, being forced thus to make bold with the laws of the Persians, in debasing the majesty of the Persian kings. In the mean time, his servants brought to him another chariot, and, while he was ascending this, there arose a great tumult, insomuch that Darius himself (by the enemy pressing hard upon him) was in a great terror and consternation; which, when some of the Persians discerned, they began first to fly, and the horse that were next following the example of their fellows, at length all made away as fast as they could. The places being narrow and strait, in their haste they trod down one another, and many perished without a stroke from the enemy; for they lay in heaps, some with their arms, others without them; some held their naked swords so long in their hands, that their fellow-soldiers ran themselves upon them, and so were slain. But many got away into the open plain, and, by the swiftness of their horses, escaped to the several cities of the allies.

During this time, the Macedonian phalanx* and the Persian foot fought awhile; for the flight of the horse was the prelude to the

* Battalion, about eight thousand foot.

victory. The barbarians therefore taking to their heels, and so many thousands making away through the same straits, all places thereabouts were in a short time covered with dead carcases; but the Persians, by the advantage of night, got away here and there into several places of shelter.

The Macedonians therefore left off the pursuit, and betook themselves to the rifling of the camp, especially the king's pavilion, because there were the richest booties; so that there was found and carried thence vast sums of gold and silver, and exceeding rich garments and furniture; an abundance likewise of treasure belonging to his friends and kindred, and the commanders of his army: for the wives not only from the king's household, but from the families of his kindred and attendants, mounted in chariots glittering with gold, (according to the custom of the Persians), accompanied the camp in their march from place to place. And every one of these (through their luxury and delicateness, to which they had commonly inured themselves) carried with them abundance of rich furniture, and a multitude of beautiful women. But the captive ladies were then in a most miserable condition: for they who before, by reason of their nicety, could scarcely be placed in their stately chariots so as to please them, and had their bodies so attired as that no air might touch them, now rent their garments in pieces, and, scarce with one simple veil to cover their nakedness, threw themselves shrieking out of their chariots, and, with their eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, cast themselves down at the feet of the conquerors. Some with their trembling hands pulled off all their jewels and ornaments from their own bodies, and ran up steep rocks and craggy places, with their hair flying about their ears; and thus meeting in throngs together, some called for help from those who wanted the relief of others as much as themselves; some were dragged along by the hair of their heads, others were stripped naked, and then killed, and sometimes cudgelled to death with the heavy ends of the soldier's lances. Nay, even all manner of disgrace and contempt was poured upon the glory of the Persians, so famous and honourable heretofore all the world over.

But the more sober and moderate of the Macedonians, seeing that strange turn of fortune, much pitied the condition of those miserable creatures, who had lost every thing that was near and dear to them in this world, and were now environed with nothing but strangers and enemies, and fallen into miserable and dishonourable captivity. But the mother of Darius, and his wife, and two daughters, now marriageable, (and his little son especially), drew tears from the eyes of the beholders; for their sad change of fortune, and the great-

ness of their sudden and unexpected calamity, (presented thus to their view), could not but move them to a compassionate consideration of their present condition: for, as yet, it was not known whether Darius was alive or dead. And in the mean time they* perceived his tent pillaged and rifled by armed men, who knew no difference of persons, and therefore committed many indecent and unworthy actions, and saw likewise all Asia brought under the power of a conquering sword as well as themselves. The wives of the governors of the provinces that fell at their† feet to beg protection, were so far from finding relief, that they themselves earnestly prayed them to rescue them out of their present calamity.

Alexander's servants, having possessed themselves of Darius's tents, prepared the tables and baths which were used by Darius himself, and lighted up many lamps, in expectation of the king, that at his return from the pursuit he might take possession of all the furniture of Darius, as an earnest of the empire and government of all Asia. Of the barbarians there fell in this battle above an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and no fewer than ten thousand horse. Of the Macedonians, three hundred foot, and an hundred and fifty horse. And this was the issue of the battle at Issus.

But to return to the kings themselves: Darius with all his army being thus routed, fled, and, by changing from time to time one horse after another, the best he had, he made away with all speed, to escape out of the hands of Alexander, and to get to the governors of the upper provinces. But Alexander, with the best of his horse and chiefest of his friends, pursued him close at the very heels, earnestly longing to be master of Darius. But, after he had ridden two hundred furlongs, he returned at midnight into the camp; and, having refreshed his weary body in the baths, went to supper, and then to his rest.

In the mean time, one came to the mother of Darius, and told her that Alexander was returned from the pursuit of Darius, and had possessed himself of all the rich spoils of his tent. Upon which there was heard a great shriek and lamentation amongst the women, and, from the multitude of the captives condoling with the queen at the sad news, all places were filled with cries of anguish and horror. The king, understanding what sorrow there was among the women, sent Leonatus, one of his courtiers, to them, to put an end to their fears, and to let Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, know that her son was alive, and that Alexander would have respect to their former dignity; and that, to confirm the promise of his generosity by his ac-

* The women-captives, Darius's wife, children, and mother.

† Of the queen and queen-mother of Persia.

tions, he would come and discourse with them the day following. Whereupon the captives were so surprised with the sudden and happy turn of their fortunes, that they honoured Alexander as a god, and their fears were turned into exultations of joy.

The king, as soon as it was light, (with Hephæstion, one of the trustiest of his friends) went to visit the queens. When they entered, being both habited alike, Sisygambis, taking Hephæstion for the king, (because he was the more comely and taller man), fell prostrate at his feet; but the attendants, by the nods of their heads, and pointing of their fingers, directed her to Alexander: whereupon, being much ashamed and out of countenance, by reason of the mistake, she saluted Alexander in the same manner she had done the other. Upon which he lifted her up, and said—Mother, trouble not, nor perplex yourself; for that man also is Alexander. By which courteous and obliging title of mother to a grave and honourable matron, he gave a clear demonstration of the respects and civilities he intended towards them all.

Having therefore owned her for a second mother, he presently confirmed his words by his actions: for he ordered her to be clothed in her royal robes, and restored her to all the honours becoming her former state and dignity. For he gave her all her attendants and household servants and furniture allowed her by Darius, and added also as much more of his own bounty. He promised likewise to dispose of the young ladies in marriage far better than if their father had provided husbands for them; and that he would educate the king's little son as carefully and honourably as if he were his own. Then he called him to him, and kissed him; and, taking notice that he was not at all ashamed, nor seemed to be in the least affrighted, turning to Hephæstion and those about him, "This youth, but six years of age," said he, "carries in his countenance marks of a stout and brave spirit, above his age, and is better than his father." He further declared—That he would take care of the wife of Darius, that she should want for nothing, in order to the support and maintenance of her royal state and former prosperity. Many other kind and gaining expressions he used, insomuch that the ladies fell a-weeping in showers of tears, out of transports of joy, upon account of the greatness of their unexpected felicity. After all, he at length put forth to them his right hand to kiss, upon which not only they who were immediately honoured with those kindnesses set forth his praise, but even the whole army cried up his incomparable grace and clemency. And, indeed, I conceive that amongst the many brave and noble acts of Alexander, none of them were greater than this, or more worthy by history to be handed down to posterity: for storming

and taking of cities, gaining of battles, and other successes in war, are many times the events of fortune, more than the effects of valour and virtue; but to be compassionate to the miserable, and those that lie at the feet of the conqueror, must be the fruit only of wisdom and prudence. For many by prosperity grow haughty, and are so far swelled with pride by the favourable blasts of fortune, that they are careless and forgetful of the common miseries of mankind; so that it is common to see many sink under the weight of their prosperous successes, as a heavy burthen they are not able to bear.

Therefore, though Alexander was many ages before us who are now living, yet the remembrance of his virtue justly challenges honour and praise from all those that succeeded him in future generations.

As for Darius, being now got to Babylon, he mustered up his broken troops that had escaped from the battle at Issus; and, though he had received so great an overthrow, he was not at all discouraged, but wrote letters to Alexander, whereby he advised him to use his good fortune and success moderately, and offered him a great sum of money for the ransom of the captives: he promised, likewise, to give up to him all that part of Asia, with the cities which lay on that side, within the course* of the river Halys†, if he were willing to be his friend.

Whereupon Alexander called a council of war, and laid before them such letters as he judged most for his own advantage, but concealed the true ones; by which contrivance the ambassadors were dismissed without any effect of their embassy.

Darius therefore concluding that things were not to be composed by letters, employed himself wholly in making preparations for war. To this end, he armed those soldiers that had lost their arms in the late unfortunate battle, and raised others, and formed them into regiments. He sent, likewise, for the forces he had through haste left behind him in the upper provinces when he first began his expedition. To conclude, he was so earnest and diligent in recruiting his army, that they were now twice as many as they were at Issus; for they made up a body of eight hundred thousand foot, and two hundred thousand horse, besides a vast multitude of hooked chariots. These considerable actions were the events of this year.

* This was all Natolia. † Now Casilimer, in Paphlagonia.

CHAP. IV.

Alexander marches towards Egypt: besieges Tyre. Prodigies at Tyre. The Tyrians bind Apollo with golden chains. The inventions of the Tyrians to defend themselves. The advancement of Balloninus, a poor man, to be king of Tyre. The acts of Agis and Amyntas. Amyntas killed, and all his soldiers. Alexander takes Gaza by storm: is presented by the Grecians.

NICERATUS was chief governor of Athens, and Marcus Attilius and Marcus Valerius were consuls at Rome, when the hundred and twelfth Olympiad was celebrated, wherein Grylus of Chalcedon was victor.

Alexander, after the battle of Issus, caused both his own, and those likewise of the enemy's that were of greatest repute for valour, to be buried. After he had sacrificed and given thanks to the gods, he bountifully rewarded all such as had valiantly behaved themselves, every one according to his merit. After which, he gave liberty to his soldiers for some days to recreate and refresh themselves. Thence marching with his army towards Egypt, as he came into Phœnicia other cities readily submitted to him, and were received into his protection. But Tyre was the only city which obstinately denied him entrance, when he desired it, in order to sacrifice to Hercules Tyrius; at which Alexander was so enraged, that he threatened to storm and take it by force of arms. But the Tyrians resolved to stand it out, because they thought thereby to ingratiate themselves with Darius; and that, for their faithfulness and loyalty to him, they concluded he would bountifully reward them, who, by that means, had gained him more time to recruit his army, while Alexander was detained in a troublesome and dangerous siege. And besides, they placed their confidence in the strength of the island, and their plentiful provision of all things necessary, and in the Carthaginians, from whom they were descended.

The king therefore, though he foresaw that it would be a very difficult matter to carry on the siege, by reason of the sea, and that they were so well provided with all things for the defence of the walls, and had a strong navy, and that the city was separated from the continent, so that nothing could be effectually put in execution, yet he judged it more for his honour to undergo all sorts of hazards, than

for the Macedonians to be baffled with one city, and that too not altogether so difficult to be gained.

He forthwith therefore demolished Old Tyre, as it was then called, and by the stones, carried by many thousands of men, raised a mole two hundred feet in breadth, which, by the help of the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities, (who were all called in for that purpose), was presently despatched. The Tyrians, in the mean time, from their ships laughed and jeered at the king, and asked him whether he supposed himself stronger than Neptune. Afterwards, when they perceived (beyond whatever they thought could be done) that the mole still increased, and was likely soon to be finished, they decreed to transport their wives, children, and old people to Carthage; and those that were young men were kept, some of them to guard the walls, and others for sea-service, for they had a fleet of fourscore sail. At length they sent away part of their wives and children, in order to sail by the enemy for Carthage; but, being prevented by the multitude of those that were at work, and not in a fit posture to fight at sea, they were all forced to return, and abide the siege. And, though they were plentifully supplied with engines to shoot arrows, darts, and stones, and all other machines and instruments fit and necessary for the defence of the walls against any assault; yet they readily furnished themselves, as they had occasion, with many more, for Tyre was full of gun-smiths, and artificers of all sorts. So that, being supplied by these workmen with many new-invented engines, every place round the walls was filled with them, especially towards that side where the mole was raised.

And now the work was brought by the Macedonians within the cast of a dart, when presently a prodigy from the gods appeared to them who were thus threatened: for the working of the sea cast a whale of an incredible bigness to the side of the mole; and there it lay, without doing any harm, but remained there a good while, leaning one side of its body to the work, which struck the beholders with much terror and amazement. After it was gone, and returned into the sea, both parties went to their divinations, and each (severally concluding as they would desire to have it) made this construction—That by this sign was portended, that Neptune would aid and assist them.

There was another prodigy likewise happened, which greatly amazed the common people: for, when the Macedonians were at meat, the faces of those that broke the bread seemed to be all over blowzy; and one of Tyre affirmed that he saw a vision, by which Apollo told him that he would forsake the city. And, because the common people suspected that he spoke this in favour of Alexan-

der's party, the young men would have stoned him to death, but he was rescued by the magistrates, and fled into the temple of Hercules; and so, through his pious supplication, he escaped so imminent a danger.

Upon this, the Tyrians, to prevent Apollo's leaving the city, fastened his image to the pedestal with golden chains. But the citizens, being put into a great fright by the increase of the mole, loaded many little boats with engines to shoot arrows and darts, and with slingers and archers; who, setting upon them that were at work, wounded and killed many of them: for, showers of arrows and darts being discharged upon throngs of naked men, none missed their mark, because they all lay open and exposed to every shot, without any defence; for they were not only wounded with darts in front, but (through the narrowness of the mole) they were likewise galled in the rear, it being impossible for any one to guard both sides at once.

Alexander therefore, that he might repair the sudden and unexpected loss, with all the speed he could manned as many ships as he had, and went on board as admiral himself, and made it his business to get into the haven of Tyre, in order to intercept the Phœnicians in their return. Hereupon the barbarians, fearing that if he gained the haven he would take the city itself, (those who should defend it being now out at sea), made all the haste they could to return to the city. And, indeed, both sides plied their oars with all their might, in order to be the first. But the Macedonians just entering the port before the other, the Phœnicians were every man upon the point of being cut off; but, forcing their way through their enemies, they returned into the city, with the loss of some of those vessels which lagged behind. However, though the king missed of his design, yet he eagerly set to his work again for the finishing of the mole, and, by a considerable number of vessels, guarded the work for the future.

The work being brought near to the city, and the town now in a probability of being taken, on a sudden a violent storm of wind arose, and tore away part of the mole: which so perplexed Alexander, that he repented of having begun the siege. But, however, being urged forward by an unquenchable thirst after glory, he caused trees of an incredible magnitude to be cut down in the mountains, and brought thither, and with their branches and earth piled together gave a check to the violence of the stream.

Having, therefore, presently repaired the breach that was made, the mole, by the help of many hands, was brought again within the cast of a dart, and, by engines mounted upon it, he battered down

the walls, and, by shot with darts and arrows out of engines, beat off the enemy from the bulwarks: with these, likewise, both archers and slingers plied the besieged, and grievously wounded and galled many of the townsmen upon the walls. But the Tyrians, being accustomed to the sea, and having many artificers and contrivers of engines, used many arts and ingenious inventions to preserve themselves: for, against the shot, they contrived wheels with many spokes, which, being whirled about by an engine, shattered in pieces some of the darts and arrows, and turned off others, and broke the force of all the rest: and, to give a check to the violence of the stones that were shot out of the ballistas, they prepared wool-packs, and other things that were soft and pliant, to receive them.

But the king, not contented to assault the city only from the mole, girt the town round with his whole fleet, and diligently viewed all parts of the walls, as if he resolved to besiege the place both by sea and land. The Tyrians not daring to engage him at sea, he destroyed three ships that were then by chance in the mouth of the harbour, and then returned to his camp. But the Tyrians, that they might make their walls as strong again as they were before, raised another wall, ten cubits broad, and five cubits distant from the former, and filled the empty space between the two walls with earth and stones.

Alexander likewise made a battery, by joining many of his ships together, and planted upon them all sorts of rams and battering engines, whereby he beat down a hundred feet of the wall, and attempted to break into the city over the ruins: upon which the Tyrians discharged a shower of darts and arrows, and, with much ado, repulsed the enemy, and the night following repaired that part of the wall which had been battered down.

But, after that the passage to the city, by the joining of the mole close to the walls, was made, as if it had been a peninsula, there were many and sharp contests both to gain and defend the walls: for, though they had imminent destruction before their eyes, and the miseries attendant upon a town's being taken by storm, yet they were so resolved to go through all dangers, that they despised death itself. For, when the Macedonians approached with towers of that height that they equalled the battlements, and cast out planks, whereof one of the ends lay upon the top of the ramparts, and so by a bridge mounted the walls, the Tyrians, by the ingenuity of their artificers, were supplied with many sorts of engines and weapons for their effectual defence: as, amongst others, they had very great three-forked hooks*, which they cast close at hand, and therewith wounded them

* Tridents, the invention of the Tyrians.

in the towers, (to which were fastened cords, one end whereof they held themselves), and, by fixing these in the targets of their enemies, they plucked them out of their hands: for, to that necessity and strait the Macedonians were brought, that they must either stand naked and exposed (without defensive arms) to a multitude of darts and arrows, and so be wounded to death, or else, out of a point of honour, to stick to their arms, and so perish, by being plucked headlong out of the towers. Others threw fishing-nets upon them that were engaged upon the bridges laid to the walls, and so entangled their hands, that they drew them off, and tumbled them headlong to the ground.

Another wonderful invention they found out against the Macedonians, whereby they grievously plagued the chiefest of their enemies, which was this: they filled their iron and brazen shields with sand, and heated them in the fire till the sand was scorching hot, which by an engine they threw upon them that were chiefly engaged, whereby they were cruelly tormented; for, the sand getting within their breast-plates and coats of mail, and grievously scorching their flesh, no remedy could be applied for the cure of the malady: so that (though they made most bitter complaints, as men upon the rack) yet there were none who were able to help them, insomuch that they grew mad by the extremity of the torture, and died in the height of inexpressible torments.

In the mean time, the Phœnicians never ceased casting fire-darts and stones at their enemies, so that they were scarce able to endure it, the multitude was so excessive. Moreover, with long poles with sharp hooks at the end, they cut the cords of the battering-rams in pieces, (which forced them forwards), whereby the force of the engine was lost: and they shot out of machines for the purpose large massy pieces of red hot iron into the midst of great multitudes of the assailants, which, by reason of the number of those against whom they were discharged, were sure to do execution. They plucked, likewise, men in armour from off the ramparts with iron instruments called crows, and others shaped like men's hands. And, having many hands at work, they eluded all the enemy's engines, and killed multitudes of them. And, although the service was so amazing, and the conflict so sharp, that it was scarcely to be endured, yet the Macedonians remitted nothing of their antient valour, but made their way over the bodies of those that were slain, not at all discouraged by the misfortunes of others. In the mean time, Alexander battered the walls with massy stones shot out of his engines, and grievously galled the besieged with arrows and darts, and all sorts of shot, from the wooden towers. To prevent this mischief,

the Tyrians placed marble wheels before the walls, which were turned round by certain engines, and with these they either broke the darts in pieces, or so threw them off, that they were ineffectual. Then, to allay the force of the stones shot against the wall, they towed together hides and skins oiled over to receive them, which, meeting with what was soft and pliant, their force was thereby much abated.

To conclude, the Tyrian's were not short in any thing whereby their valour might be made to appear for the defence of the place. And, being sufficiently supported with fresh aid, they were the more courageous, and to that degree, that they left the walls and towers, and leaped out upon the bridges to oppose the assailants, and, hand to hand, fought smartly in defence of their country. There were some who, with axes, cut off whole limbs at once of all that were in their way. For, among the rest, there was one Admetus, a Macedonian captain, a strong and valiant man, who, in the heat of his conflict with the Tyrians, had his head cloven in the middle with an axe, and so perished.

Alexander, seeing that the Tyrians had the best of it, and night approaching, sounded a retreat. And, indeed, at first he had thoughts of raising the siege, and going on with his expedition into Egypt. But he presently changed his mind, looking upon it as base and dishonourable to give up all the glory to the Tyrians; and therefore he set himself again to carry on the siege, though he had only one of his friends called Amyntas, the brother of Andromenes, who approved of his resolution.

Having, therefore, encouraged the Macedonians to stick to him, and furnished his fleet with all things necessary, he besieged the city both by sea and land; and, observing that that part of the wall near the arsenal was weaker than the rest, he brought all his galleys, (which carried his best engines), chained fast together, to that place. There he attempted an act which the beholders scarcely believed, though they saw it with their eyes. For he cast a plank from a wooden tower, with one end upon the battlements of the walls, as a bridge, and by this himself alone mounted the rampart, not regarding any danger, nor in the least affrighted with the violent assaults of the Tyrians; but, in the view of that army which had conquered the Persians, he shewed his own personal valour, and called to the Macedonians to follow him, and was the first that came hand to hand with the enemy; and, killing some with his spear, others with his sword, and tumbling down many with the boss of his buckler, he thus allayed the courage of his adversaries.

In the mean time, the rams battered down a great part of the wall in another place. And now the Macedonians entered through the

breach on one side, and Alexander with his party passed over the wall in another, so that the city was now taken; yet the Tyrians valiantly exerted themselves, and, encouraging one another, guarded and blocked up all the narrow passes, and fought it out to the last man, insomuch that above seven thousand were cut in pieces upon the place. The king made all the women and children slaves, and hung up all the young men that were left, to the number of two thousand. And there were found so great a number of captives, that, though the greatest part of the inhabitants were transported to Carthage, yet the remainder amounted to thirteen thousand. Into such great miseries fell the Tyrians, after they had endured a siege of seven months with more obstinacy than prudence.

Then the king took away the golden chains from the image of Apollo, and caused that god to be called Apollo Philaxandrus*. When he had offered splendid sacrifices to Hercules, and rewarded those who had signalized their valour, he honourably buried the dead, and made one Ballominus king of Tyre. But it would be a thing justly to be condemned to neglect to give a further account of this man, whose advancement and wonderful change of condition was so extraordinary.

After Alexander had gained the city, Strato, the former prince, by reason of his faithfulness to Darius, was deprived of the command: upon which the king gave power and liberty to Hephæstion to bestow the kingdom of Tyre upon which of his friends he pleased. Hephæstion hereupon, being inclined to gratify one who had courteously entertained him, resolved to invest him with the principality of Tyre; but he, though he was very rich and honourable, above the rest of his fellow-citizens, yet (because he was not of the lineage of the kings) refused it. Then Hephæstion wished him to name some one that was of the royal blood; he thereupon told him of one who was a very prudent and good man, but extremely poor. Hephæstion hereupon granted the principality to him, and the officer assigned for that purpose was sent away with the royal robes, and found him in an orchard, in rags, drawing of water for his hire. Having informed him of the change and alteration in his condition, he clothed him with the robe and other ornaments becoming his state and dignity, and then introduced him into the forum, and there declared him king of Tyre. Which unexpected and wonderful occurrence was very acceptable to the people.

Thus he obtained the kingdom, and was ever after a most faithful friend to Alexander, and an example to all who are unacquainted with

* That is, a lover of Alexander.

the sudden and various turns of fortune in this world. Having now related the acts of Alexander, we shall turn to affairs elsewhere.

In Europe, Agis, king of Lacedæmon, having enlisted eight thousand mercenaries who escaped from the battle at Issus, began some new disturbances in favour of Darius: for, having received from him a great sum of money and a fleet, he sailed into Crete, and, reducing many towns there, he forced them to side with the Persians. Amyntas likewise, an exile of Macedonia, who had fled to Darius, and sided with the Persians in Cilicia, escaping with four thousand mercenaries out of the battle of Issus, passed over to Tripolis, in Phœnicia, before Alexander's arrival; and there he made choice only of so many of the navy as would transport his soldiers, and burnt the rest. With these he sailed to Cyprus, and from thence, being well furnished with soldiers and shipping, he passed over to Pelusium, and, having entered the city, he pretended that Darius had sent him to be their general, because the late governor of Egypt was killed in the battle in Cilicia. Thence he sailed to Memphis, and routed the inhabitants in a field-fight near to the city; who not long after fell upon the soldiers, straggling out of the town, and plundering the country, as they were in that disorder, carrying away what they could get, out of Amyntas and every man with him.

In this manner Amyntas, as he was projecting great matters, was suddenly disappointed, and lost his life. So likewise other officers and captains of the army that survived the battle of Issus still adhered to the Persian interest: for some secured convenient cities and garrisons for Darius, and others procured several provinces to raise soldiers for him, and provide other things necessary, as the present exigency of affairs required.

In the mean time, the general senate of Greece made a decree to send fifteen ambassadors to present a golden crown to Alexander, in congratulation of his victory at Issus, who was at that time besieging Gaza, a garrison of the Persians, which he took by assault, after a two months siege.

CHAP. V.

Alexander makes a journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. He is presented by the Cyreneans. The description of the place about the temple. The wonderful properties of the fountain Solis. The building of Alexandria. Alexander's answer to Darius's ambassadors. Alexander passes over the river Tigris with great hazard. The preparations on both sides for battle. The Persians routed at the famous battle at Arbela.

ARISTOPHANES was now chief governor of Athens, and Spurius Posthumius and Titus Viturius were invested with the dignity of consuls at Rome, when Alexander, after the taking of Gaza, sent Amyntas with ten sail into Macedonia, with orders to enlist the stoutest of the young men for soldiers. And, in the mean time, he himself marched forward with the whole army towards Egypt, and, coming there, all the cities submitted to him without fighting. For, because the Persians had wickedly violated their holy rites, and domineered imperiously over them, they most willingly received the Macedonians.

Having settled his affairs in Egypt, he undertook a journey to the temple of Ammon, to consult with the oracle there. When he was in the midst of his journey, he was met by the ambassadors of Cyrene, presenting him with a crown and other rich gifts, among which were three hundred war-horses, and five of the best chariots, drawn by four horses each. These he accepted, and made a league of peace and amity with them; and then, with those that attended him, went forward in his journey to the temple. When they came to the parched and dry deserts, (for they had taken water along with them), they passed through a region which was nothing but heaps of sand. After the fourth day their water was spent, so that they were in an extremity of distress. While they were in this great perplexity, and knew not what to resolve, a sudden and unexpected shower of rain then falling, supplied all their present necessities; which unexpected preservation they imputed to the kindness and providence of the gods.

Having furnished themselves out of a valley with as much water as was sufficient for four days, in that time they passed over this dire and scorching desert; but, in regard there was no visible path, by reason of the great heaps of sand, those who led the way told

the king that there were crows, which, by their croaking at the right hand, directed them the way to the temple; which the king taking as a happy omen, and thereupon concluding that his coming was grateful and acceptable to the gods, he went forward on his journey with more cheerfulness. The next place he came to was called the Bitter Pond: having travelled thence a hundred furlongs, he passed by the cities of Ammon, and in one day's journey more came to the grove of the god.

The scite of the temple is surrounded with a vast dry and sandy desert, waste and untilled; but the grove itself is fifty furlongs broad, and as many long, full of pleasant fountains, and watered with running streams, richly planted with all sorts of trees, most of them bearing fruit.

The temperature of the air is a constant spring. And, though all the places round it are dry and scorching, yet to all that live there the heavens afford a most healthful climate. It is reported that this temple was built by Danaus the Egyptian.

Towards the east and west part of this sacred ground the Ethiopians inhabit; towards the north the Numidians, a people of Africa; and towards the south the Nasamenes. The Ammoni, the inhabitants of the sacred grove, live in villages. In the middle of the grove is a castle fortified with a treble wall: within the first stands the palace of the antient kings; within the other was the Gynecæum, where were the apartments for the wives, children, and kindred of the prince, and stood as a common fortress and guard to the whole place; and lastly, the temple itself, and the sacred laver, wherein they washed the sacrifices. Within the third, were the lodgings of the archers and darters, and guard-houses of those who attend as guards upon the prince when he walks abroad. Not far from the castle, out of the walls, stands another temple of Ammon, shaded round with many fruit-trees; next to which is a fountain, called Solis, from the natural effects of it: for the water differs in its temper, according to the several hours of the day. For, about sun-rising it is luke-warm; afterwards, as the day comes on, it grows colder and colder every hour, till noon, at which time it is at the coldest; and thenceforward, till evening, the cold abates by degrees; and, when night approaches, it waxes hot again, and increases by little and little till midnight, at which time it boils, through intenseness of heat. From that time it cools by degrees, till sun-rising, and then is luke-warm again, as it was before.

The image of the god is adorned in every part with emeralds and other precious stones, and delivers his oracles in a singular and unusual way: for he is carried about in a golden ship by fourscore

priests, who make to that place whither the god by a nod of his head directs them.

There follows a great multitude of matrons and young virgins, singing Pæans all the way as they go, and setting forth the praises of the idol, in songs composed after the style and custom of their own country.

When Alexander was introduced by the priests into the temple, and saw the god, one of the old prophets addressed himself to him, and said—"God save thee, my son, and this title take along with thee from the god himself." To whom he made answer—"I accept it, my father, and if you will make me lord of the whole world, your son I will ever be called." Upon which the priest approached near the altar; and when the men, (who according to custom lifted up the image), at the uttering of some words as signs for that purpose, moved forward, the priest answered—"That the god would certainly bestow upon him what he had desired." This was very acceptable to Alexander.

But then he further said—"I entreat thee, O God, that thou wouldst let me know what I have yet to inquire, and that is, whether I have executed justice upon all my father's murderers, or whether any have escaped?" At which the oracle cried out—"Express thyself better, for no mortal can kill thy father, but all the murderers of Philip have suffered just punishment."

He added further—"That his wonderful successes and prosperous achievements, were evidences of his divine birth: for, as he was never yet overcome by any, so he should be ever victorious for the time to come."

Alexander, being greatly pleased with these answers, after he had bestowed many rich and stately gifts upon the oracle, returned back on his way for Egypt, where he intended to build a great city. In order whereunto, when he came there, he directed the overseers of this work to build it between the marshes and the sea, and measured out the ground himself, and marked out the streets, and called it Alexandria, after his own name. It had a very commodious situation, being near to the haven of Pharos*. He ordered and contrived the streets with that prudence as that the Etesian winds should, by their comfortable gales, refresh all parts of the city: for these so cool the air by their breezes from the great sea†, that the inhabitants, by so welcome and delightful a temperature of the heat, are very healthy. He likewise drew a large and wonderfully strong

* An island near Egypt, now joined to Alexandria by a bridge, though formerly a day's sail, as Homer says.

† The Mediterranean.

wall round the city; and, inasmuch as it lay between a large pond on the one side, and the sea on the other, there were but two narrow ways and passes by land to it; so that it was easily defended by a small guard. The city was in form like unto a soldier's coat, one large and beautifully-built street running almost through the middle of the town, in length from gate to gate forty furlongs, in breadth an hundred feet, adorned with most stately structures, both of temples and private houses. Alexander likewise built a large and stately palace, of most admirable workmanship; and not only Alexander, but all the succeeding kings of Egypt from time to time, to our present age, have enlarged this palace with most costly and sumptuous buildings. The city likewise itself has been enlarged in after times; so that by many it is reported to be one of the greatest and most noble cities in the world; for beauty, rich revenues, and plentiful provision of all things for the comfortable support of man's life, far excelling all others; and far more populous than any other: for, when I was in Egypt, I was informed by them that kept the rolls of the inhabitants — That there were above three hundred thousand freemen who inhabited there, and that the king received above six thousand talents out of the yearly revenues of Egypt. But, when the king had appointed some of his friends to oversee and take care of the building of Alexandria, and had settled all the affairs of Egypt, he returned with his army into Syria.

As soon as Darius had intelligence of his coming, he got all his forces together, and prepared all things necessary in order to fight him: for he ordered the swords and lances to be made much longer, thinking by that advantage Alexander gained the victory in Cilicia. He provided, likewise, two hundred hooked chariots, drawn by four horses each, so contrived as to strike terror into the hearts of his enemies: for in every one of them, on both sides the horses which drew the chariots by iron chains, darts of three spans long were fixed in the yeaks, with their points full in the faces of the enemy. Upon the lower parts of the axle-trees were two others fastened exactly as those before, pointing into the faces of the enemy, but longer and broader; and at the top of them were fixed sharp hooks. Having completely furnished and set forth his army, with glittering arms and stout commanders, he marched from Babylon with eight hundred thousand foot, and no less than two hundred thousand horse. In his march, the Tigris was on his right, and the Euphrates on his left hand; where he passed through a very rich country, abounding in forage for his horse, and supplying sufficient provision of all things for his soldiers.

He made all the haste he could to reach Nineveh, there to fight

the enemy, because it was a large and champaign country, convenient for the drawing out of so great an army. When he came to a village called Arbela, he there encamped, and every day drew up his army in battalia, and trained and exercised them; for he was much afraid lest among so many nations, differing in language one from another, there should be nothing but tumult and confusion in the heat of the fight. He had, indeed, but lately before sent ambassadors to Alexander, to treat upon terms of peace, and had offered to him all the countries lying within the river Halys, and two thousand talents of silver; and now he sent others to him, much commending him for his generous and honourable usage of his mother and the rest of the captives, and desired to make peace with him, and offered all the lands lying within the river Euphrates, with three thousand talents of silver, and one of his daughters in marriage; and further promised—That if he would be content to be his son-in-law, he should be joint partner with him in the kingdom.

Alexander imparted all these proposals, offered to him by Darius, to his friends, whom he called together for that purpose, and wished them freely to deliver their opinions in this matter. When none durst speak their minds in a business of such great importance, Parmenio stood up, and said—"If I were Alexander, I would accept of the terms offered, and make peace." To whom Alexander replied—"And if I were Parmenio, I would do the same." And so, uttering several other words manifesting a greatness and nobleness of mind, he rejected the conditions offered by the Persians; and, preferring honour before profit or other advantage, he spoke to the ambassadors in this manner—"As two suns in the heaven would disorder the course of the universe, so two kings reigning together upon earth would turn all into tumult and confusion." Therefore he commanded them to tell Darius—That if he affected the superiority, then to come and try it out with him for the whole empire by the sword; but, if he preferred wealth and ease before honour, that then he should submit to Alexander; and so he might reign over others as a king, but yet receive his kingdom at the hands of Alexander, as a fruit of his bounty.

Having said this, he presently after broke up the assembly, and marched with his army towards the enemy's camp. In the mean time the wife of Darius died, and Alexander buried her honourably according to her quality. When Darius received Alexander's answer, he was out of all hopes of putting an end to the war by letters and messages, and therefore he trained his soldiers every day, thereby making them more ready and willing to observe all words of command whenever they should engage.

In the mean while he sent Mazæus, one of his faithful friends, with a battalion of stout men to guard the passage over the river Tigris, and secure the ford. Others he commanded to burn up all the country through which the enemy was to pass; for he resolved to make use of the river as a defence and bulwark against the enemy's approach.

But Mazæus observing that the river was not passable, both by reason of its depth, and swiftness of its stream, waved the guarding of it, and employed himself in wasting and destroying the country; concluding that when that was done, the enemy could not pass that way through want of provisions.

Alexander, when he came to the river Tigris, (being informed by the inhabitants where the ford lay), passed his army over, but with very great toil and extreme hazard; for the water came up above their breasts, and several were taken off their feet, and hurried away by the violence of the stream; many others, likewise, were borne away, and perished through the rapid course of the water, involving itself within their arms. Alexander, to withstand the violence of the water, ordered his men to stand close in a body together, like a rampier against the stream: by this means they got safe over; and after so much danger and difficulty, he permitted them to refresh themselves for one day. The next day he marched in battalia against the enemy, and at length encamped near to them. But while he revolved in his mind the vast number of the Persian army, and what great difficulties he had to cope with, and that now all lay at stake, he spent all that night in anxious thoughts concerning the event. But he fell into so deep a sleep about the morning watch, that though the sun was now up, yet he could not be awaked. His friends at the first were very glad of it, as judging the longer he rested the more lively he would be, and so more able to bear the fatigues of the day. But time drawing far on, and the king still fast asleep, Parmenio, the oldest of the commanders, gave command through the army to prepare for an engagement. The king sleeping still, some of his friends stept in to him, and had much ado to awake him. While all wondered at a thing so unusual, and expected to hear the cause from himself, "Now," says Alexander, "I am free from all fear and care concerning Darius, who has brought his whole strength together into one place; for by one day's battle for the trial of all, I shall be quit and discharged of all my hazards and toils for the time to come. Upon which, without any delay, he made a speech to encourage his officers to pluck up their spirits, and with courageous hearts to encounter all the dangers that were before them. Upon which he marched in battalia against the barbarians, with the horse in front of

his army. The right wing was commanded by Clitus, surnamed Niger, wherein were other special friends under the command of Philotas, the son of Parmenio, supported by seven other regiments of horse under the same commander. After them were placed the battalion of foot called Argyraspides*, glittering in their arms, (most excellent soldiers), led by Nicanor the son of Parmenio; to support them he placed next the squadrons of Elimea†, whose leader was Cenus. In the next squadron stood the Oresteans and Lyncestians, whose captain was Perdiccas; next to these was Meleager with his squadron; and after him Polysperchon commanded the Stymphalians; and next to him Philip the son of Balacrus commanded another squadron; and after him Craterus. To the squadrons of horse before-mentioned were joined, as auxiliaries, those from Peloponnesus and Achaia, together with the Phthiots, Malians, Locrians, and Phocians, commanded by Erigyus of Mitylene. After these were placed the Thessalians, (for valour and horsemanship far beyond all the rest), whose commander was Philip. Next to these he drew up the archers from Crete, and the mercenaries from Achaia.

Both wings were drawn up into the form of an half moon, that the Macedonians might not be hemmed in by the multitude of the Persians. The king provided against the hooked chariots, that they might not break in upon them, by this contrivance: he commanded the foot, that when the chariots advanced near in their career, they should strike with their javelins upon their shields locked one into another, that the horses, frightened with the noise, might start back; but that if they still pressed forward, in order to force their way, that then they should open, that so they might shun them without any prejudice. He himself took upon him the command of the right wing, and drawing up in an oblique line, resolved to venture himself wherever there was any danger.

Darius drew up his army according to the distinction of the several nations, and advanced against the enemy in that wing opposite to Alexander. And now both armies drew near one to another, and the trumpets on both sides gave the signal for battle, and the soldiers made at one another with a great shout, and forthwith the hooked chariots rushing forward with a mighty force, greatly amazed and terrified the Macedonians. For Mazæus, the general of the horse, charging with a great body close after the chariots, caused them to be more terrible. In the midst of the action a mighty crash and dreadful noise was made on a sudden by the foot soldiers striking with their javelins upon their bucklers, as the king had commanded;

* Silver shields. † Elimea, a city of Macedonia.

upon which many of the chariots (through the fright of the horses) were turned aside, and the horses being altogether ungovernable, made away back again into the Persian army; most of the rest of the chariots breaking in among the foot, by opening to make way, were either quite destroyed by darts and arrows, or diverted. Some indeed forced their way with that violence, that with their hooks they bore down all before them, and many perished by several sorts of deadly wounds. For such was the force and violence, together with the sharpness of the hooked scythes contrived for destruction, that many had their arms with their shields in their hands cut off; and not a few had their heads so suddenly sheared off, that they tumbled to the ground, with their eyes open, and their countenances the same as when they were alive. Some were so mortally gashed, and cut through their sides, that they forthwith fell down dead.

When the armies came closer together, and all their darts and arrows, both from their bows and slings, and those cast by the hand, were spent, they fell to it hand to hand. The first charge was by the horse, the Macedonians being in the right wing opposite to Darius, who commanded the left of the Persians, in which were his kindred and near relations. For there was a regiment of a thousand horse, composed only of such as were in the greatest reputation and account for their valour and special love to the king. These having him a spectator of their valour, readily and cheerfully received all the darts that were cast at the king. They were seconded by the Melephorians, who were numerous and stout men, and with them were joined the Mardians and Cissians, men admired for their courage, and the bulk of their bodies. Besides these, there were those of the king's household, and some of the stoutest of the Indians. All these made a fierce charge with a great shout upon the Macedonians, who were put very hard to it by reason of their multitude. Mazæus, likewise, in the right wing, with a brave body of horse, charged with that briskness that he laid many at his feet at the first onset. Then he ordered two thousand Cadusian horse, and a thousand more of the Scythians, to take a compass round the enemy's wings, and to break in upon the trenches that defended their carriages; who presently thereupon put in execution what they were commanded. Thus having forced into the Macedonian camp, some of the prisoners caught up arms and joined with the Scythians, and rifled the carriages. Upon which, through the suddenness of the surprise, a great noise and clamour arose throughout the whole camp. Then other prisoners ran in to the barbarians. But Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, would not stir, though she was moved to it, but with a kind of affectionate regard to her condition, continued in the same place,

not trusting to the uncertain turns of fortune, nor judging it fit and honourable to manifest so much ingratitude towards Alexander. The Scythians having at length rifled most of the carriages, returned to Mazæus, and gave him an account of the happy success. With the like good fortune that body of horse with Darius put the Macedonians (overpowered with numbers) to flight. While the victory seemed thus to incline to the Persians by this second success, Alexander making it his only business with all possible speed to rally his broken forces, and to repair his losses, charged Darius with his own brigade, and some others of the bravest horse in the army. The Persian king received the enemy's charge with great resolution, and fighting mounted upon his chariot, despatched many with darts that assaulted him; neither were they few that defended him. And while both kings were eager to destroy each other, Alexander, in throwing a dart at Darius, missed him, but killed his chariot-driver. Upon which those about the king that were at some distance set up a great cry, believing that the king was killed; and forthwith betook themselves to flight, and then the next to them followed. Presently the troops next to Darius himself gave ground by degrees, till such time as he was left naked on one side; and then he himself in a great consternation made away with all speed. The Persians being thus dispersed, the horse in their flight raised so great a cloud of dust, that Alexander and his men, who pursued close after the enemy, could not see which way Darius fled. Nothing was heard but the groans of dying men, the trampling of horses, and continual noise and lashing of whips. In the mean time Mazæus in the right wing having the bravest and stoutest horse of any of the Persians, pressed grievously upon those troops with whom he was engaged. So that though Parmenio with the Thessalian horse, and others joined with them, were greatly distressed, yet he bore the brunt for some time, and at first through his own valour, and the bravery of the Thessalian horse, worsted the Persians; but the horse with Mazæus, by their number bearing down the other, that wing of the Macedonians was quite routed, so that a great slaughter was made, and there was now no standing before the barbarians. Parmenio therefore sent horsemen after Alexander to entreat his assistance with all speed, who hastened to execute the orders and command given: but when they heard that a great part of the army had fled, they returned without going farther. However, Parmenio bestirring himself, and rallying his troops as well as he could, with the assistance of the Thessalian horse hewed down many of his enemies, and at length, with much difficulty, put the barbarians to flight, who

were in amazement and consternation at hearing that Darius had fled.

Darius in the mean time being an expert general, and helped by the thick cloud of dust, took not his course strait forward like the rest, but turned a different way; and so being not discerned, (by reason of the dust rising so high), escaped clear away, and brought all those that went with him safe into the towns and villages behind the Macedonians.

At length all the barbarians taking to flight, and the Macedonians killing all that were in the rear, in a short time all that large plain was covered over with dead carcases. There were killed in this battle, of the barbarians, horse and foot, above ninety thousand; of the Macedonians, five hundred only, but great multitudes wounded: amongst whom Hephæstion, one of the bravest of Alexander's commanders, and captain of his guard, was shot through the arm with a dart. Perdiccas, Cenus, Menidas, and some others likewise were wounded. And this was the issue of the battle at Arbela.

CHAP. VI.

The Grecians conspire to revolt. Memnon rebels in Thrace. Antipater marches against him. The Lacedæmonians raise an army; are routed by Antipater, and Agis their king killed.

ARISTOPHON was at that time lord chancellor of Athens, and Cneius Domitius and Aulus Cornelius were created Roman consuls, when many of the cities of Greece, upon the news of the victory at Arbela, began to bestir themselves to defend their antient liberties, whilst the Persians had any power left to assist them; and therefore resolved to assist Darius with money to raise foreign soldiers from all parts. For they concluded that Alexander durst not divide his army lest he should disturb them; but if they should suffer the Persians to be destroyed, they were not able of themselves to defend their liberties. And an insurrection in Thrace encouraged them the more to revolt: for Memnon being sent general into Thrace, having both courage and force sufficient, at the instigation of the barbarians, rebelled, and with a great army now appeared in open war. Upon which Antipater gathered all his forces together, and marched through

Macedonia into Thrace, against Memnon. Things thus falling out, the Lacedæmonians judging that a fair opportunity was now offered them to prepare for war, solicited the Grecians to confederate together for their remaining liberties. But the Athenians, in regard they had received many kindnesses and marks of honour from Alexander, beyond all the rest of the cities, continued quiet and firm in their duty. But many of the Peloponnesians, and some others, entered into the league, and enrolled their names as soldiers for the army; so that, according as every city was able, they sent forth the choicest of their youth, and raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. The management of the whole war was left to the Lacedæmonians, who were resolved to lay all at stake, and made Agis general. Antipater hearing of the defection of the Greeks, composed all matters relating to the war in Thrace as well as he could, and marched with all his forces into Greece, having no less than forty thousand Greek auxiliaries as confederates. Hereupon a great battle was fought, wherein Agis (though he behaved himself with great valour and resolution) was killed, and at length the Lacedæmonians, (having stood to it stoutly for a long time), upon their confederates giving ground, likewise retreated towards Sparta. There fell of the Lacedæmonians and their confederates in this battle, above five thousand three hundred: of those with Antipater three thousand five hundred.

There was one thing very remarkable concerning the death of Agis. Having fought with great gallantry and resolution, and received many wounds, he was carried off by the soldiers in order to be brought back to his own country, but being surrounded by the enemy, and finding no likelihood to escape, he charged his soldiers forthwith to be gone, and preserve themselves for the future service of their country. He himself remained, and with his sword in his hand fought it out upon his knees, and killed several of the assailants; till at length being shot through the body with a dart, he there died, after he had reigned nine years. Thus far for Europe; we shall now return to the affairs of Asia.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander comes to Babylon. The wealth found there. Views his troops at Sitacana. The riches there. Thence goes into the country of the Urians. Marches towards Persepolis. A company of maimed Greeks met Alexander: his bounty to them. He takes Persepolis: gives it up to the plunder of the soldiers. The riches of the citadel of Persepolis. Alexander's feast at Persepolis. Persepolis burnt at the instigation of Thais. Darius murdered.

DARIUS, being routed at Arbela, fled towards the higher provinces, to the end that he might, by the distance of the place, both recruit himself, and likewise have more time to raise a new army. He came first to Ecbatana, where he stayed for some time, and there received his broken troops that came in to him, and armed again such as had lost their arms. He sent likewise for the militia out of the neighbouring provinces, and despatched messengers to the lord-lieutenants and commanders in Bactria and the upper prefectures, wishing them to abide firm to him in their faith and loyalty.

In the mean time, Alexander (after he had buried those that were killed in the battle) entered Arbela, where he found abundance of rich furniture of the king's, and vast treasures of the barbarians, amounting to three thousand talents of silver. But, because he judged that the air thereabouts must certainly be infected, through the smell of the dead bodies that lay there, he presently removed his camp, and came with all his forces to Babylon, where he was cheerfully received by the inhabitants, and splendid entertainment afforded to the Macedonians. And there his army was refreshed after the many toils and difficulties they had undergone. And thus, in the confluence of all things desirable, and free and noble entertainment of the citizens, he continued in the city above thirty days. Then he made Agatho of Pydna governor of the castle, with a garrison of seven hundred Macedonians. To Apollodorus of Amphipolis, and Menetas of Peila, he gave the government of Babylon, and of all the prefectures as far as to Cilicia, and ordered them to raise what forces they could, and gave them a thousand talents for that purpose. He made Mithrenes, who betrayed the castle of Sardis, lord-lieutenant of Armenia. Of the money that he found in Babylon, he gave to every horseman six minas; to every auxiliary, five; to each

of the Macedonian phalanx, two; and to every foreign mercenary, two months pay.

The king removing from Babylon, as he was on his march, there came to him recruits, from Antipater, five hundred Macedonian horse, and six thousand foot; six hundred Thracian horse, and three thousand five hundred Trallians: from Peloponnesus four thousand foot, and almost a thousand horse. Among these were sent fifty of the sons of the king's special friends from Macedonia, designed by their fathers to be of the king's life-guard. Having received these, he marched forward, and came, after six decampments, into the province of Sitacana. And here he stayed several days, in regard the country abounded in all things necessary for the life of man, and because he had a mind his soldiers should refresh themselves after their tedious march: and had a purpose likewise to take a more exact view and account of his troops, and to enlarge the commands and governments of his captains and commanders, and so to strengthen his army, both by the number of soldiers, and valour of their officers. All which he forthwith put in execution; and making choice of the most deserving with the utmost care possible, he advanced many from very considerable places of trust and authority to much higher preferments, by which means he both promoted his officers, and gained their hearts and affections at the same time. He took care also for the better government of the common soldiers, and by many new inventions put every thing into a better order and posture than they were before. To conclude, when he had so managed every thing as that he had gained the love of the whole army, and made them in all points observant to his commands, and was assured for valour they would give place to none, he marched forward, in order to finish by fighting what further remained. When he came to the province of Susiana, he presently without any difficulty gained possession of Susa, the royal city, the most beautiful palace in the universe, which was voluntarily surrendered to him by Abulites the lord-lieutenant of the province. But some writers have said—That this was done by order of Darius himself, to them that otherwise would have been both loyal and faithful to his interest; and that this was done by the Persian king for this end, that Alexander, being taken up with matters of such great moment, as taking possession of famous and noble cities, and loading himself with vast treasures, Darius might gain more time for the raising of fresh forces for the carrying on of the war.

Alexander therefore having possessed himself of the city and the king's treasures, found there above forty thousand talents of uncoined gold and silver. The kings had preserved this treasure untouched

for many ages, that it might be ready to resort to in case of some sudden and unexpected turn of fortune. Besides this, there was likewise nine thousand talents in coined money called darics. While Alexander was taking an account of this wealth, there happened something that was very remarkable. The throne whereon he sat being too high for him, so that his feet could not touch the foot-stool, one of the king's boys observing it, brought Darius's table and placed it under his feet, with which the king was very well pleased, and commended his care. But one of the eunuchs standing at the side of the throne, much concerned and grieved at such a change of fortune, burst out into tears: which Alexander perceiving—"What ill dost thou see (says he) that thou weepest so?" To whom he answered—"I was once Darius's servant, now I am yours; but because I cannot but love my natural lord and master, I am not able, without extreme sorrow, to see that table put to so base and mean a use, which by him was so lately graced and honoured." The king, upon this answer, reflecting upon the strange change of the Persian monarchy, began to consider that he had acted the part of a proud and insulting enemy, not becoming that humanity and clemency which ought to be shewn towards captives; and therefore he commanded him who placed the table there, to take it away: but Philotas standing near to him said—It is not pride nor insolence, O king! being done without your command; but it falls out to be so through the providence and pleasure of some good genius. Upon which the king ordered the table to remain where it was, looking upon it as some happy omen.

After this, he ordered some masters to attend upon Darius's mother, his daughters, and son, to instruct them in the Greek tongue, and left them at Susa. And he himself marched away with the whole army, and after four decampments came to the river Tigris, which rising out of the Uxian mountains, runs first through a rough and craggy country, full of large and wide channels, for the space of a thousand furlongs; thence it passes through a champaign country with a more gentle current, and having made its way for the space of six hundred furlongs, it empties itself into the Persian sea.

Alexander having passed the river, marched towards the most fruitful country of the Uxians: for being watered in every part, it plentifully produces fruits of all sorts and kinds; of which, being in their proper season dried in the time of Autumn, they make all sorts of sweetmeats, sauces, and other compositions, both for necessary use and pleasure, and the merchants convey them down the river Tigris to Babylon. He found all the passes strongly guarded by Madetes, who was nearly related in kindred to Darius, and had with him a strong and well disciplined army. While Alexander was viewing the strength

of the places, and could find out no passage through those steep rocks, an inhabitant of the country, who was well acquainted with those ways, promised Alexander that he would lead his soldiers through such a strait and difficult pathway, as that they should stand at length over the heads of their enemies: hereupon the king ordered a small party to go along with him. He himself in the mean time used his utmost endeavour to force his way, and for that purpose set upon the guards, and while they were hotly engaged, (fresh men still supplying the room of them that were weary), and the barbarians disordered, and running here and there in the engagement, on a sudden the soldiers that were sent away appeared over the heads of the guards that kept the passages; upon which they were so amazed, that they forthwith fled, and so the king gained the pass; and presently all the cities throughout all Uxiana were brought into subjection. Thence he decamped and marched towards Persia, and the fifth day came to a place called the Susian Rocks, which were before possessed by Ariobarzanes, with five-and-twenty thousand foot, and three hundred horse. The king concluding that he must gain the pass by force, led his troops through some of the strait and craggy places without any resistance, the barbarians never offering to disturb him till he came to the mid-way, when they bestirred themselves, and threw down great numbers of massy stones upon the heads of the Macedonians, and destroyed multitudes of them. Many cast their darts from the rocks above upon them, which failed not to do execution, falling among such a throng of men together: others with hand-stones repulsed the Macedonians that were forcing to break in upon them; so that by reason of the difficulty of the places, the barbarians so far prevailed, as to kill multitudes, and wound as many. Alexander not being able to prevent this miserable slaughter, and perceiving that not one of the enemy fell, or was so much as hurt, and that many of his own men were slain, and almost all that led the van were wounded, he sounded a retreat, and marched back three hundred furlongs, and then encamped. Then he inquired of the inhabitants, whether there was any other way to pass, who all answered—That there was none, but that he must go round many days journey. But the king looking upon it as a dishonourable thing to leave the bodies of them that were slain unburied; and as disgraceful, and even owning himself to be conquered, by treating for liberty to bury the dead, he commanded the captives, as many as were there at hand, to be brought to him. Among these, there was one that understood both the Persian and Greek tongue, who declared, that he was a Lycian, and some time ago made a prisoner of war by the Persians, and that for several years last past he had exercised the calling of a shepherd

in those mountains, and by that means had perfect knowledge of the country; and told the king, that he could lead the army through the woods, and bring them directly upon the backs of them that guarded the passes: hearing this, the king promised the man a large reward, who thereupon so conducted him, that in the night, with great labour and toil, he got to the top of the mountains, for he marched through abundance of snow, and passed through a country full of steep rocks, deep gulfs, and many vallies. Having marched through this tract, as soon as he came in sight of the guards, he presently killed the first, and took those prisoners that were placed in the next pass. The third guard presently fled, and so he gained all into his own power, and cut off the greatest part of Ariobarzanes's army. Thence he marched towards Persepolis, and in his way received letters from Teridates governor of the city, whereby he signified to him—That if he hastened away, and prevented those that were coming to relieve Persepolis, he would deliver the city into his hands. Upon which he made a swift march, and passed his army over the river Araxes, by a bridge then laid for that purpose. As the king was on his march, a most sad spectacle presented itself, which stirred up just hatred against the author, pity and compassion for the irreparable loss of those that suffered; and grief and sorrow in all the beholders. For there met him certain Greeks, whom the former kings of Persia had made captives and slaves, and fell down at his feet; they were near eight hundred, most of them old men, and all maimed, some having their hands, others their feet, some their ears, and others their noses cut off. If any were expert in any art, and had made a considerable progress therein, all his outward members were cut off, but such only as were necessary for the management of his art. So that all who beheld their venerable old age, and the sad mangling of their bodies, greatly pitied the miserable condition of these poor creatures: especially, Alexander so pitied their sad condition, that he could not refrain from weeping. These all with one voice cried out, and entreated him, that he would succour and relieve them in these their calamities. Upon which the king called the chiefest of them to him, and told them, that he would take special care of them, and promised he would see them sent honourably to their own country, as became the dignity of his person. Upon which they consulted together, and at length concluded—That it was better for them to remain where they were, than to return into their own country: for, when they were returned, they would be scattered here and there, and all the days of their lives be mocked and despised on account of their sad misfortunes. But if they continued together as fellows in their misery, the calamity of their

fellow-sufferers would be an allay, and some comfort to every one of them in their own adversities. Upon this, they made a second address to the king, and declared to him what they had resolved upon, and desired he would afford such relief to them as was most agreeable to their present circumstances. The king consented to what they had determined, and ordered to each of them three thousand drachmas*, five suits of raiment to every man, and as many to each woman; and to every one of them two yoke of oxen, fifty sheep, and as many medimnas† of wheat. And commanded they should be free from all taxes and tribute, and gave strict charge to the officers employed, that none should offer them any injury. And thus Alexander, according to his natural goodness and innate liberal generosity, comforted these poor miserable people. He then called the Macedonians together, and told them—That Persepolis, the metropolis of the kingdom of Persia, of all the cities of Asia had done most mischief to the Grecians, and therefore he gave it up to the plunder and spoil of the soldiers, except the king's palace. This was the richest city of any under the sun, and for many ages all the private houses were full of all sorts of wealth, and whatever was desirable.

The Macedonians therefore forcing into the city, put all the men to the sword, and rifled and carried away every man's goods and estate, amongst which was abundance of rich and costly furniture and ornaments of all sorts. In this place was hurried away here and there vast quantities of silver, and no less of gold, great numbers of rich garments, some of purple, others embroidered with gold, all which became a plentiful prey to the ravenous soldiers: and thus the great seat-royal of the Persians, once famous all the world over, was now exposed to scorn and contempt, and rifled from top to bottom. For though every place was full of rich spoil, yet the covetousness of the Macedonians was insatiable, still thirsting after more. And they were so eager in plundering, that they fought one with another with drawn swords, and many who were conceived to have got a greater share than the rest, were killed in the quarrel. Some things that were of extraordinary value they divided with their swords, and each took a share; others in rage cut off the hands of such as laid hold of a thing that was in dispute. They first ravished the women as they were in their jewels and rich attire, and then sold them for slaves. So that by how much Persepolis excelled all the other cities in glory and worldly felicity, by so much more was the measure of their misery and calamity. Then Alexander seized upon all the treasures in the citadel, which was a vast quantity of gold and silver of the public re-

* Near one hundred pounds.

† Every medimna, by some writers, contains eighteen gallons; fifty bushels.

venues that had been there collected and laid up, from the time of Cyrus the first king of Persia to that day. For there was there found a hundred and twenty thousand talents, reckoning the gold after the rate of the silver.

Part of this treasure he took for the use of the war, and ordered another part of it to be treasured up at Susa. To this purpose, he ordered that a multitude of mules both for draught and carriage, and three thousand camels with pack-saddles, should be brought out of Babylon, Mesopotamia, and Susa; and with these he conveyed all the treasure to the several places he had appointed. For because he extremely hated the inhabitants, he was resolved not to trust them with any thing, but utterly to ruin and destroy Persepolis; of whose palace, in regard of its stately structure, we conceive it will not be impertinent if we say something. This stately fabric, or citadel, was surrounded with a treble wall: the first was sixteen cubits high, adorned with many sumptuous buildings and aspiring turrets. The second was like to the first, but as high again as the other. The third was drawn like a quadrant, foursquare, sixty cubits high, all of the hardest marble, and so cemented, as to continue for ever. On the four sides are brazen gates, near to which are gallowses* of brass twenty cubits high; these raised to terrify the beholders, and the other for the better strengthening and fortifying of the place. On the east side of the citadel, about four hundred feet distant, stood a mount called the Royal Mount, for here are all the sephulchres of the kings, many apartments and little cells being cut into the midst of the rock; into which cells there is made no direct passage, but the coffins with the dead bodies are by instruments hoisted up, and so let down into these vaults. In this citadel were many stately lodgings, both for the king and his soldiers, of excellent workmanship, and treasury chambers most commodiously contrived for the laying up of money.

Here Alexander made a sumptuous feast for the entertainment of his friends in commemoration of his victory, and offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods. At this feast were entertained whores, who prostituted their bodies for hire, where the cups went so high, and the reins so let loose to drunkenness and debauchery, that many were both drunk and mad. Among the rest, at that time there was a courtezan called Thais, an Athenian, that said—Alexander would perform the most glorious act of any he ever did, if while he was feasting with them, he would burn the palace, and so the glory and renown of Persia might be said to be brought to nothing in a moment by the hands of women. This spreading abroad, and coming to the ears of the young men, (who commonly make little use of reason when drink in

* Or crosses of brass.

in their heads), presently one cries out—"Come on, bring us fire-brands," and so incites the rest to fire the citadel, to revenge the impiety the Persians had committed, in destroying the temples of the Grecians. At this, others with joy set up a shout, but said—That so brave an exploit belonged only to Alexander to perform.

The king, stirred up at these words, embraced the motion; upon which, as many as were present left their cups and leaped upon the table, and said—That they would now celebrate a victorious festival to Bacchus. Hereupon, multitudes of fire-brands were presently got together, and all the women that played on musical instruments, which were at the feast, were called for, and then the king, with songs, pipes, and flutes, bravely led the way to this noble expedition, contrived and managed by this whore, Thais, who next after the king, threw the first fire-brand into the palace. This precedent was presently followed by the rest, so that in a very short time, the whole fabric, by the violence of the fire, was consumed to ashes.

It is very observable, and not without just admiration, that the sacrilege and impiety of Xerxes, king of Persia, (exercised in his destroying the citadel of Athens), should so many years after be revenged in the same kind, by one courtezan only of that city that was so injured.

After these things thus done, Alexander marches against the rest of the Persian cities, and having taken in some by force, and others surrendered upon the fame and report of his lenity and moderation, he made after Darius, who had begun to raise forces out of Bactria, and other provinces; but being prevented by the march of the enemy, he made away with all speed out of Bactria with thirty thousand Persians and mercenary Greeks, and in his return was treacherously murdered by Bessus, the lord-lieutenant of Bactria. He was scarce dead, when Alexander with a party of light horse, came up to the place where he lay, and there finding him, caused him to be honourably interred.

But some do report, that Alexander finding him yet alive, Darius complained of his sad misfortune, and desired him that he would see his death revenged, which Alexander faithfully promised. He forthwith indeed pursued Bessus, but he being a long way before him, escaped into Bactria, so that, considering it impossible to overtake him, he marched back. This was the state of affairs in Asia.

In Europe, the Lacedæmonians being routed in a great battle by Antipater, were forced to send ambassadors to him; who put them off till the meeting of the general assembly of Greece, which afterwards met at Corinth; where, after many things were bandied and disputed on both sides, the matter was at length left to the decision

of Alexander. Hereupon, Antipater received the chiefest of the nobility of Sparta as hostages; and the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors into Asia, to beg pardon for their late revolt.

CHAP. VIII.

Bessus stirs up the Bactrians. Alexander discharges the Greek auxiliaries with rewards. The river Stiboetes. He enters Hyrcania; its richness. Enters the Mardian country. Loses his brave horse; which is restored. Thalestris the Amazonian queen meets him. He falls into the effeminacy of the Persians. Enters Drangina. A plot against Alexander. Philotas and others put to death. Marches against the Arimaspi. Subdues Arachosia.

WHEN this year ended, Cephisophon executed the office of chief magistrate at Athens, and Caius Valerius, and Marcus Claudius, were created Roman consuls. At that time, Bessus, with Nabarzanes and Barzaentes, and many others, after the death of Darius, having escaped the hands of Alexander, came into Bactria. And in regard he was appointed lord-lieutenant of that country by Darius, and upon that account was well known by the inhabitants, he persuaded the people to stand up for their liberty, and told them—That the situation and condition of their country was such, being full of difficult passes, and very populous, that they had an extraordinary advantage to succeed in the attempt, and promised that he himself would take upon him the whole management of the war.

Hereupon he so far prevailed, that he got a considerable number to join him, and to own him for king. Then he inlisted men, prepared arms, and procured whatever was necessary for the present state of his affairs.

In the mean time, Alexander perceiving that the Macedonians had a design to end the war with the death of Darius, and to return to their own country, he called them together; and so courted them by an oration fitted for that purpose, that he prevailed with them readily to go on with the expeditions that then yet remained. Then he called together all the Greek auxiliaries, and having highly commended them for their valour, bestowed upon every horseman as a reward a talent, and every foot soldier ten minas, and discharged them from further

service in the army. And over and besides, he paid to every one of them what was due to them for their common pay, and gave them likewise sufficient provision to carry them into their own country; and to every one that was willing still to continue in the army, he gave three talents. He gave indeed large rewards to the soldiers, being naturally of a generous disposition; and besides, in pursuing Darius he had possessed himself of a vast treasure: for he had received eight thousand talents out of the treasures; and besides what he gave to the soldiers, he raised thirteen thousand talents by the sale of the cups, flagons, and furniture. And it was believed, that what was stolen and taken away by force was much more.

Having done this, he marched with his army towards Hyrcania, and the third day came near the city Hecatompylos*, and there encamped. Here he continued some days to refresh his army, because the country was exceeding rich, and abounded with every thing for man's use. Thence he moved forward a hundred and fifty furlongs, and encamped near a very high rock, at the foot of which is a cave not unbecoming the gods; from whence, (as the spring-head), issues the great river Stiboetes. Thence it runs with a fierce and violent stream for the space of three furlongs, till it dashes itself upon a great rock, in shape like a woman's pap, under which is a vast gulf, or opening of the earth, into which, being now divided into two channels, it falls down with a mighty noise, turned all into froth and spume, and there runs under ground three hundred furlongs†; and then appears again, as if that were its spring-head. Having entered Hyrcania with his army, he gained all the towns and cities as far as the Caspian sea, which some likewise call the Hyrcanian sea. It is reported, that in that sea are many serpents of an extraordinary bigness, and fish of all sorts, much differing in colour from those in other parts. When he entered farther into Hyrcania, he came to towns called the Fortunate Towns, which are so in deed, as well as in name; for this country excels all the rest in fertility of soil: for every vine, they say, affords a metrete‡ of wine, and that some fig-trees are so very fruitful, that they will bear ten medimnas of dried figs; and that what are left upon the tree after harvest, fall upon the ground, and spring up again of themselves, and bring forth abundance of fruit to perfection. There is a tree in that country much like to an oak, which distils honey from its leaves; and this the inhabitants gather in great plenty for their own use. There is likewise a little insect in this tract called an Anthredon, less than a bee, but very remarkable; it gets its living in the mountains, sucking the flowers that grow here

* From its hundred gates. † About forty-three miles.

‡ About forty-nine quarts.

and there in those places. It works its combs within hollow rocks, or trees shattered or made hollow by the thunderbolts, and there makes a liquor not inferior to any for sweetness.

In the mean time Alexander, while on his march through Hyrcania and the bordering countries, gained great reputation, and was highly honoured for his clemency, in carrying himself with so much humanity towards all those commanders who fled away with Darius, and afterwards submitted themselves to him: so that fifteen hundred brave and valiant Grecians (who sided with Darius) forthwith came unto him, and laid themselves at his feet, whom he readily pardoned, and placed them in several of his regiments, and allowed them the same pay with the rest.

Having run through the sea-coasts of Hyrcania, he entered the country of the Mardi; who being a warlike nation, slighted the growing power of the king, and shewed him not the least respect, either by sending ambassadors, or otherwise; but having possessed themselves of the strait passes of the mountains with eight thousand men, stood there, waiting for the coming of the Macedonians. Hereupon the king sets upon them, kills many, and drives the rest within the straits. But while he was burning up the country all before him, it fell out that (some of the king's boys who led his horses, being at some distance from the rest of the army) his best horse, by a sudden incursion of the barbarians, was carried away. This horse was given him by Demaratus the Corinthian, and the king had made use of him in all his battles in Asia. When he was bare-backed, he would admit only his keeper to mount him; but when he had the king's war-saddle, and the rest of his brave trappings upon him, he would not suffer his former rider to get upon his back, nor any other person but Alexander; and to him he would down upon his knees for the king to get into the saddle. Because of these excellent properties of the horse, the king was the more grieved and troubled; and therefore he ordered the trees in all parts of the country as he went to be hewn down, and caused a proclamation to be made in their own natural tongue—That unless his horse were restored, he would waste and destroy all before him with fire and sword; which he began presently to put in execution. Upon which the barbarians were so terrified, that they not only restored the horse, but brought along with them many rich presents for the king, and by fifty ambassadors begged his pardon. Upon which the king accepted some of the most honourable among them for hostages.

When he returned to Hyrcania, Thalestris, queen of the Amazons met him, whose dominions lay between the Phasis and Thermodon, of an admirable beauty, and strong body, greatly honoured in her own

country for her brave and manly spirit. She presented herself to the king, with three hundred Amazons in their warlike habits, having left the rest of her forces on the borders of Hyrcania. The king being struck with admiration at the sudden and unexpected approach of the queen, and the graceful appearance of the women, asked Thalestris—"What was the reason of her journey thither?" Who answered him—"That she came there to have issue by him; for she looked upon him to transcend all other men for great and noble actions; and she herself to exceed all other women both in body and mind, as to the strength of the one, and courage of the other: and therefore there was good ground to hope that the issue of such parents, would excel all other men in valour." The king was greatly pleased with what she said, and gratified her request: and after he had conversed with her for the space of thirteen days, he presented her with honourable gifts, and then suffered her to return to her own kingdom.

Alexander conceiving that he had now effected all that he designed, and that there was no competitor with him for the empire, began to indulge in the soft and effeminate manners of the Persians, and to imitate the luxury of the Asiatic kings: and therefore, in the first place, he ordered all the officers of the court to be Asiatics, and the nobility of Asia to be squires of the body*, amongst whom Oxathres, the brother of Darius, was one. He put likewise the Persian diadem upon his head, and wore the white cassock and belt, after the manner of the Persian kings, and all the rest, except the Persian hose and vestment, called the Candys. He bestowed likewise purple gowns upon his friends, and cloathed all his horsemen in the Persian habit. He began likewise to carry his concubines along with him from place to place as Darius used to do, who had almost as many as the days in the year, and were the greatest beauties that could be found throughout all Asia. These stood round the king's bed every night, that he might take his choice of whom he pleased to lie with him. However, for the most part, he followed the antient customs of his ancestors, and used the other but seldom, lest he should offend the Macedonians: and when some, notwithstanding, complained of the king, he stopped their mouths with gifts and bribes.

About this time intelligence was brought him that Satibarzanes, one of Darius's lord-lieutenants, had killed all the soldiers he had committed to his charge, and was joined in conspiracy with Bessus to make war upon the Macedonians; whereupon he marched out against him.

Satibarzanes had got all his forces together into Chrotacana, a most

* The lictors, who carried rods before the magistrates.

noble city in those parts, and naturally fortified; but as soon as the king came in sight, being terrified with the greatness of the king's army, and the valour of the Macedonians, (which was now cried up all the world over), he hastened away with two thousand horse to Bessus, to procure help from him with all speed. The rest of his forces he ordered to make to a mountain near at hand, which was full of strait passes; and where they might lie close and secure when they durst not engage with the enemy in the open field. Upon this, the king was so intent and diligent, (as he always was), that though they had sheltered themselves in a large rock, and naturally strong, yet he reduced the besieged to those straits, as that he forced them to surrender themselves.

Afterwards, having reduced all the cities in this province, in the space of thirty days, he left Hyrcania, and came to the royal city of Drangina*, where he encamped and refreshed his army.

About this time a most wicked plot was laid against Alexander, very unworthy the goodness of his disposition. For one of the king's friends, called Dimnus, blaming the king for something he had done, and thereupon becoming enraged at him, laid a plan to assassinate him. This man had a catamite, called Nicomachus, whom he dearly loved; him he endeavoured to persuade to join with him in this wicked design: but being a very young stripling, he discovered the whole business to his brother Ceballinus, who, (fearing lest some other should be before him in the discovery), resolved to make the first mention of it to the king.

Thereupon he goes to the court, and first meets Philotas, and acquaints him with what he had heard, and entreats him to inform the king immediately what was hatching against him.

Philotas, whether through covetousness, or that he was one of the conspirators, (it is not certain), inclined not to make the discovery of what had been imparted to him: for though he went to the king, and had a long discourse with him of divers matters, yet he told him nothing of what Ceballinus had related to him. But when he came out, told Ceballinus, that he had not had as yet a fit opportunity for opening the matter to the king; but that the next day he would take him aside by himself, and discover all that Ceballinus had made known to him. Philotas neglecting the business the next day also, Ceballinus was afraid lest it should be discovered by some other person, and so he himself should be in great danger: therefore he waved Philotas, and went to one of the king's pages, and tells him the whole plot, wishing him forthwith to acquaint the king; and then withdraws himself into the armory, and there lay private. The page

* In the province of Drangina, in Persia.

took the opportunity when the king was in the bath, and related to him the whole matter told him by Ceballinus, and that he then lay hid and secret in the armory. At this the king was greatly startled, and forthwith ordered Dimnus to be seized; and now fully informed of the conspiracy, sent for Ceballinus and Philotas. When every thing, after strict examination, was fully discovered, Dimnus stabbed himself. Philotas confessed his neglect in not making the discovery; but utterly denied that he had any hand in the conspiracy. The king hereupon committed the examination of the business to the judgment of the Macedonians, who after many arguments and debates *pro* and *con*, condemned Philotas and the rest of the conspirators to die; amongst whom was Parmenio, who was ever thought to have been one of the king's most faithful friends. And though he was not then present, yet it was suspected that he managed the business by his son Philotas.

Philotas therefore, being put upon the rack, confessed the whole plot; and so he and the other conspirators were put to death, according to the manner of their own country. Alexander Lyncestes also, (who was before accused of a conspiracy against the king), suffered in the same manner. He had been now three years in custody, but his trial was deferred till that time for the sake of Antigonus, who had a great kindness for him, and between whom there was a particular friendship and familiarity. But being then brought before the Macedonian senate, and having nothing by way of plea to say for himself, he was executed with the rest.

Then Alexander despatched messengers upon dromedary-camels, to prevent the report of Philotas's punishment, and by that means caused Parmenio the father of Philotas to be seized unawares, and put to death; he was then governor of Media, and was intrusted with the king's treasures in Ecbatana, which amounted to a hundred and four score thousand talents. About the same time he severed from the rest of his army all such as had given out harsh expressions against him, and grumbled at the death of Parmenio, and all those who had written false and scandalous letters to their friends in Macedonia, relating to the king's affairs: all these he cast into one company or regiment which he called the Unruly Company, lest by their unseasonable jangling and prating, they should corrupt the rest of the Macedonians.

After these things thus done, and that he had settled his affairs in Drangina, he marched against the Arimaspi, (as they were antiently called), but now Evergetæ*, which name was given them upon the

* Benefactors.

following account: Cyrus, (who was the first that translated the empire from the Medes to the Persians), in a certain expedition he had undertaken, being brought into great extremity in a barren country for want of provisions, insomuch as the soldiers, to satisfy their hunger, were forced to eat the flesh of one another; the Arimaspi at that time brought to his army thirty thousand carts and waggons loaden with provisions. And therefore the king being unexpectedly relieved and preserved, not only acquitted the people from paying of tribute for the future, but bestowed upon them many other privileges and bountiful rewards, and changed their old name to Evergetæ.

And now when Alexander came into their country, they received him with all the demonstrations of love and kindness, and he rewarded them with marks of his grace and favour, suitable to his state and dignity. And returned the like favour to the Gedrosians their neighbours, who had entertained him likewise with the same respect: and over these two nations he made Teridates governor.

In the mean time while he staid in these parts, some brought him intelligence that Satibarzanes with a great body of horse out of Bactria, had entered the country of the Arians, and had withdrawn the inhabitants from their allegiance. Upon which the king sent against him part of the army, under the command of Erigyus and Stasander. He himself in the mean time in a few days subdued Arachosia, and caused them to submit to his government.

CHAP. IX.

Alexander marches against the Paropamisades. His troublesome march. Comes to mount Caucasus. A battle in Aria by Alexander's officers against Satibarzanes, who is killed in a single combat by Erigyus. Besssus brought to Alexander; his punishment. Alexander kills some barbarians unexpectedly, after they had surrendered their city. He marches to the river Indus. Mophis's remarkable delivery up of himself and his army.

AT the end of this year Euthycritus was created chief governor of Athens, Lucius Plotius, and Lucius Papirius executing the office of Roman consuls. At this time was celebrated the hundred and thirteenth olympiad. Then Alexander led his army against the Paro-

pamisades. This country lies very far north, and is covered over with snow, and by reason of the sharpness of the cold, people cannot endure to come into their country. The greatest part of it is open and plain, without any trees, and has in it many towns scattered here and there. The roofs of their houses are covered with tiles, running up in shape of a spire, in the middle is a hole to let in light, and to evaporate the smoke: and the walls of their houses are so closely jointed and cemented, that the inhabitants ar esufficiently guarded against the cold. By reason of the great drifts of snow, they keep within their houses the most part of the year, where they have every thing necessary for their provision laid up in store. They cover their vines and fruit-trees all the winter with earth, and uncover them again when the spring approaches. The nature of all this tract is such, that nothing that is green or pleasant is seen in any part of it; but snow glittering with ice covers all places. No sorts of fowls or birds breed here; no wild beasts feed in the woods or forests; insomuch, as that there is neither entertainment for any stranger, nor hospitality one with another throughout the whole country. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, yet the king, encouraged by the hardiness of the Macedonians; and put on forward by his own daring resolution, overcame all the disadvantages of the place. But yet some of the soldiers, and others that straggled and kept not up with the rest, were so tired, that they were left behind. Others, by the brightness and sharpness of the snow, and reflection thereof upon their eyes, were destroyed. Nothing could be seen at a distance, save only the smoke that discovered the villages; which was a sign to the Macedonians that there were inhabitants not far off. The towns being thus discovered and gained, the soldiers, after their great hardships, refreshed themselves with the plentiful store of provisions they found in the houses, and in a short time all the inhabitants submitted.

After this, he marched forward, and came near to Caucasus, where he encamped. That mountain by some is called Paropamisus: having passed over the breadth of the mountain in sixteen days march, he built a city called Alexandria, near the foot of the mount, at a pass which opens a way into Media. In the middle of Caucasus is a rock ten furlongs in compass, and four in height, wherein the inhabitants pretend to shew Prometheus's* cave, the fabulous vulture's nest, and the chains and fetters. He built likewise other cities, each distant a day's journey from Alexandria. In these he planted seven thousand of the barbarians, three thousand of those that followed the camp, and as many of the mercenary soldiers as would.

* See this story in Ovid's Metamorphosis, lib. i. and other poets.

Hence he marched into Bactria; for he heard that Bessus had usurped the crown, and had raised a numerous army. These were the things then done by Alexander.

In the mean time, the commanders that were sent into Aria, there found the ring-leaders of the rebellion, with a strong army, under the command of Satibarzanes, an experienced and valiant general. The armies encamped near to one another, and sometimes would engage in considerable bodies, and at others in light skirmishes, by a few on each side. At length it came to a general battle, and, in the midst of the fight, (wherein the valour of the barbarians was such that the issue was very doubtful), Satibarzanes himself (to discover who he was) pulled off his helmet with his own hand, and challenged any of his enemy's commanders to fight with him hand to hand: upon which Erigyus made up to him, and a stout combat ensued, in which Erigyus was victor. The barbarians, upon the death of their general, were so disheartened, that, upon receiving quarter, they gave up themselves to the king.

In the mean while, Bessus had taken upon him the name of king, and, having sacrificed to the gods, invited his friends to feast with him. In the midst of his cups, he began to quarrel with one of his companions, called Bagodares, and, the contest growing higher, he fell at length into such a rage, that he resolved to kill him, but changed his mind, through the persuasion of his friends. Bagodares thus narrowly escaping with his life, fled in the night to Alexander. The chief of the commanders (moved by the consideration of his escape, and stirred up by hopes of rewards) conspired together, and seized upon Bessus, and brought him to Alexander, for which the king bountifully rewarded them. As for Bessus, he gave him up into the hands of Darius's brother, and the rest of his kindred, to punish him in such manner as they thought fit, who, after they had put him to all manner of torments, and used him with all the despite and disgrace imaginable, cut his body into small pieces, and hurled every part here and there out of their slings. * * * * * * * * *

Here the history is broken off, and lost, viz. 1. *Alexander's march through a dry country.* 2. *The defection of the Sogdiani and Bactrians.* 3. *The hunting in Bahastis.*

Peace being made upon these conditions, and ratified by mutual oaths, the queen* mightily admired the brave and noble spirit of

* Queen of Massaga, in India.

Alexander, and sent to him most rich presents, promising to do whatever he pleased to command. * * * * * * * *

Here likewise the history is lost. 4. *The impiety against Bacchus.* 5. *The death of Clitus and Callisthenes.* 6. *Wars with the Nauticæ.* 7. *His marriage with Roxana.* 8. *Of Nicæa.—These may be supplied out of Arrian,* lib. 4, *and Q. Curtius,* lib. 7, 8.

THEN the mercenaries, as they had agreed, forthwith left the city, and, having marched eight hundred furlongs, encamped without any disturbance, not in the least suspecting any thing of that which afterwards happened: for Alexander, hating them implacably, pursued them with a considerable body of men, and fell upon the barbarians on the sudden, and cut off multitudes of them. Upon which the mercenaries first cried out, that he had violated his oath, in falling upon them in that hostile manner, and called upon the gods to revenge that impious cruelty executed upon them. But the king, with a loud voice, answered—That he did, indeed, agree that they should quit the city, but not that they should ever be accounted as friends to the Macedonians. Hereupon the barbarians, no at all terrified at the desperate condition they were in*, drew up in a body in a round ring, placing their wives, children, and women in the middle, that they might receive the enemy on every side with less hazard and prejudice. Being therefore desperate, and of daring spirits, and encouraged by their successes in former conflicts, they bravely received the enemy. The Macedonians, on the other hand, resolving to be in nothing inferior to them, the engagement was very sharp and terrible. For, fighting close hand to hand, man to man, various kinds of death and wounds appeared every where: for the Macedonians, by their sarissas†, pierced through the brittle shields of the barbarians with that violence, that the points ran into their very bodies. The mercenaries, likewise, on their part threw their lances among the the thickest of their enemies, upon whom (being so near) they were sure not to fail in doing execution. When a great number of them were wounded, and as many killed, the women took up the arms of those that were slain, and joined with the men in the engagement: for the desperateness of their condition, and the greatness of the work in hand, forced them to the most resolute resistance for the defence of themselves. Some of them therefore getting arms, defended

* These mercenaries were the Massagetæ.

† Sarissa, a Macedonian spear or lance.

their husbands with shields; others that had no arms rushed in upon the enemy, and caught hold of their bucklers, so that they could scarce do any thing. At length all the men, together with their wives, (who valiantly fought to the last), being overpowered by multitudes, died upon the place, preferring an honourable death before a life with slavery and disgrace. The useless and unarmed rabble, together with the women that were left, he gave to his horsemen. He took likewise several other cities, putting them to the sword that opposed him.

Hence* he moved forward to the rock called Aornos; for here those inhabitants that survived sheltered themselves, it being a very strong place. It is reported, that the antient Hercules attempted the taking this place, but was forced to quit the siege, by reason of terrible earthquakes, and other prodigies of the gods, that happened there at that time; which coming to the ears of Alexander, it made him far more eager to assault the place, as if he gloried to be that god's co-rival both in might and power. The rock was an hundred furlongs round, and sixteen high, and seemed to be even and steep, and every where round. At the foot of the rock towards the south runs the Indus, the greatest river of India: other parts are environed by inaccessible rocks and dreadful precipices. Alexander, upon view of the place, concluded that it was not possible for him to take it by force. At that instant there came to him an old man, with his two sons, who had a long time lived in those places, in a very poor and low condition: he had there a little cell cut in the rock, wherein were three beds: he and his sons lodging together in this place, he was very well acquainted with all the avenues and passages round about. When he came, therefore, to the king, he told him his condition, and promised to lead the king through the straits and craggy by-ways, to a post where he might assault the barbarians upon the rock. Hereupon Alexander promised him a large reward, made use of his conduct, and in the first place possessed himself of the only passage that led up to the top of the rock: and, because there was no other way to pass, he so blocked up the besieged, that there was no relief to be expected. Then, by the help of many hands, he raised up a mount from the foot of the rock; and he advanced so close up to the enemy, that by this means he made a very sharp and vigorous assault, which continued, without any interruption, night and day, for the space of seven days. At the beginning the barbarians, by advantage of the height of the fort, prevailed, and cut off

* Here it falls in with the index placed before the seventeenth book in the Greek edition of Rhodomannus.

many who too rashly forced in upon them: but, when the battery was raised up to its due height, and the engines for shooting of darts and other warlike instruments were brought up, and that the resolution of the king not to leave the assault was discerned, the besieged were in a great consternation. But Alexander, wisely foreseeing what would be the issue, commanded the guard that he had left at the passage to withdraw, that so the enemy might have free liberty to depart, if they chose it.

Upon which the barbarians, affrighted by the valour of the Macedonians, and the king's brave resolution, in the night left the fort. The Indians being thus frighted with a scarecrow, the king gained the rock without any considerable loss; and then, having rewarded his guide, marched away with his forces to other places.

About that time there was one Aphrices, an Indian, that lay in those parts with an army of twenty thousand men, and fifteen elephants: him the Indians killed, and brought his head to Alexander, and by that means gained his favour. He possessed himself likewise of all the elephants in that tract, and received the Indians into his protection. Thence he moved to the river Indus, where, being furnished with some ships of thirty oars a-piece, with them he made a bridge over the river, and continued in that place for the space of thirty days, to refresh his army, and there offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods.

After he had passed over his forces, there happened something unusual and remarkable: one Taxiles, who formerly reigned in that country, being lately dead, his son Mophis succeeded him; this Mophis some time before had sent an ambassador to Alexander, when he was in Sogdiana, to offer him his assistance against the Indians that were then preparing to oppose him, and likewise promised to deliver up his kingdom into the king's hands. When the king was thirty furlongs distant, Mophis and his friends marched towards him with a well-appointed army, and elephants adorned and fitted for battle. When Alexander saw so numerous an army advance, he believed the Indian had made a cloak of his promises to cover his fraud, and by that means to surprise the Macedonians unawares; therefore he commanded the trumpets to give the signal of battle, and drew up his army in battalia, and advanced towards the Indians. But Mophis, being informed of the sudden commotion that was amongst the Macedonians, and easily judging the occasion, commanded his army to make a halt, and he himself, with a few in his company, posted away, and presently undeceived the Macedonians, by delivering up himself and his army (which was the strength of the kingdom) into the power of the king; who was so well pleased

with what the barbarian had done, that he restored him to his kingdom, and ever after found Taxiles (for so he was called) his constant and faithful friend and associate. And these were the transactions of this year.

CHAP. X.

Alexander overcomes Porus. How Apes are taken. Strange serpents for venom. Large trees. He marches against the Andrastians, Cathari, and against Sophithes. The custom of them under Sophithes. Indian dogs. Alexander entertained by Phigeus. The Macedonians refuse to march against the Gandaritæ. Alexander leaves monuments behind him at the river Hydaspes. Nicæa and Bucephalus built. The Iberians present Alexander. He routs the Agalasses. Is in danger in the river Indus, by whirlpools. Marches against the Oxydracæ and Mallii. The king leaps off the wall into the town. A duel between Coragus and Dioxippus. The Sambestæ submit to Alexander; and also the Sogdiani and Massani. Subdues Musicanus, Portieanus, and Samlus. Poisoned weapons. The king's dream. Comes into the main ocean. Comes into Gedrosia. The savageness of the people. His army near perishing in Gedrosia. Comes into Carmania. Punishes the Bormeial Governours. Nearchus returns. Islands covered at high tides. The strange death of Calanus. Alexander marries Statira. Harpalus's luxury. Alexander seizes with his own hand them that had mutinied.

AT the time when Chremes was lord-chancellor at Athens, and Publius Cornelius and Aulus Posthumius executed the consulship at Rome, Alexander, after he had refreshed his army in the province of Taxiles, marched against Porus, prince of the neighbouring Indians, who had in his army above fifty thousand foot, three thousand horse, above a thousand chariots, and a hundred and thirty elephants, and was confederated with another neighbouring king, called Embisarus, not inferior in power to Porus. Alexander, understanding that he was not above four hundred furlongs distant from Porus, advanced with a resolution to fight him before the other joined him. Porus perceiving him to approach, drew up his horse in two wings; his

elephants, so accoutred as to terrify his enemies, he placed at equal distances one from another in the front, and lined them with his armed men, who were commanded to guard and defend them from darts and arrows in the flank. The whole army drawn up thus in battalia, seemed like a city: for the elephants stood like so many towers, and the soldiers placed among them resembled the walls. Alexander, on the other hand, (observing how his enemies were drawn up), so disposed and ordered his own men as the present circumstances of his affairs then required.

The horse engaged in the first place, and thereupon almost all the Indian chariots were presently broken in pieces; afterwards the elephants being made use of, (by the mighty bulk of their bodies, and their great strength), bore down and trod under foot many of the Macedonians; others were catched up in their trunks, and tossed into the air, and then fell down again with great violence upon the earth, and so miserably perished; many, likewise, were so rent and torn with their teeth, that they died forthwith. However, the Macedonians with invincible courage endured all the hardships wherewith they were pressed, and with their sarissas killed the soldiers that guarded the elephants; so that now they fought upon equal terms: and not long after, the beasts being plied with darts on every side, and not being able longer to endure the many wounds they received, their riders were not able to rule them, insomuch that they furiously rushed backwards, and broke in upon their own regiments, and trod many of them under foot, which caused great disturbance and confusion. Upon which Porus, mounted upon the bravest elephant, (seeing how things were likely to be), commanded forty of those that were not as yet startled and affrighted, to be placed round about him. And with these he made so desperate and fierce a charge, that he made a great slaughter amongst the Macedonians; especially, being a man of the strongest body of all those that were with him; for he was five cubits high, and in bulk proportionable, so that his breast-plate was twice as big as any of the rest of the strongest men amongst them, and he threw a dart with as great force as if it had been shot out of an engine. But this extraordinary strength of Porus did not at all terrify the Macedonians that were placed in the front against him: Alexander therefore commanded the archers and light-armed men, with all their darts and arrows, to make at Porus himself, who did as they were commanded: so that such a multitude of archers were got together in one body, and such showers of darts and arrows poured out upon him, that they could not possibly miss their mark. Porus at length, (having fought with great valour and resolution), by a multitude of wounds, lost so much blood that his

spirits failed him, and he fell down from his beast to the ground. Upon which, it being presently spread abroad that the king was dead, the rest of the Indians fled, and thereupon a great slaughter was made amongst them.

Alexander having thus gained this glorious victory, at length commanded his trumpets to sound a retreat. But there were killed in this battle above twelve thousand Indians, amongst whom were two sons of Porus, the generals of his army, and the chiefest of his commanders. There were taken above nine thousand prisoners, and fourscore elephants. As for Porus, he was not yet quite dead, and therefore Alexander recommended him to the care of the Indians themselves, for the dressing of his wounds. There fell of the Macedonians two hundred and fourscore horse, and above seven hundred foot, whom the king took care to have decently buried, and rewarded those that survived who had merited by their valour. He sacrificed, likewise, to the sun, through whose favour and assistance he had conquered the east. The neighbouring mountains being clothed with great numbers of fir-trees, cedars, and the pitch-tree, the place affords plentiful materials for the building of ships; and therefore he built as many here as he had occasion for: for he designed, when he came to the utmost bounds of India, after he had subdued those nations that lay in his way, to pass along through the river into the ocean.

In the mean time, he built two cities in those parts, one upon the farther side of the river* where he passed over; the other where he overcame Porus, and both were presently perfected, having many hands at work.

Porus being recovered, he restored him to the possession of his kingdom; and, because there was plenty of all sorts of provisions, he suffered his army to lie still and refresh themselves for the space of thirty days.

There are some things very remarkable, and worth observing, in the mountains near where they encamped: for, besides the materials for shipping, this tract abounds with serpents of a vast bigness, sixteen cubits in length, and breeds a sort of apes to be admired both for their number and the greatness of their bodies. The nature of the beast has instructed the hunter how to take her: for they are apt to imitate every action they see; but, because of their strength and natural sagacity, it is very difficult to take them by force. Therefore some of the hunters anoint their eyes with honey, and others put on shoes in the sight of the apes; and some there are that clap upon their heads looking-glasses†: then they leave some shoes behind

* River Hydaspes. † Glasses made hollow like caps.

them, with bands fixed to them, and instead of honey lay bird-lime, and within the glasses are ropes to run on nooses. When they are gone, the poor creatures begin presently to imitate what they saw done, and so are deluded; for their eye-lids are glued together, their feet are fast bound, and their whole bodies held by the snares; and so they become an easy prey to the hunter.

Afterwards, Alexander forced Embisarus (who had been so slow in assisting Porus, and was now in a consternation) to a submission; and then he passed the river with his forces, and made his way through a most fruitful country: for here are strange sorts of trees, seventy cubits high, and of that thickness that four men can scarcely compass them, and cast a shade three hundred feet distance.

There are likewise in this tract multitudes of serpents of small bodies, but for their various colour most remarkable: for thousands lie like rods, yellow as brass; others have very rough and hairy breasts, and whoever is bitten by them falls down dead immediately. If any be stung by them, he is most horridly tormented, and a bloody sweat issues out at all the pores of his body. The Macedonians, to secure themselves from these mischiefs, hung up their beds on the limbs of these trees, watching the greatest part of the night; but at length, by some of the inhabitants, they were directed to a root which was an antidote against the poison.

After the king had moved from thence, he was informed that Porus, a neighbouring prince, nephew of the Porus lately vanquished, was fled out of his kingdom, and gone to the Gandaritæ. At which Alexander was not a little troubled, and thereupon sent Hephæstion with a considerable body of men into his dominion, and ordered him to reduce it into the nature of a province, and to deliver it into the hands of his friend Porus. He himself marched into the country of the Andrastians, and gained some of their cities by assault, and others by surrender.

Thence he came into the country of the Cathari, where by the law the living wives are burnt together with their dead husbands; and the wickedness and treachery of one woman, who poisoned her husband, was the occasion of this law. There the king burnt down to the ground the greatest and strongest town of all others in those parts, after he had with great difficulty and hazard taken it by assault. The inhabitants of another town, which he was ready to assault, came forth, and humbly submitted themselves to him, upon which he spared them.

Hence he led his army to the cities belonging to Sophithes, which were governed by most excellent laws; amongst the rest they strictly observe this—To value their beauty and comely proportion above all

other things; and therefore they carefully examine every part of the child when it is in the cradle, and such as are sound and perfect in every limb and member, and likely to be strong and comely, they nurse and bring up; but such as are lame and deficient, and of a weak habit of body, they kill, as not worth the rearing. They have the same regard to their marriages; for without any regard to portion, or any other advantages, they only mind the beauty of the person, and the health and strength of their bodies. Hence it is, that those who live in those cities, are for the most part more beautiful and comely than others. But Sophithes the king surpassed all the rest of his subjects for admirable beauty and stately proportion; for he was above four cubits high: he came forth from his royal city, and gave up himself and kingdom into the hands of Alexander; and from the bounty of the victor forthwith received it back again; and thereupon he nobly feasted Alexander and all his army for several days together. And after many rich presents made to him, he presented him with a hundred and fifty dogs of a wonderful strength and bigness, and of other most remarkable properties. It was said they were brought forth by tigers, who had coupled with dogs. Alexander wishing by an experiment to try their strength and courage, caused an exceeding great lion to be brought into the circus, and then loosed at him two of the weakest of the dogs; which proving too weak, he let go two others. The lion being now surrounded by four, and overpowered, Sophithes sent one with a sword, who began to cut off the right thigh of one of the dogs: upon which the king called out, and thereupon the squires of his body ran to the Indian, and held his hand: but Sophithes wished them to let him alone, and promised to give three for that one. The huntsman therefore laid hold again on the dog's thigh, and cut it off by little and little; and all that while the dog neither howled nor made the least noise; but held fast his hold till he fell down dead upon the lion.

In the mean time Hephæstion returned with those troops before sent along with him, having subdued a great part of India wherever he came, and was hereupon honoured by the king with all deserved praises.

Next Alexander marched into the kingdom of Phigeus, where all the Macedonians were welcomed by the inhabitants, and Phigeus himself meeting him with rich gifts and presents, willing to receive from him his kingdom as a gift of his bounty; which Alexander accordingly restored to him: and both he and his army being entertained by Phigeus for two days, he then moved forward to the river Hydaspes, which is seven furlongs over, and six fathoms deep, of a very fierce stream, and difficult to pass. He had learned from Phi-

geus, that beyond the Indus was a vast desert of twelve day's journey; and at the farthest borders thereof, ran the Ganges, two-and-twenty furlongs broad, and the deepest of all the rivers in India: and that beyond this river, there dwelt the Tabresians, the Gandaritæ, whose king's name was Xandrames, who had an army of twenty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, two thousand chariots, and four thousand elephants. The king could not believe this to be true, and therefore sent for Porus, and inquired of him whether it was so or not. He told him all was certainly true; but that the present king of the Gandaritæ was but of a mean and obscure extraction, accounted to be a barber's son. For his father being a very beautiful and handsome man, the queen fell in love with him, and then murdered her husband; and so the kingdom devolved upon the present king.

Alexander, however, though he perceived that the expedition against the Gandaritæ would be very difficult, yet through a desire he still had to gain further glory, would not wave it; but confiding in the valour of the Macedonians, and the answers he had received from the oracles, hoped to conquer all the barbarians wherever he went: for he remembered that at Delphos he was called by the oracle Invincible, and that the empire of the whole world was promised to him by Jupiter Ammon. But discerning that his soldiers were even tired out with continual marches, (for they had now toiled themselves with extreme hazards for eight years together), he judged it necessary to make a speech to his army, to persuade them to undertake with him this expedition against the Gandaritæ. For now he had lost many soldiers, and no hopes or prospect remained of ending the war: nay, their very horse's hoofs were worn away by their continual marches, and many of their arms wasted and become useless. And besides, all their Grecian habits and clothes were worn out, and they were forced to make use of the barbarian stuff, and cut the Indian plaids in pieces to make themselves clothes. And it happened likewise, about that time, that there poured down from heaven fearful storms of rain, with terrible thunder and lightning, which continued for seventy days together. All which, though they happened cross to his designs, as he conceived, yet he judged there was one way still left for him to accomplish what he so much desired, and that was by bounty and liberality to gain the hearts of his soldiers. To that end, he gave free liberty to the soldiers to ravage and plunder all over the enemy's country, which was rich, and abounding in all good things.

While the army was thus employed in spoiling and plundering, he called together the soldier's wives and all their children; and among the wives he ordered corn to be distributed every month; and com-

strength of body, and presence of mind, that it seemed as if two of the gods were to fight a duel: for the Macedonian, for his stature and the brightness of his arms, looked like Mars; Dioxippus, (besides his being the stronger man), in his carrying of a great club, and activity in feats of arms, resembled Hercules. And now both advanced one towards another: the Macedonian, when he came near, cast his javelin at Dioxippus, which he avoided by a little motion of his body. Then Coragus presently made at him with his Macedonian sarissa, which the other (advancing forward) broke in pieces with his truncheon. The Macedonian thus twice defeated, took to his sword; but, while he was drawing it, his adversary made up to him, and prevented him, catching hold of his arm with his left hand, and gave him such a blow with the other, that he laid him at his feet. When he had him upon the ground, he set his foot upon his neck, and, lifting himself up, he turned about to the spectators: upon which all the people set up a great shout, in admiration of what was done, and at the strength and valour of the man; but the king ordered him that was foiled to be let go, and then broke up the assembly, and departed, not very well pleased at the misfortune of his countryman.

But Dioxippus having now discharged his adversary, went off the ground, and, for his famous and remarkable victory, his countrymen set a coronet upon his head, as one that had advanced the honour and reputation of the Grecians. But fortune suffered not this man to rejoice long in his victory; for the king ever after bore a grudge to him, and the king's friends, and all the courtiers, envied him: therefore they persuaded one that waited at the table to put a golden cup under his cushion; and, in the middle of the feast a complaint was made that the cup was stolen; whereupon search was made, and the cup pretended to be found with Dioxippus, by which he was greatly disgraced, and put out of countenance; and seeing the Macedonians come flocking about him, he rose from the table, and left the place, and went to his lodging. But shortly after, he wrote a letter to Alexander, complaining of the foul contrivances of his enemies against him; and, after he had delivered it to his servants, to be handed carefully to the king, he murdered himself.

It was certainly an imprudent act in him to fight with a Macedonian, but far more folly in him to destroy himself: therefore many who blamed him for this piece of madness, added this to his further disgrace—That a great body and a great wit seldom meet together. When the king read the letter, he was exceedingly troubled at his death, and would often commend him for his valour; and he who

eminent city of greatest command in those parts: the citizens went out to the king, and were admitted to converse with him; and there they renewed the memory of their antient kindred, and promised to perform all offices of respect and kindness, as became so near relations; and sealed and confirmed what they said with extraordinary rich presents. The king received them very graciously, and in return permitted all their cities to govern according to their own laws.

Thence he moved towards the bordering nations, amongst whom he found the Agalasses had raised an army of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: Alexander fought them, and routed them; many were killed upon the spot, and the rest fled into holes and dens, and the neighbouring towns and villages; which being afterwards taken, they were all sold for slaves. There were twenty thousand of the rest of the inhabitants that got together for shelter into a great city, which he took by storm, although the Indians, blocking up the passages, fought resolutely from the tops of their houses, and killed multitudes of the Macedonians, which put him into such a rage, that he set the town on fire, and burnt most of them in it; so that only three thousand remained, who fled into the castle, and sued for pardon and obtained it.

Then he with his friends went on board again, and sailed down the river to the place where the two rivers, (as was said before), and likewise the Indus, now met together. But these great rivers rushing in one upon another in one and the same place, there were most terrible whirlpools, where the ships that fell into them where so whirled about, that there they perished. And the stream was so fierce and violent, that no pilot could govern their ships; so that two long ships were sunk, and many of the rest driven upon the shore. The king's ship was likewise catched in a whirlpool, and he himself now in the utmost extremity and danger of losing his life; which he perceiving, stripped himself naked, and prepared for the last remedy. Whereupon his friends came round the ship, endeavouring with all their might to take in the king, in case his ship perished. A great hurry and confusion there was, while the men strove with the violence of the waves, but the river overmatched both their strength and skill. Yet the king with great difficulty, by the help of the ships, was at length brought to land. Being thus unexpectedly preserved, he sacrificed to the gods for his deliverance, and that he had, like another Achilles, conquered the river itself. Thence he marched against the Oxydracæ and Mallii, populous and warlike nations of India, whom he found ready prepared with an army of above fourscore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and seven hundred chariots. These people were at war amongst themselves, before the king came

amongst them; but, being terrified at his approach, they were forced to agree, and confederate against him; and, in confirmation of their league, they mutually disposed of ten thousand virgins in marriage, and thereby entered into affinity one with another. However, they came not against him with their armies into the field, but afterwards fell at variance one with another concerning the chief command, and drew away here and there into the neighbouring cities. Alexander approaching to the capital city*, designed without any further delay to assault it; but one Demophoon, a soothsayer, dissuaded the king from his purpose, alleging—That by certain signs and prodigies (by him observed) were portended, that the king would be in extreme danger by a wound received in this siege; and therefore entreated him that he would wave this town, and apply himself to some other affair. Upon this the king was very angry, because he discouraged the soldiers; therefore, preparing all things necessary for an assault, he himself led up his men to the walls, with an undaunted spirit, eager to gain the place by force. His men being slow in fixing the engines, (as he thought), he was the first that broke through the gate into the city, upon which many were hewn down, and the rest fled, whom he pursued to the very castle. And, because the Macedonians came not up so readily to make the assault as he expected, he took a scaling-ladder himself, and set it to the castle-wall, and, holding his buckler over his head, mounted the ladder; and he was so quick, that, before they within could force him back, he had gained the top of the wall. None of the Indians durst engage him hand to hand, but they so plied him with darts and arrows at a distance, that he was over pressed.

In the mean time, the Macedonians had applied two scaling ladders; but, too many thronging up at once, the ladders broke, and down they all fell to the ground. The king, being then left without any hope of relief, grew so desperate, that he did what is worth special remark, and almost incredible: for, looking upon it as a diminution of his glory to make a retreat down amongst his own soldiers, he leaped off the wall, with his arms in his hand, into the town†. Then the Indians came rushing upon him in droves, and he received their assault with great resolution: for, having a tree which grew near to the wall on his right hand, and the wall on his left, he more easily defended himself, standing his ground with that courage and resolution as became a king that had performed such noble acts, coveting to end his days by a glorious and honourable death. Having now

* Of the Oxydracæ.—Vid. Appian, lib. 2; Bell. Civil. latter end; and Curtius, l. ix. sect. 5.

† Castle-yard rather.

received many cuts upon his helmet, and as many on his shield, at length he received so grievous a wound under one of his breasts, that it brought him down upon his knees. Upon which the Indian that wounded him ran (heedlessly) upon him to give him another blow; but the king thrust his sword through his body, and there he fell down dead. Then, raising himself up by the help of a bough of the tree, he challenged any of the Indians who had a mind to fight with him.

And now came in to his relief Peucestes, one of his guard, being one of the first that had by other ladders scaled the wall, and after him came several others; so that the barbarians being now in a fright, Alexander was at length rescued and preserved.

The city being thus taken, the Macedonians (being enraged upon account of the king) put all the men they found to the sword, and filled every place with dead carcases.

In the mean time, while the king lay ill of his wound, the Grecians that were distributed into several colonies throughout Bactria and Sogdiana (having for a considerable time before been dissatisfied at their plantations amongst the barbarians, and now encouraged upon the report that Alexander was dead of his wound) rebelled against the Macedonians, and got together, to the number of about three thousand, and endeavoured with all their might to return into their own country; but they were every man cut off after the death of Alexander.

The king, after he was recovered of his wound, appointed a solemn sacrifice to the gods, in order to give thanks for his recovery, and sumptuously feasted all his friends. In his feasting and drinking there happened a circumstance very remarkable, and fit to be taken notice of: amongst other friends, there was one Coragus a Macedonian invited, a strong-bodied man, and one that had often behaved himself with great gallantry in several encounters. This man in his cups challenged one Dioxippus, an Athenian, to fight a duel; who was a champion, and had won many noble prizes and victories. The matter was pushed forward by the guests, as is usual at such times. Dioxippus accepted the challenge, and the king appointed the day.

As soon as it was day, many thousands of people flocked together to see the combat. The king, with his Macedonians, favoured Coragus; the Grecians wished well to Dioxippus. The Macedonian came into the list neatly accoutred, glittering in his arms. The Athenian presented himself stark naked, all over anointed with oil, with a cap upon his head. Their persons were both so admirable for

strength of body, and presence of mind, that it seemed as if two of the gods were to fight a duel: for the Macedonian, for his stature and the brightness of his arms, looked like Mars; Dioxippus, (besides his being the stronger man), in his carrying of a great club, and activity in feats of arms, resembled Hercules. And now both advanced one towards another: the Macedonian, when he came near, cast his javelin at Dioxippus, which he avoided by a little motion of his body. Then Coragus presently made at him with his Macedonian sarissa, which the other (advancing forward) broke in pieces with his truncheon. The Macedonian thus twice defeated, took to his sword; but, while he was drawing it, his adversary made up to him, and prevented him, catching hold of his arm with his left hand, and gave him such a blow with the other, that he laid him at his feet. When he had him upon the ground, he set his foot upon his neck, and, lifting himself up, he turned about to the spectators: upon which all the people set up a great shout, in admiration of what was done, and at the strength and valour of the man; but the king ordered him that was foiled to be let go, and then broke up the assembly, and departed, not very well pleased at the misfortune of his countryman.

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undervalued him when he was alive, now in vain wished for him when he was dead, and came perfectly to understand the honesty of the man, by the knavery of his accusers and slanderers.

And now the king ordered his army to march along the bank of the river Indus, over against his fleet, and began again to sail down into the ocean, and in his passage arrived at the country of the Sambestians. These people for number and courage are nothing inferior to any of the Indians, and their cities are democratical in their government.

Having intelligence of the approach of the Macedonians, they brought into the field threescore thousand foot, six thousand horse, and five hundred chariots. But when the fleet drew near, they were so terrified with the strangeness of the sight, and the fame and glory of the Macedonians, which was noised abroad in all places, that the old men among them dissuaded them from venturing a battle; whereupon they sent fifty of the best quality as ambassadors to Alexander, to pray his favour. The king (upon the address made to him) granted them peace as they desired, and received large and honourable presents (becoming a demigod) from the inhabitants. Then he received the submission of the Sogdiani and Massanii, who bordered on both sides of the river. Here Alexander built another city called Alexandria, on the banks of the river, and furnished it with a thousand inhabitants. Afterwards he arrived at the kingdom of Musicanus*, whom he took and killed, and subdued his country. Then he came to the territory† of Porticanus, and took two cities upon the first assault, and gave the spoil of them to his soldiers, and then burnt them. Porticanus, who had fled for shelter into the castle, was killed fighting in his own defence. Then he took all the cities within his dominion by assault, and razed them to the ground, which struck a great terror into the neighbouring inhabitants. Next he wasted the territories of Sambus‡, razing many of the cities, and selling the citizens for slaves, and put to the sword above fourscore thousand barbarians. These were the plagues the Brachmanes suffered. All the rest who submitted (except such as were the authors and ring-leaders of the defection) he pardoned. In the mean time, king Sambus got away, with thirty elephants, into the farthest parts beyond the river Indus, and so escaped.

Amongst the Brachmanes, the last city attempted was Harmatelia §,

* Musicanus.—Strabo, lib. xv. p. 694, 701, says he submitted, (where see much more), but afterwards revolted, and was crucified.

† This territory belongs to the Bastans.—See Strabo, ib.

‡ The country of the Brachmanes who had revolted after submission.—See Curtius, l. 9.

§ Harmatelia.—See Strabo, lib. xv. p. 723.

which greatly confided in the valour of its inhabitants, and the strength of its situation. Here the king commanded some few of his party to go up near to the place, and provoke the citizens to fall upon them, and then to appear as if they fled: thereupon five hundred approached to the very walls, who for their inconsiderable number were contemned by the enemy; three thousand, therefore, made a sally out of the town upon them, whereupon they took to their heels as if they had been in a great fright. But the king, with some few of his troops, fell upon the backs of the pursuers, upon which there was a smart engagement, and many of the barbarians were killed and taken. But a great number of those that were killed and wounded on the king's side were in a desperate condition: for the barbarians had poisoned the heads of their weapons with a deadly poison, which made them more courageous and forward to engage with the king. This strong poison is made of certain serpents taken by hunting, which, after they are killed, they lay out and expose to the heat of the sun, when the heat does so fry their flesh as if it were melting away, from which distils a sweaty moisture, wherein the poison of the beast is conveyed, and may be discerned. The working of this deadly poison is such, that a numbness and stupidity presently seizes upon the body of him that is wounded, and in a short time after follows most tormenting pains, convulsions, and trembling, wreaking every member of the body. The skin grows excessive cold and black, and the person vomits black choler: moreover, a black frothy matter flows from the wound, which causes putrefaction, and presently spreads all over the principal parts of the body, and so the person dies in a most miserable manner. And hence it was, that he who was ever so slightly touched was as much tormented as he who had the greatest wounds. After all that were thus wounded were dead, the king grieved for none so much as he did for the misfortune of Ptolemy, (who reigned afterwards), and whom at that time he dearly loved. There happened at this time something extraordinarily remarkable in reference to Ptolemy, which some ascribe to the special providence of God. He was a man that was beloved of all, both for his valour and his wonderful obliging behaviour to every one, and therefore met with a cure worthy his kind and gracious disposition. The king dreamed that he saw a serpent with an herb in its mouth, which told him the nature and efficacy of the plant, and where it grew: when he awoke, he presently searched for the herb, and found it, and when he had bruised it made a poultice of it, and applied it to Ptolemy's body, and gave him a potion of the juice of the plant, and so restored him to perfect health. Others also, when they came to know the sovereign use of the herb, were

cured by the same means. But when Alexander now began to apply himself to the siege of Harmatelia, a strong and well-fenced city, the inhabitants all came forth to him, and begged his pardon, and delivered up themselves and their city into his hands, and so escaped punishment.

Then sailing with his familiar friends into the main ocean, he found two islands, where he offered most magnificent sacrifices, and threw many golden cups of great value, together with the drink-offerings, into the sea. At length, having reared up altars to the honour of Tethys and Oceanus, (supposing now that he had finished the voyage he intended), he returned with the fleet up the river, and arrived at the famous city Hyala*. This city is under the same form of government with that of Lacedæmon: for there were two kings, of two several families, succeeding in one line, who had the management and administration of their wars; but the chief authority in civil affairs belonged to the senate. Here Alexander burnt all the ships that were leaky and defective, and delivered the rest of his fleet into the hands of Nearchus† and some others of his friends, with a command to sail all along the sea-coast, and diligently observe every place, till they came to the entrance into the river Euphrates. He himself raised his camp, and marched a long way into the country, subduing all that opposed him, and using those kindly who submitted to him: for the inhabitants of Abisaris and Gedrosia he brought to submission, without any hazard or difficulty.

Afterwards, marching through many tracts of land destitute of water, and as many deserts, he came to the borders of Neoris. There he divided his army into three brigades: the first he gave to Ptolemy, the other to Leonatus; the former he commanded to harass the sea-coasts, and the other the midland and champaign part of the country. He himself wasted and spoiled the hilly country and mountainous parts, and the places thereunto adjoining: so that many countries being invaded all at one and the same time, all places were filled with rapine, fire, and slaughter, from whence the soldiers were loaded with rich booty, and many thousands perished by the sword.

The bordering nations, being terrified by this destruction of people, all delivered themselves into the power of the king‡. Here the

* City of Hyala, at the mouth of the river Indus.

† This navigation described by Arrian, lib. vi. p. 143; and Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 23. They set out from the island Patala, and city Xylenopolis, as by Arrian, lib. 6. cap. 23.—Vid. Ush. Ann. 266, and 269.

‡ In Rambacia.

king, having a desire to build a city near to the sea, and having found a safe harbour, and a convenient place near to it, built one accordingly, and called it Alexandria. Then he entered through ways made by his pioneers into the country of the Neoritæ*, and presently forced them all to submit.

These people are like all the rest of the Indians, both for laws and manners, except in one thing, which is almost incredible: for the kindred and relations of those that are dead (all stark naked, with their lances in their hands) carry forth the dead bodies into some wood or other belonging to the country, and there strip the corpse of all its burying-clothes and other ornaments, and leave the body to be food for the wild beasts: then they divide the garments of the deceased, and sacrifice to the subterraneous heroes, and feast all their friends.

Alexander afterwards marched into Gedrosia, all along the sea-coast, and came at length among a most rude and savage people. From their very birth to their old age they never cut their nails, but suffer them still to grow; and the hair of their heads all grow in locks, never combed out. They are of a swarthy complexion, (through the parching heat of the sun), and cloth themselves with the skins of wild beasts. They feed upon the flesh of whales cast up by the sea. In building of their houses and cottages, they raise up their walls as is usual, but the roofs are laid with the jaw-bones and ribs of whales, of which they have somers and beams eighteen cubits in length; and for tiles they use the whale-bone and fins of the same animal.

When Alexander with great toil had marched through this country, he came into a desolate wilderness, where nothing at all was to be had for the support of man's life. So that many dying for want of food, the whole army was not only altogether discouraged, but the king himself was then overwhelmed with unusual sorrow and anxiety of mind: for he looked upon it as a most miserable thing that those who by the valour of their arms had conquered all wherever they came, should now ingloriously perish for want of bread in a barren wilderness. Therefore he sent away the swiftest couriers he could find into Parthia, Drangina, Aria, and other bordering countries, with orders, that with all speed they should meet him upon the borders of Carmania, with dromedary camels, and other beasts of burthen, loaded with bread and other necessary provisions: these hastened away as they were commanded, and procured the governors of the provinces to despatch abundance of provision to the place appointed. By this extreme scarcity Alexander lost many of his men, and this was the first mischief he met with in this expedition. Afterwards,

* Oritæ.

as they were marching, some of the mountaineers fell npon Leonatus's squadron, and cut off many of them, and then made back to their countrymen; and this was another loss.

When they had at length, with very great difficulties and hardships, passed through this desert, they came into a rich and populous country*. Here he rendezvoused his whole army, and, after they had refreshed themselves, celebrated a feast to Bacchus; and, dressed up to make a show, like a pageant, he led the dance before his army (which marched likewise in great pomp and state) for the space of seven days together, spending all that time in revelling and drunkenness all the way he went.

When this was over, hearing that many of his officers and governors of provinces had abused their power, to the oppression and injury of many, he punished them according to their demerits. Which severity of the king being spread abroad, many who were conscious of being guilty of the same crimes, began to fear the same punishment; and therefore some who commanded the mercenaries made a defection; others got together what money they could, and fled: of which the king receiving intelligence, he wrote to all the governors and lord-lieutenants of Asia—That, as soon as they had read his letters they should, without further delay, disband all the mercenaries.

About the same time, while the king was at Salmuntis†, a seaport town, busy in making stage-plays, those who had been sent to examine all the sea-coasts arrived with the fleet, who forthwith went into the theatre, and addressed themselves to the king; and, after they had made their obeysance, they acquainted him with what they had done. The Macedonians so rejoiced at their return, that, as a testimony of their joy, they set up a great acclamation, and filled the whole theatre with exultations. Those that returned from the voyage told him—There were wonderful tides of ebbing and flowing in the ocean, and that at low water in the farthest parts of the sea-coasts there appeared a great many large islands, which at the return of the tide are all again laid under water, while a most fierce and violent wind comes off from them to the continent, and causes the water to be all of a foam: and, as the greatest wonder of all, they declared that they met with whales of an incredible magnitude, which at the first so terrified them, that they looked upon themselves as lost, and that they and all their ships must in a moment perish together; but, all of them at once setting up a great shout, and making a noise by

* In Carmania.—Vid. Curtius, lib. 9, *ad finem*.

† Salmuntis, in Harmozia, now Ormus, in the gulf of Persia.

striking upon their arms, and sounding of trumpets, the monstrous creatures were so terrified with a thing so unusual, that they made to the bottom of the deep.

After the king had heard this relation, he ordered the sea-officers to sail with the fleet to the Euphrates; and he himself in the mean time, marching through many countries with his army, came at last to the borders of Susiana. At that time Calanus, an Indian, a great philosopher, and much honoured by the king, ended his days in a wonderful manner. Having now lived to be seventy-three years old, and during all that time had never experienced any sickness or the least distemper, he proposed to put an end to his own life, supposing that now both nature and fortune had brought him to the utmost bounds of his felicity and well-being in the world. Being seized upon, therefore, with sickness, which grew upon him more and more every day, he desired the king that he would order a great funeral pile to be erected, and that when he had placed himself upon it, some of his servants should set it on fire. The king at first endeavoured to dissuade him from this purpose; but, when he saw he would not be moved, he promised that it should be performed as he had desired.

The thing presently spread abroad, and, when the pile was finished, multitudes of people flocked to see this strange sight: and there Calanus (according to the rules and dictates of his own opinion) with great courage ascended the pile, and both he and it were consumed together. Some who were present judged this act to be an effect of madness, others nothing but a piece of vain glory, though some there were who admired his noble spirit and contempt of death; and the king caused him to be honourably buried.

When Alexander came to Susa, he married Statira, Darius's eldest daughter: Drypetis, the younger, he married to Hephæstion. He gave also wives to the chiefest of his friends, and married them to the noblest ladies of Persia.

About this time thirty thousand Persians (very proper and handsome young men, and of strong bodies) came to Susa. These, according to the king's command, had for some considerable time been getting together, and had been trained up by their tutors and governors in martial discipline; and all of them, completely furnished with Macedonian arms, encamped before the city, where they trained and exercised before the king, and approved themselves so expert in the management and handling of their arms, that they were honoured by him with large and rich gifts: for, because the Macedonians refused to pass over the river Ganges, and in the common assembly would many times with a great tumult oppose the king, and mock at

his descent from Ammon, he got this body of Persians (who were all about the same age) to be as a curb upon the Macedonian phalanx. And these were the things wherein Alexander employed himself at that time.

During this Indian expedition, Harpalus, who was made by Alexander lord-high-treasurer of Babylon, almost as soon as the king had begun his march, (hoping he would never return), gave himself up to all manner of luxury and excess; for he was governor of a very large province. In the first place, he followed a lewd course of forcing and ravishing of women, and committing all sorts of abominable acts of uncleanness with the barbarians, by which luxurious practices of wickedness he wasted the treasure committed to his charge. He ordered great multitudes of fish to be brought to him from distant countries, as far as from the Red Sea; and he was so profuse in the daily provisions for his table, that all cried shame of him, and none gave him a good word. He sent likewise for a famous strumpet from Athens, called Pythonice, to whom he gave most princely gifts while she lived, and buried her with as much state when she was dead, and built for her a most magnificent monument in Athens.

After her death he sent for another courtesan out of Attica, called Glycera, with whom he lived at such a height of voluptuousness and expense, as exceeded all bounds; but, that he might have a refuge to fly to, in case of the cross and destructive blasts of fortune, he made it his business chiefly to oblige the Athenians. And therefore, when Alexander returned from his Indian expedition, and had cut off the heads of many of the provincial governors for their mal-administrations, Harpalus, fearing the same punishment, bagged up five thousand talents of silver, and raised six thousand mercenary soldiers, and so left Asia, and sailed for Attica. But, when he perceived that none were forward to come in to him, he left his soldiers at Tenarus in Laconia, and, taking part of the money with him, fled to the Athenians for protection: but, being demanded to be delivered up, by letters from Antipater and Olympias, (having first distributed large rewards amongst the orators that had pleaded for him, and managed his concern with the Athenians), he withdrew himself, and fled to his soldiers at Tenarus. Thence he sailed to Crete, and there was murdered by Thimbron, one of his friends.

The Athenians likewise (examining the matter concerning the money given by Harpalus) condemned Demosthenes, and several other orators, for being corrupted by him with bribes.

About this time Alexander, at the celebration of the Olympic games, caused public proclamation to be made by a herald—That

all exiles (except robbers of temples and murderers) should return to their several countries: and he himself picked out ten thousand of the oldest soldiers in his army, and discharged them from further service; and, being informed that many of them were in debt, he paid the whole in one day, to the amount of no less than ten thousand talents. The rest of the Macedonians carrying themselves with great insolence towards him, and in a general assembly with bawling and noise contradicting him, he was so enraged and sharp in his returns upon them, that they were all put into a great fright; and in that rage he was so daring, that he leaped down from the tribunal, and seized upon some of the ring-leaders of the mutiny with his own hands, and delivered them to the lictors, to be executed. At length, when he saw that the disorders and mutiny still increased, he made officers of such of the Persians as he thought fit, and preferred them to the chiefest commands. Upon which the Macedonians recollected themselves, and had much ado to regain Alexander's favour, though they addressed themselves to him both with petitions and tears.

CHAP. XI.

Alexander mixes twenty thousand Persian darters with his army. Marches from Susa. Bagistame breeds abundance of horses. Hephæstion dies at Ecbatana. The Lamian war. He invades the Cussæi. Marches towards Babylon. The Chaldean astrologers dissuade him from coming thither. He enters Babylon.

AFTERWARDS, when Anticles was chief magistrate of Athens, and Lucius Cornelius and Quintius Publius were consuls at Rome, Alexander supplied the room of those he had discharged with Persians, and chose a thousand of them to be squires of the body, conceiving he might altogether as safely trust them as the Macedonians.

About this time Peucestes came with twenty thousand Persian darters and slingers. These Alexander intermixed amongst his other soldiers, by which means the army was brought into that due constitution, that they were readily obedient to his command. There were some of the Macedonians who had sons by the captives, whom, upon

liligent inquiry he found to be ten thousand, and appointed them nasters to instruct them in all sorts of learning, and allowed suffi-ient stipends for their liberal education.

Then he rendezvoused his army, and marched away from Susa, nd, passing the river Tigris, came to the villages called Carræ, and here encamped. Thence in four days march he passed through ittace, and came to Sambea. Here he rested seven days, and re-reshed his army. Thence in three days he marched to the towns alled Celonæ, in which place the posterity of the Bœotians settled emselves in the time of Xerxes's expedition, and there remain nto this day, having not altogether forgot the laws of their country: r they use a double language, one learned from the natural inhabi-nts, and in the other they preserve much of the Greek tongue; and bserve some of their laws and customs. Thence, when it grew wards evening, he decamped and turned aside, and marched to agistame, to view the country. This country abounds in all man-er of fruit-trees, and whatever else conduces either to the profit or leasure of mankind; so that it seems to be a place of delight both or gods and men. Afterwards he came into a country that breeds nd pastures an innumerable company of horses; for they say, that here had been here an hundred and sixty thousand horses that ran at asture up and down in the country; but, at the coming of Alex-nder, there were only sixty thousand. He encamped here for the ace of thirty days. Thence, after seven encampments, he came Ecbatana, in Media. This city is two hundred and fifty furlongs compass, and is the metropolis of all Media, where abundance treasure was laid up. Here he staid some time, and refreshed s army, and spent his time in feasting, drinking, and stage-plays: which time Hephæstion (one whom he loved above all others) l sick of a surfeit, and died; whose death very much grieved the ng, and he committed his body to Perdiccas, to be carried to Baby-n, because he intended to bury him with great pomp and state.

While these things were acting in Asia, Greece was full of tumults nd seditions, whence broke out the war called the Lamian War, pon this occasion: after the king's order to the lord-lieutenants of he provinces to disband all mercenary soldiers, and the execution f those commands, many foreigners that were cashiered went strag-gling over all Asia, and, for want of subsistence, robbed and spoiled he country, till they all came into one body at Tenarus, in Laconia: o likewise all the governors and commanders of the Persians that ere left got together what men and money they could, and came ll to Tenarus, and there joined their forces together. There they eated Leosthenes, an Athenian, (a brave-spirited man), general of

the army; who then called a council of war, and, after having consulted concerning the management of the war, disposed of fifty talents to pay the mercenaries, and provided arms sufficient for the present occasion. He sent, likewise, ambassadors to the Ætolians (who were disaffected to the king) to join with them in arms. And thus Leosthenes was altogether taken up in necessary preparations for a war, of the greatness of which he had then a clear and evident prospect.

Alexander now marched against the Cussæi, who refused to submit to his government. This people are a very warlike nation, and inhabit the hilly and mountainous parts of Media; and therefore, confiding in their own valour, and the strength of their country, never would be brought to admit of any foreign prince to reign over them, and were never subdued during all the time of the Persian empire; and at that time they were so very high, that they slighted the valour of the Macedonians.

The king first gained the passes, and then wasted a great part of the country of Cussæ; and, getting the better in every engagement, killed many of the barbarians, and took many more prisoners. At length the Cussæi, being worsted and beaten in every place, and greatly concerned at the multitude of the captives, were forced to redeem their country by the loss of their own liberty; and so, giving up themselves to the will of the conqueror, they obtained peace, upon condition that they should be loyal and obedient for the time to come. Thus Alexander conquered this nation in the space of forty days; and, after he had built some cities at the most difficult passes in the country, he marched away.

Socicles was now archon at Athens, and Cornelius Lentulus and Quintius Popilius* Roman consuls, when Alexander, after the conquest of the Cussæi, marched thence towards Babylon. He always rested awhile between every decampment, and, to ease his army, moved very slowly. When he was about three hundred furlongs from Babylon, the Chaldeans†, (as they are called), who were famous for astrology, and used to prognosticate future events by the observation of the stars, (and by that means knew that the king would die presently after he entered into Babylon), picked out some of the most antient and expert of those of their profession, and ordered them to signify the danger to the king, and, with all the arguments they could use, to dissuade him from entering into the city; and to let him know that he might avoid the danger, if he would rebuild the sepulchre of Belus, which the Persians had destroyed, and alter his purpose, and pass by the city.

* Publius. † Chaldean priests.

Belephantes was the leading man of the Chaldeans that were sent away; but he was afraid to address himself to the king, and therefore privately imparted all to Nearchus, (one of the king's familiar friends), and desired him that with all speed he would acquaint the king with the whole business. Alexander was much concerned when Nearchus told him what the Chaldeans had prognosticated; and, more and more considering and pondering in his thoughts the skill and reputation of the man, was in no small consternation. At length he sent away many of his friends to the city, but he himself turned aside another way, and passed by Babylon; and, encamping two hundred furlongs distant from the place, he there rested. At this all were in astonishment; whereupon many philosophers came to him, as well those that were followers of Anaxagoras, as other Grecians. When they came to understand the cause of his fear, they earnestly opposed what was said, with many philosophical arguments; by which he was so convinced and changed, that he contemned all sorts of divination whatsoever, and especially that of the Chaldeans, which was every where so famous. Therefore now, as if his spirit, before wounded, had been cured by the arguments of philosophers, he entered Babylon with his army, where (as before) the soldiers were kindly entertained by the citizens; and the plenty of provisions was such, that all gave up themselves to ease and voluptuousness. And these were the things acted this year.

CHAP. XII.

Ambassadors come to Alexander from all parts. He buries Hephæstion with great state. The prodigies before Alexander's death. His death. Darius's mother starves herself.

AGESIAS was now chief magistrate of Athens, and Caius Pætelius and Lucius Papirius consuls at Rome, when the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad was celebrated, in which Micinas of Rhodes was victor. At this time ambassadors came to Alexander almost from all parts of the world: some to congratulate his victories, others to tender him crowns, others to make leagues and alliances with him, and many brought him very rich and noble presents; and some there were that came to clear themselves from false accusations: for, be-

sides those sent from the cities, states, and princes of Asia, many ambassadors addressed themselves to the king from Europe and Africa. Out of Africa, the Carthaginians, and the Phœnicians of Libya, and all bordering upon the sea-coasts as far as Hercules's Pillars. Out of Europe, the Grecian cities, the Macedonians, the Illyrians, many inhabiting Adria, the Thracians, and the Galatians, a people that then first began to be known to the Grecians. These all sent their ambassadors, of whom the king having a catalogue in writing, he appointed in what order they should be severally admitted to their audience. And, in the first place, those were introduced that came about matters of religion; then those who brought presents; next, they that were at variance with the people bordering upon them; then these were admitted, in the fourth place, who came to treat upon concerns relating to their own country; and lastly, those whose instructions were to oppose the restoration of the exiles. And, among the religious, he first heard them of Elis; after them the Ammonians, Delphians, and Corinthians; the Epidaurians likewise, and others; giving to them the pre-eminence, out of reverence and veneration to the temples. He made it his great business to return such grateful answers to all the ambassadors, as that he might gain the good will and affection of every one of them.

When all this was over, he applied himself to the celebration of the funeral of Hephæstion; and contrived (all that possibly he could) so far to grace it with funeral pomp, as that it should not only exceed all that ever were before it, but likewise that it should never be exceeded by any that was to come: for he most dearly loved him (as much as the dearest friends that we have heard of ever loved one another) when he was alive, and honoured him beyond comparison when he was dead. He honoured him more than any of his friends while he lived, although Craterus seemed to vie with him for Alexander's affection: for, when one of the servants said, that Craterus loved Alexander as well as Hephæstion did; Alexander answered—That Craterus was the king's friend, and Hephæstion Alexander's. And at that time when the mother of Darius (through a mistake upon the first view of the king) prostrated herself at the feet of Hephæstion, and, coming to discern her error, was much out of countenance—"Be not troubled, mother, (says Alexander), for even he is another Alexander." To conclude, Hephæstion had such interest with Alexander, and such free access and liberty of converse, that when Olympias (who envied him) accused him and threatened him by her letters, he wrote to her back again with severe checks, and added these expressions—"Forbear your slanders against me, and bridle your anger, and cease your threats: but, if you will not, I

value them not in the least; for you are not ignorant that Alexander must be judge of all."

The king therefore, taken up with the preparations for the funeral, commanded the neighbouring cities to assist as much as possibly they could towards its pomp and splendour; and commanded all the people of Asia, that the fire which the Persians call the Holy Fire should be put out, till the exequies of this funeral were fully finished, as was used to be done in the funerals of the kings of Persia; which was taken to be an ill omen to the king himself, and that the gods did thereby portend his death. There were likewise other prodigies happened that clearly pointed out that Alexander's life was near at an end; which we shall presently give an account of, when we have finished our relation of the funeral. In order to this funeral, all his chief commanders and noblemen (in compliance to the king's pleasure) made medals of Hephæstion graven in ivory, and cast in gold and other rich metals. Alexander himself called together a great number of the most exquisite workmen that could be had, and broke down the wall of Babylon ten furlongs in length, and took away the brick of it; and then, levelling the place where the funeral pile was to be raised, built thereon a foursquare pile, each square taking a furlong in length: the platform he divided into thirty apartments, and covered the roofs with the trunks of palm-trees. The whole structure represented a quadrangle. Afterwards he beautified it round with curious ornaments: the lower part was filled up with two hundred and forty prows of gallies of five tier of oars, burnished with gold; upon whose rafters stood two darters, one on each side of the beaks, of four cubits high, kneeling upon one knee; and statues of men in arms five cubits high: all the divisions and open parts were veiled with hangings of purple. That part next above this was set with torches, of fifteen cubits high, in the middle part of every one of which (where they were used to be held) were placed crowns of gold; at the top, whence the flame ascended, were fixed eagles with their wings displayed, and their heads stooping downwards. At the bottom of the torches were serpents, facing and looking up at the eagles. In the third range were exposed all sorts of wild beasts hunted; in the fourth, centaurs all in gold combating one with another; the fifth presented alternately to the view lions and bulls in massy gold. In that part above these were placed the arms both of the Macedonians and barbarians; the one signifying the victories over the conquered nations, and the other the valour of the conqueror. In the highest and last part of all, stood Sirenes, contrived hollow, wherein secretly were placed those who sang the mourning song to the dead. The height of the whole structure mounted up above a hundred and thirty

cubits. To conclude, both commanders and common soldiers, ambassadors and the natural inhabitants, so strove to excel one another in contributing to this stately funeral, that the charge and cost amounted to above twelve thousand talents. And to grace it the more, and make it more splendid, he conferred several other honours upon these exequies. At length he commanded all to sacrifice to him as a tutelar god: for it happened that Philip, one of his nobility, at that time returned from the temple of Ammon, and brought word from the oracle there—That Hephæstion might be sacrificed unto as a demigod: whereat Alexander was very glad, hearing that the oracle itself was an approver of his opinion; and thereupon he himself was the first that offered, sacrificing ten thousand beasts of all kinds, and making a magnificent feast for all the multitude.

When all the solemnity was over, Alexander gave himself up to ease and a revelling course of life: and now, when he seemed to be at the summit of worldly greatness and prosperity, that space of life which he might have run through by the course of nature was cut short by the determination of fate; and God himself, by many signs and prodigies shewn in several places, foretold his death. For, when he was anointing himself, and his royal robes and crown that while lay upon the throne, the fetters of one of the natural inhabitants that was then in chains unloosed and fell off of their own accord, and the person, not being discerned by any of the watch, passed through the court-gates without any opposition, and made strait to the throne, and put on the royal robes and crown upon his head, and sat upon the throne without any disturbance. Which action being noised abroad, the king was amazed at the strangeness of the thing, and went to the place, and, without any rebuke, calmly asked the man—"Who he was, and who advised him to do so?" who plainly and simply answered—"He knew nothing at all." This strange accident was referred to the consideration of the augurs, by whose advice the poor wretch was put to death, that the evil portended (if any were) might fall upon his own head.

The king, having now got his robes again, sacrificed to the gods his protectors: but, however, he continued much disturbed and perplexed in his mind, and then began to reflect upon what the Chaldeans had foretold; and fretted against those philosophers that persuaded him to enter into Babylon, but admired the art and profound wisdom of the Chaldeans. To conclude, he cursed those who, by subtle arguments, had disputed against the necessity of fate.

Not long after, God shewed another prodigy concerning the change of the kingdom: the king had a desire to see the haven* at Babylon;

* This he had newly made.

and, being come there, he went on board with some of his nobles that attended him; and, while they were sailing, the king's ship was separated from the rest, and tossed to and fro for several days together, so as that he wholly despaired of his life; and, being at length carried through a narrow creek, where bushes and trees grew thick upon both sides, his turban, or diadem, was plucked off his head by one of the boughs, and hurled into the water, which one of the mariners seeing, swam to it, and, for the better securing of it, clapped it upon his own head, and swam back to the ship. After he had wandered up and down three days and three nights, he returned at length safe with his diadem to his friends, and again consulted the soothsayers concerning this prodigy, who advised him immediately, with all diligence, to offer splendid sacrifices to the gods.

But, at the time of these sacrifices, he was invited by one Medius, a Thessalian, one of his friends, to a banquet; where, when he was in his cups, and even drunk with wine, he quaffed off the great bowl called Hercules's cup: whereupon, as if he had been struck with a thunder-bolt, he gave a deep sigh, and was immediately led out by his nobles, and so left the place. Those who had him in their charge forthwith laid him upon his bed, and there diligently attended him. His distemper increasing, his physicians were called in; but they were not able to administer any thing for his relief.

At length his sickness was so violent, and his pains so great, that he himself despaired of life, and in that condition drew off his ring from his finger, and delivered it to Perdiccas. His commanders then asked him—"To whom, Sir, do you leave the kingdom?" He answered—"To the most deserving." And when he uttered his last words, he told them—That the chiefest of his friends and commanders would solemnize his funeral, when he was gone, with blood and contention. And thus died Alexander, when he had reigned twelve years and seven months, having performed such mighty acts as no king ever did before him, nor any since, to this day.

But, because some writers differ as to the cause and manner of his death, affirming that he was poisoned by a deadly potion given him, it is necessary to relate what they have reported concerning this matter. They say that Antipater, whom Alexander had made his viceroy in Europe, fell out with Olympias, the king's mother, of which at first very little notice was taken, because the king would not hear any of the accusations against him. But afterwards, the quarrels and heart-burnings growing still higher, the king, out of his piety and awe to the gods, conceived it his duty to gratify his mother; whereupon he gave many apparent signs and tokens of the alienation of his affections from Antipater. And, as further fuel to the flame,

the putting to death Parmenio and Philotas did not a little terrify and affright the nobility: and therefore, it is said, Antipater ordered his son, who was Alexander's cup-bearer, to put poison into his wine. But, because he was a man of great power in Europe after the death of Alexander, and that Cassander, his son, succeeded him in the kingdom, many historians durst not say any thing in their writings of poison. However, it is very apparent that Cassander was a great enemy to the concerns of Alexander: for he suffered the body of Olympias, after she was murdered, to lie with disdain unburied; and he made it his great business to rebuild Thebes, which Alexander had razed to the ground.

When the king was dead, Sysigambis, the mother of Darius, with abundance of tears, bewailed the death of Alexander, and her own desolate condition upon that account, insomuch that, to the last minute, she would neither eat, nor see the light; and so the fifth day after died of hunger, in extreme sorrow, but with as much glory and reputation.

Having now brought down our history to the death of Alexander, as we designed in the beginning of this, we shall proceed to give an account of the acts of his successors in the following book.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK XVIII.

PREFACE.

HAGORAS the Samian, and some others of the antient natural sophers, held that the souls of men were immortal; and that to :l future events at the very point of death, when the soul is even ıg from the body, is the effect and consequence of this truth. hich Homer witnesses, when he brings in Hector, while he was breathing his last, telling Achilles, that he would die within a short time afterwards. The same is attested of many others of times, and confirmed especially by the death of Alexander the donian, who, dying at Babylon, and being asked by his com- ers and those about him, at the time he was breathing his last ho should succeed him? he answered—"The most worthy; foresee," says he, "that great and grievous quarrels amongst iends will be the sacrifices to me after my funeral." Which :ned accordingly; for the chiefest of his commanders contested her about the principality; and great wars, after the death of ınder, broke forth amongst them: whose actions are contained s book, which will clearly evidence to the studious reader the of what is now said.

e former comprehended all the things done by Alexander, to the of his death. This present book, relating the actions of those ucceeded, ends with the year next before the reign of Agatho- which makes a history of seven years.

CHAP. I.

Quarrels about a successor to Alexander. Aridæus made king. The provinces divided amongst the chief commanders. Matters contained in Alexander's note-books. Meleager executed by Perdiccas. The Grecians revolt. A description of Asia. Python sent against the revolting Grecians, who were all cut off. The Lamian war: the cause of it. Alexander's epistle to the exiles. Leosthenes, the Athenian general. Lamia besieged. Leosthenes killed: Antiphilus placed in his room.

WHEN Cephisodorus was chief magistrate of Athens, the Romans created Lucius Furius and Decius Jovius consuls: about which time, Alexander being now dead without issue, and so the government without a head, there arose great dissentions and differences about the empire. For the foot were for setting up Aridæus*, the son of Philip, a weak-spirited man, labouring under many natural infirmities: but the chiefest of the nobility and esquires of the body met together in council; and, being joined with the squadron of horse called the Social, they resolved to try it out with the Macedonian phalanx.

Therefore they sent the most eminent commanders, among whom Meleager was the chief, to the foot, to require them to observe commands. But Meleager, (who was the most eminent man of the phalanx), as soon as he came to the battalion which was of the greatest account and esteem in the army, he said nothing at all of the business for which they were sent; but, on the contrary, highly commended them for their choice, and stirred them up against the opposers. Whereupon the Macedonians created Meleager their captain, and, with their arms, made out against the contrary party. Those of the king's life-guard and esquires of the body marched likewise out of Babylon, in order to fight; but the most interested and popular men amongst them endeavoured all they could to make peace on both sides. Upon which it was presently agreed, that Aridæus, the son of Philip, should be made king, and called Philip, and that Perdiccas, to whom the late king, when he was upon the point of death, delivered his ring, should be invested with the executive power of the kingdom; and ordered, that the esquires of the body

* Aridæus, the son of Philip, by one Philinna of Larissa, a strumpet.—Justin, l. 13, c. 2, Plut.

and the chief commanders should govern the provinces, and all be observant to the commands of the king and Perdiccas.

Aridæus being thus made king, he called together a general council of the chief commanders: and to Ptolomy Lagus he committed the government of Egypt; to Laomedon of Mitylene, Syria; to Philotas, Cilicia; to Python, Media; to Eumenes, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and the bordering countries, which were never entered by Alexander all the time of his wars with Darius, through want of convenient opportunity. To Antigonus he assigned the command of Lycia, and the Greater Phrygia; to Cassander, Caria; to Meleager*, Lydia; to Leonatus, Phrygia all along the coast of the Hellespont: and in this manner were the provinces divided. In Europe, Thrace, with the nations bordering upon the sea of Pontus, were committed to Lysimachus; and Macedonia, with those bordering upon it, to Antipater. As for the rest of the Asiatic provinces, it was thought most advisable not to alter, but to leave them under the government of the former lord-lieutenants. The province next adjoining was intrusted with Taxiles, and the kings bordering upon him: but the province adjoining to Mount Caucasus (called Paropamisus) was assigned to Oxyartes, king of the Bactrians, whose daughter Roxana Alexander had married. Arachosia and Gedrosia to Siburtius; Aria and Drangina to Stasander of Soloe; Bactriana and Sogdiana were allotted to Philip; Parthia and Hyrcania to Phrataphernes; Persia to Peucestes; Carmania to Tlepolemus; Media to Atropes. The province of Babylon to Archon; and Mesopotamia to Arcesilaus. Seleucus he created general of the brave brigade of the Social horse. Hephæstion was the first commander of that brigade, then Perdiccas, and the third was this Seleucus. He ordered that Taxiles and Porus should enjoy the absolute authority within their own kingdoms, as Alexander himself had before appointed. The care of the funeral, and of preparing a chariot to convey the king's body to Ammon, was committed to Aridæus.

But as for Craterus, the most noble of Alexander's captains, he was some time before sent by Alexander, with ten thousand of the old soldiers that were discharged from further service in the Persian war, into Cilicia, to put in execution some instructions in writing given him by the king; which, after the king's death, his successors determined should be no further proceeded in: for Perdiccas, finding in the king's commentaries not only the vast sums of money intended to be expended upon the funeral of Hephæstion, but likewise many other things of extraordinary cost and charge designed by the king, he judged it far more advisable to let them alone; but, lest he should

* Meleager for Menander.—Ush. Ann. 290, Arrian, lib. 3, p. 56.

seem to take too much upon him, and by his private judgment to detract from Alexander's wisdom and discretion, he referred all these matters to the determination of a general council of the Macedonians. The chief and the most considerable heads of the king's purposes contained in his books of remembrance were these—1. That a thousand long ships, larger than those of three tier of oars, should be built in Phœnicia, Syria, Cilicia, and Cyprus, in order to an invasion upon the Carthaginians, and others inhabiting the sea-coasts of Africa and Spain, with all islands adjoining, as far as Sicily. 2. That a plain and easy way should be made strait along through the sea-coasts of Africa to Hercules's Pillars. 3. That six magnificent temples should be built, and that fifteen hundred talents should be expended in the cost of each of them. 4. That arsenals and ports should be made in places convenient and fit for the reception of so great a navy. 5. That the new cities should be planted with colonies, and that people should be transplanted out of Asia into Europe, and others out of Europe into Asia, to the end that, by intermarriages and mutual affinities, he might establish peace and concord between the two main continents of the world.

Some of the temples before mentioned were to be built in Delos, Delphos, and Dodona; some in Macedonia, as the temple of Jupiter in Dio; Diana's temple, in Amphipolis; another to Minerva, in Cyrnus*, to which goddess he designed likewise to build a temple in Ilium inferior to none for splendour and magnificence. Lastly, to adorn his father Philip's sepulchre, he designed to erect a monument equal to the biggest pyramid in Egypt, seven of which were by some accounted the most stately and greatest works in the world.

These things being laid before them, the Macedonians, though they highly commended and approved of Alexander's designs, yet, because they seemed things beyond all measure impracticable, they decreed all to be laid aside. Then Perdiccas caused those soldiers that were turbulent, and exceeding inveterate against him, to the number of thirty, to be put to death: afterwards, out of a private grudge, he executed Meleager, (who betrayed his embassy, and carried on the mutiny), as one that sought to undermine him.

About this time the Grecians in the upper provinces revolted, and got together a great army; against whom he sent Python, one of the chiefest commanders. But we conceive it much conducing to the better understanding of the history of things that were afterwards done, if in the first place we declare the cause of the revolt, and the situation of Asia, and the nature and extent of the provinces: for, by this means laying before the eyes of the reader a map of the coun-

* Corsica.

tries, and the distances of places one from another, the relation will be more plain and easy.

From Taurus, therefore, in Cilicia, to Caucasus and the eastern ocean, a ridge of mountains stretch forth in a straight and continued line throughout all Asia, as distinguished by several peaks and risings of the hills from them; Mount Taurus has gained particular names. By this means, Asia being divided into two parts, one rises towards the north, the other descends towards the south; and, according to these several climates, the rivers run contrary ways; some taking their course into the Caspian sea, others into the Euxine, and some into the northern ocean. These rivers, lying thus opposite one to another, part empty themselves into the Indian sea, and another part into the ocean adjoining to this continent; some, likewise, fall into the Red Sea. In this manner, likewise, are the provinces divided: for some lie towards the north, and others bend to the south. The first towards the north borders upon the river Tanais, that is to say, Sogdiana, with Bactria; and next to them Aria and Parthia. This province surrounds the Hyrcanian sea*, which lies within its limits and bounds. The next is Media, called by many names, from the places included in it, and is the greatest of all the provinces. Then follows Armenia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia, all of a very sharp and cold air. Bordering upon these, in a direct line, are Phrygia, both the Greater, and that adjoining the Hellespont; in an oblique line lie Lydia and Caria. Pisidia stretches forth itself in length, and in a parallel line equal with Phrygia on the right hand; and, on the side of Pisidia lies Lycia. The Greek cities are situated upon the sea-coasts of these provinces, whose names it is not necessary for our purpose here to recite.

Thus situated (as we have related) are the northern provinces. As to the southern, the first is India, under Mount Caucasus, a very large and populous kingdom; for it is inhabited by many Indian nations, the greatest of which is that of the Gandaritæ, against whom Alexander made no attempt, by reason of the multitude of their elephants. This territory is divided from the farther India by the greatest river in those parts, being thirty furlongs broad. The rest of India, (conquered by Alexander), a rich and fruitful country, and watered by many rivers, borders upon this of the Gandaritæ: within this part, besides many other kingdoms, were the dominions of Porus and Taxiles. The river Indus (from which the country takes it name) runs through it. Separated from India, next to it, was Arachosia, Gedrosia, and Carmania, and with these was joined Persia, wherein are situated the provinces of Susiana and Sitacana. Next

* Or rather adjoins to the Hyrcanian sea.

follows the province of Babylon, extending itself as far as to Arabia the desert. On the other side, where begins the descent*, you have Mesopotamia†, lying between two rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, from whence it had its name.

The higher Syria, and the countries upon the sea-coasts‡ adjoining to it, as Cilicia, Pamphylia, Syria Cava§, within which is Phœnicia, lie close to the province of Babylon. Upon the borders of Syria Cava, and the desert next adjoining to it, (through which runs the river Nile, and so divides between Syria and Egypt), appears Egypt itself, the best and richest of all the provinces. All these countries are scorching hot; for the southern climate is contrary in its nature to the northern. These provinces, (conquered by Alexander), which we have thus described, were divided amongst the chiefest of his commanders.

But the Grecians that inhabited the upper provinces, who (through fear while Alexander was alive) endured their being cast forth into the utmost corner of the kingdom, now, when he was dead, being urged by a desire to return into their own country, revolted, and to that end unanimously chose Philo, an Enean born, to be their captain, and had got together a considerable army of above twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, all old expert soldiers, and brave and valiant men.

Intelligence being brought of this revolt, Perdiccas chose by lot out of the Macedonian squadrons three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. Python, one of the squires of the body to Alexander, a man of a high spirit, and a skilful commander, was chosen general by the army, and to him Perdiccas delivered the soldiers chosen, as is before declared, and letters, likewise, to the lord-lieutenants, whereby they were ordered to furnish him with ten thousand foot and eight thousand horse, against the rebels. Python, being a man of an ambitious spirit, was very ready to undertake this expedition: for he purposed to gain by all fair means possible these revolting Greeks, and, by joining their forces to his own, to set up for himself, and reduce all those upper provinces under his own subjection. But Perdiccas, suspecting his design, gave him express orders—That, having overcome those rebels, he should put them all to the sword, and divide the spoil amongst the soldiers. Python therefore marched away with these men thus delivered, and, when he had received those that were to join him from the lord-lieutenants, he made towards the rebels with the whole army; and, having by a certain Enean

* At the foot of Mount Taurus southward.

† Mesopotamia signifies in the Greek tongue a place between two rivers.

‡ The Mediterranean sea. § Or Cœlosyria.

corrupted Lipodorus, who commanded a brigade of three thousand men among the rebels, he routed them all: for, in the height of the engagement, when the victory was doubtful, the traitor withdrew from the rest of his fellow-soldiers, and, with his three thousand men, marched up to the top of a rising ground; whereupon the rest (thinking that he had fled) broke all their ranks, and took to their heels. Python being thus victor, sent a trumpet to the rebels, ordering them to lay down their arms, and, upon capitulation, licensed them to repair every man to his own home. It was no small joy to Python to see things brought to such a pass as suited directly to his designs; for he had now all confirmed by oath, and the Grecians intermixed among the Macedonians. But the Macedonians, remembering the orders Perdiccas had given, and making nothing of their oaths, broke faith with the Grecians: for on a sudden they fell unexpectedly upon them, and put every man of them to the sword, and seized upon all they had. And so Python, being defeated in his design, returned with the Macedonians to Perdiccas. And this was the state of affairs in Asia at that time.

In the mean time, in Europe, the Rhodians cast out the garrison of the Macedonians, and freed their city; and the Athenians began a war against Antipater, which was called the Lamian War. It is in the first place necessary to declare the causes of this war, that the progress of it may be the better understood.

Alexander, a little before his death, had ordered all the exiles and outlawed persons of the Grecian cities to be recalled, as well to advance his own honour and esteem, as to gain the hearts of many in every city by his clemency, who might stand up for his interest against the innovations and defections of the Grecians. At the approach, therefore, of the time of celebrating the Olympiads, he sent away Nicanor, a native of the city Stagira, with a letter concerning the restoration of the banditties of Greece, and commanded it to be proclaimed by the common cryer, who executed the command, and read the letter, in these words—

King Alexander, to the Banditties of the Grecian cities.

WE were not the cause of your banishment, but will be of the return of you all into your own country, excepting such as are banished for outrageous crimes; of which things we have written to Antipater, requiring him to proceed by force against all such as shall oppose your restoration.

When these orders were proclaimed, the people set up a great shout, testifying their approbation: for those of them that were pre-

sent at the solemnity readily laid hold on the king's mercy, and returned their thanks with expressions of their joy, and applauses of his grace and favour: for all the banished men were then got together at the Olympiads, above the number of twenty thousand. Many there were who approved of their restoration as a prudent act; but the Ætolians and Athenians were much offended at it; for the Ætolians expected that the Œnians who were banished out from among them should have undergone due punishment for their crimes: for the king had made a great noise with his threats, that he would not only punish the children of the Œnians, but that he himself would execute justice upon the authors themselves. Whereupon the Athenians would not agree by any means to part with Samos, which they had divided by lot; but, because they were not at present able to cope with Alexander, they judged it more advisable to sit still, and watch till they found a convenient opportunity, which fortune presently offered them: for Alexander dying in a short time afterwards, and leaving no children to succeed him, they grew confident that they should be able not only to regain their liberty, but likewise the sovereignty of all Greece.

The vast treasure left by Harpalus, (of which we have particularly spoken in the preceding book), and the soldiers that were disbanded by the lord-lieutenants of Asia, were great supports and encouragements for the carrying on of this war; for there were eight thousand of them then about Tenarus, in Peloponnesus. They sent, therefore, privately to Leosthenes the Athenian, wishing him that, without taking notice of any order by them, of his own accord so to dispose of matters as to have those soldiers in readiness when occasion required. Antipater likewise so contemned Leosthenes, that he was careless and negligent in preparing for the war, and so gave time to the Athenians to provide all things necessary for that affair.

Hereupon Leosthenes very privately listed these soldiers, and (beyond all expectation) had ready a brave army: for, having been a long time in the wars in Asia, and often engaged in many great battles, they were become very expert soldiers. These things were contrived when the death of Alexander was not generally known; but, when a messenger came from Babylon, who was an eye-witness of his death, the people of Athens declared open war, and sent part of the money left by Harpalus, with a great number of arms, to Leosthenes, charging him no longer to conceal or palliate the matter, but to do what was most conducive to the service of the commonwealth. Whereupon, having distributed the money among the soldiers, as he was commanded, and armed those that wanted, he went into Ætolia, in order to carry on the war with the joint assistance of both nations.

The Ætolians joined very readily, and delivered to him, for the service, seven thousand soldiers. Then he stirred up by his messengers the Locrians and Phocians, and other neighbouring nations, to stand up for their liberties, and to free Greece from the Macedonian yoke. But in the mean time, the wealthy men among the Athenians dissuaded them from the war, but the rabble were for carrying it on with all the vigour imaginable: whence it came to pass, that they who were for war, and had nothing to live upon but their pay, were far the greater number; to which sort of men Philip was used to say —War was as peace, and peace as war. Forthwith, therefore, the orators (who were in a body together, and closed with the humours of the people) wrote down the decree—That the Athenians should take upon them the care and defence of the common liberty of Greece, and should free all the Greek cities from their several garrisons; and that they should rig out a fleet of forty gallies of three tiers of oars, and two hundred of four tiers of oars; and that all Athenians under forty years of age should take up arms: that three of the tribes should keep watch and ward in Athens, and the other seven should be always ready to march abroad. Moreover, ambassadors were sent to all the cities of Greece, to inform them—That the people of Athens in the first place looked upon all Greece to be the common country of every Grecian, and that they had heretofore repulsed the barbarians at sea, who invaded them with a design to enslave Greece, and that now they had determined to oppose the Macedonians for the common good, with their navies, lives, and fortunes.

The wiser sort of the Grecians judged the Athenians more forward than prudent in passing this decree, and what they had designed seemed to carry an honourable aspect, but nothing of profit and advantage to the state: for that they made a stir and bustle unseasonably, and began a war against mighty and victorious armies when there was no necessity for it; and, though they had the repute of a prudent people, yet they considered not the notorious ruin and destruction of Thebes.

However, when the ambassadors came to the cities, and by their usual florid way of address had heated and urged them on to the war, many confederated in the league, some in the names of their several cities, and others in the names of whole countries. As for the rest of the Grecians, some sided with the Macedonians, and others stood neuter. But all the Ætolians generally (as is before said) entered into the confederacy; and after them all the Thessalians, except them of Pellene. Likewise the Œtians, except the Heracleans. The Phthiotians amongst the Achaians, except the Thebans. The Elians, except the Malians. Then generally all the Dorians, Locrians, and

Phocians joined in the league: also the Eneans, Clyzeans, and Delopians. To these joined likewise the Athamanes, Leucadians, and Molossians, under the command of Aryptæus: but this man played the impostor in the confederacy, and afterwards treacherously aided the Macedonians.

A small part, likewise, of the Illyrians and Thracians, (out of hatred to the Macedonians) came into the league, together with the Carystiães out of Eubœa; and at length out of Peloponnesus the Argives, Sicyonians, Elians, Messenians, and those that inhabited Acta*: all these before-named confederated with the Grecians.

The people of Athens also sent auxiliaries to Leosthenes, out of the cities, five thousand foot and five hundred horse, and two thousand mercenaries; who were opposed by the Bœotians in their march through Bœotia, for the reasons following:

Alexander, when he razed Thebes, granted the territories of the city to the neighbouring Bœotians, who divided the lands of those miserable people amongst themselves by lot, and thereby gained large possessions; who, understanding that the Athenians (if they prevailed) designed to restore the country and lands to the Thebans, sided with the Macedonians; and, while the Bœotians were encamped at Platæa, Leosthenes came with part of his forces into Bœotia, and, drawing up the Athenians in battalia, fell upon the inhabitants, routed them, and set up a trophy, and then returned to Pyllene. Here (after blocking up all the passages) he encamped for some time, expecting the Macedonian army.

But Antipater, who was left viceroy of Europe by Alexander, as soon as he heard of his death at Babylon, and of the divisions of the provinces, sent to Craterus in Cilicia, to come to him with all the forces he had for his assistance: for he, being sent away some time before into Cilicia, had ready thirty thousand Macedonians, who were dismissed from the service in Asia, with which he was returning into Macedonia. He likewise solicited Philotas (who had the province of Phrygia near the Hellespont under his command) to assist him, and promised to him one of his daughters in marriage. For, as soon as he heard of the insurrection of the Grecians against him, he left Sippas, with a considerable body of men, general in Macedonia, with orders to raise many more; and he himself marched out of Macedonia into Thessaly with thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse: (for at that time there was great scarcity of soldiers in Macedonia, by reason of the recruits sent into Asia); with these forces sailed along the whole fleet near at hand, which Alexander had sent into Macedonia with a vast treasure out of the king's treasuries.

* The sea-coasts.

The navy consisted of a hundred and ten gallies of three tiers of oars. The Thessalians, indeed, at the beginning joining with Antipater, had sent to him many capital horses; but afterwards, being brought over by the Athenians into the contrary interest, they went off with their horse to Leosthenes, and joined the Athenians for the recovery of the liberties of Greece.

The Athenians therefore growing very strong, by many thus flocking in to them, the Grecians overpowered the Macedonians, and overcame them in a battle. Antipater being routed, not daring to abide in the field, nor judging it safe to return into Macedonia, fled to Lamia, where he drew his army into the city, repaired the walls, furnished himself with arms offensive and defensive, and with corn and other provisions; and there waited for further supplies and reinforcements out of Asia.

Leosthenes with all his forces coming up close to Lamia, fortified his camp with a deep trench and rampart. And first, he drew up his army in face of the city, to provoke the Macedonians to fight; but they not daring to engage, he daily assaulted the walls with fresh men relieving one another. But the Macedonians made a stout defence, and many of the Grecians, through their rashness and imprudence, were cut off. For, having a strong body of men in the city, and well furnished with all sorts of weapons, and the walls with great expense being made strong and well built, the besieged easily beat off the enemy.

Leosthenes therefore perceiving he could not gain the town by force of arms, blocked it up, to hinder all supplies of provisions, supposing the besieged would be presently subdued by famine and want of bread. To this end he raised a wall, and drew a deep trench round about it, and so penned them up. Afterwards the Ætolians, being called away upon the occasion of some public concerns, got leave of Leosthenes to return home, and so they all marched back to Ætolia.

But while Antipater with his army was in these desperate straits, and the city nearly lost for want of provisions, fortune on a sudden turned the scale to the advantage of the Macedonians: for Antipater made a sally upon them that were busied in opening the trenches, where Leosthenes coming in to their relief, received a blow upon the head with a stone, which felled him to the ground, and so was carried off half dead into the camp, and died the third day after: he was honourably buried, on account of the noble services he had performed in the war. The Athenians commanded Hyperides to set forth his praise in a funeral oration, who was esteemed the chiefest of the orators at that time, both for his eloquence, and his particular

hatred of the Macedonians: for Demosthenes, the most famous orator, was then fled, being condemned as if he had received bribes from Harpalus. Antiphilus, a prudent and valiant commander, was created general in the room of Leosthenes. And this was the state of Europe at that time.

CHAP. II.

Ptolemy gains Egypt. Leagues with Antipater. Lysimachus enters Thrace. Leonatus comes to relieve Antipater, and is routed. The Grecians beaten at sea. Perdiccas conquers Ariarathes, prince of Cappadocia; crucifies him; delivers the province to Eumenes. The Grecians quite routed by Craterus and Antipater. The Athenians at length submit after all the rest but the Ætolians. The end of the Lamian war. The war in Cyrene by Thimbron. Ophelas routs Thimbron. Cyrene gained by Ptolemy. Larissa sacked. The destruction of the Isaurians by themselves. Perdiccas affects the kingdom of Macedon; is opposed by Antigonus. The Ætolians blocked up by Craterus and Antipater. Antigonus discovers Perdiccas's design. Peace made with the Ætolians. Perdiccas marches against Ptolemy, into Egypt.

IN Asia, Ptolemy, one of those that had a share in the division of the provinces, without any difficulty possessed himself of Egypt, and carried himself with great mildness and winning behaviour towards the people; and having a treasure of eight thousand talents, raised an army of mercenaries: and many out of love flocked to him upon the account of the goodness of his disposition.

He entered into a league with Atipater, when he was assured that Perdiccas designed to dispossess him of Egypt.

At that time Lysimachus broke into some parts of Thrace, and found Seuthes the king encamped with twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. But Lysimachus, though he had not above four thousand foot, and only two thousand horse, was not affrighted with the multitude of the enemy. And though he was so much inferior in number, yet his valour was such, that he entered into a hot and sharp engagement; and after the loss of a great number of his

men, but many more of the enemy, he returned to his camp almost victorious. Upon which both armies drew off the field, and each made greater preparations, in order to decide the controversy by the sword.

As for Leonatus, he promised speedy aid to Antipater and the Macedonians, being solicited by Hecatæus, who was sent to him for that purpose. Landing therefore in Europe, as soon as he came into Macedonia, he raised a great number of soldiers there; and having got together an army of above twenty thousand foot, and about two thousand five hundred horse, he marched through Thessaly against the enemy.

Hereupon the Grecians drew off from the siege of Lamia, burned their tents, and sent away all their sick men and heavy baggage to Melitea; and with the rest of the army (ready and prepared for battle) marched straight away, and met Leonatus's forces before Antipater had joined him, and their two armies had come up together. The Grecians in the whole amounted to two-and-twenty thousand foot, (for the Ætolians were returned home some time before, and many others of the Grecians were gone into their own country); and as to their horse, which were somewhat about three thousand five hundred, they fought together in one body; amongst whom were two thousand Thessalians, brave and valiant men, on whose exertions they most relied for obtaining the victory. The horse on both sides fought stoutly a long time, when the Thessalians, by their extraordinary valour at length prevailing, Leonatus (although he fought with great courage and resolution) was driven and penned up within a morass, and, oppressed with his arms, after he had received many wounds, was there slain, and by his own men carried off dead to the carriages. The Greeks having now gained so famous a victory, (in which Menon the Thessalian commanded the horse), the Macedonian phalanx, in order to avoid the horse, withdrew from the plain and open field, and betook themselves to the steep and rocky hills, and, by the strength of these places, were there able to defend themselves.

However, the Thessalian horse attempted to break in upon them, but, through the disadvantage of the places, were not able to do any thing. The Grecians therefore being masters of the field, set up a trophy, and left off all further pursuit. The next day, as soon as Antipater came up with his troops, he joined himself to the broken army, and so all the Macedonians making one camp, he took on him the management of the whole.

But perceiving that the Thessalians were too strong for him in horse, he judged it most advisable to be quiet for the present, not

daring to attempt to force his way by the sword. And therefore he marched off, over hills and other craggy places, not easy to be pursued. Antiphilus the Athenian general, who gained this victory over the Macedonians, continued with his army in Thessaly, observing the motions of the enemy. And this was the happy success at that time of the Grecians.

But because the Macedonians were masters at sea, the Athenians built so many ships more as to make up their fleet a hundred and seventy sail: but the Macedonian fleet consisted of two hundred and forty, under the command of Clitus their admiral, who engaged in two sea fights at the Echinades islands with Eetion the Athenian admiral, in both of which he beat him, sinking many of the enemy's ships.

About this time Perdiccas, having with him king Philip and the king's army, undertook an expedition against Ariarathes, prince of Cappadocia, who, though he submitted not to the empire of the Macedonians, yet Alexander being busied in his wars with Darius, passed him by, so that he enjoyed the principality of Cappadocia a long time without any disturbance; and in the mean time he laid up a vast sum of money out of the public revenues, and raised an army of foreigners and from among his own people: and claiming the kingdom as his own just right, he prepared to try it out with Perdiccas, having an army of thirty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. At length it came to a battle, in which Perdiccas was victor, who killed four thousand upon the spot, and took six thousand prisoners, amongst whom was Ariarathes himself, whom, together with all his kindred he first scourged, and then crucified. He then pardoned all the rest; and after he had settled affairs in Cappadocia, he delivered up the province into the hands of Eumenes of Cardia, to be governed by him as his share, according to the allotment in the first agreement.

About the same time, Craterus arrived in Macedonia out of Cilicia, in order to assist Antipater, and to repair the losses of the Macedonians. He brought along with him six thousand foot which Alexander had taken over with him at first into Asia, and four thousand of those he had inlisted in the course of his march, besides a thousand Persian darters and slingers, and fifteen hundred horse.—As soon as he came into Thessaly, he joined his forces to Antipater's at the river Peneus, yeilding the chief command of the army to him. The whole army, together with those that came with Leonatus, amounted to about forty thousand foot, three thousand darters and slingers, and five thousand horse. The Grecians at that time encamped over against them, being much inferior in number to the

enemy: for many, by reason of the late victory, slighted the Macedonians, and were returned to their several countries, to look after their own private affairs. For which cause, there were many left in the camp that observed no due order or discipline. There were in the whole five-and-twenty thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, in whom they placed great confidence of victory, by reason of the valour of the men, and the plain champaign country that lay before them. At length Antipater drew out his forces every day into the field, to provoke the Grecians to fight; who after they had waited some considerable time for the return of their soldiers out of the cities, through the urgency of their present circumstances, were forced to venture an engagement.

Drawing up in battalia, therefore, and designing to decide the matter by the horse, they placed them in the van before the foot, whereupon the horse on both sides presently fell to it; and while they were thus hotly engaged, and the Thessalian horse had the better of the day, Antipater broke in with his battalion upon the foot, and made a great slaughter among them; so that the Grecians not being able to stand the shock of the enemy, who bore them down with their multitudes pouring in upon them, they retreated in great haste, but in good order, to the fastnesses and difficult passes near at hand. And so having gained the higher ground, by that advantage they easily repulsed the Macedonians. In the mean time the Grecian horse, though they had the better, yet perceiving that their foot was gone, forthwith made after them: and by this means the horse (leaving off the fight) becoming so broken and dispersed, that the Macedonians got the day. There were slain of the Grecians in this battle upwards of five hundred, and of the Macedonians about a hundred and thirty.

The next day Memnon and Antiphilus called a council of war, where it was debated, whether they should expect aid from the cities, and wait to see if soldiers sufficient could be raised, and so try it out to the last; or, yielding to the times, and bearing their present disasters, they should send agents to treat for terms of peace. At length they concluded to send heralds to treat accordingly; who executing their orders, Antipater answered them—That he expected every city should treat severally by its own ambassadors; and that he would not upon any terms make a general peace. But the Grecians declined this proposal, and therefore Antipater and Craterus besieged the cities of Thessaly, and took them by storm, the Grecians not being able to relieve them. This so terrified all the rest, that they transacted the affairs of their several cities by their own ambassadors; towards whom he carried himself with all demonstrations of

courtesy and gaining behaviour, and concluded peace with every one of them. Every city therefore being desirous to provide for its own safety, all of them by that means obtained peace.

But the Ætolians and Athenians, the implacable enemies of the Macedonians, though they were thus deserted by their confederates, consulted with their commanders about carrying on the war. But Antipater having by this artifice thus broken the confederacy, led his whole army against the Athenians; upon which the people, being deserted by their confederates, were greatly terrified, and knew not which way to turn themselves; and all having their eyes upon Demades, cried out—That he should be sent ambassador to Antipater, to treat for peace in their behalf. But he refused to come to the senate; for he had been thrice condemned for violating the laws, and for that reason become infamous, and disabled by the law to sit in council. But, being restored by the people to his former credit and reputation, he forthwith, together with Phocion and others joined with him in the commission, undertook the embassy. When Antipater had heard what they had to say, he told them—That he would make peace with the Athenians upon no other terms but upon their giving up all they had into his hands: for the same answer the Athenians gave to Antipater when he sent ambassadors to them at the time he was shut up in Lamia. Hereupon the people not being able to resist, were brought to the necessity of giving up all the power and government of the city into the hands of Antipater; who with great humanity and generosity granted their city, their estates, and all other things to them back again. But he dissolved the government into a democracy, and ordered that the value of every person's estate should be the rule for chusing the magistrates; viz. that those who were worth above two thousand drachmas, might be capable of being magistrates, and of giving votes for their election. As for those who were not of such estates, he removed them as turbulent and factious, not suffering them to have any thing to do with public business; and granted new seats and estates in Thessaly to any that would remove thither. Upon which, above two-and-twenty thousand of that description of citizens were transplanted from their own country. The government of the city, and country belong to it, was given to the rest, who had estates to the value of what was before limited and appointed; of whom there were about nine thousand.—And these governed the state for the future according to the laws of Solon. And all their estates were left to them entire and untouched. But they were forced to receive a garrison under Menyllus the governor to keep them in awe, and prevent new stirs and disturbances. As for the matter of Samos, it was referred to the decisson of

the kings*. And thus the Athenians (beyond their expectation) were kindly used, and were at peace. And for the future, (governing the commonwealth without tumults and seditions, and quietly following their husbandry), they grew very rich in a short time.

Antipater, being returned into Macedonia, honourably and bountifully rewarded Craterus according to his desert, and gave him Phila, his eldest daughter, in marriage; and then Craterus returned into Asia Antipater carried himself with the same moderation and winning behaviour towards all the cities of Greece, well ordering and reforming their governments, whereby he gained praise and renown in every place.

As for Perdiccas, he restored the city and territory of Samos to the Samians, and caused all those that had been exiles above three-and-forty years, to return into their country. Having now gone through the occurrences in the Lamian war, we shall pass to the war in Cyrene, lest we should straggle too far into times much distant from the continued course and connection of the history. But, to make things more clear and evident, we must have recourse to matters done a little before.

After Harpalus had left Asia, and at length arrived with his mercenaries in Crete, as is related in the preceding book, Thimbron, one of his special friends, (as he thought him to be), having assassinated Harpalus, possessed himself both of the money and soldiers, to the number of seven thousand men. He got likewise the navy into his hands, and, putting the soldiers on board, sailed to the country of the Cyrenians; where, joining with the Cyrenian exiles, he made use of their conduct for the prosecuting of his designs, because they were well acquainted with the ways and passes in the country. Upon the approach of the Cyrenians, Thimbron fought them, and routed them, killing many upon the spot, and taking many prisoners. Then he possessed himself of the port, and forced the conquered Cyrenians (now in a great fright) into a composition, and to buy their peace at the price of five thousand talents of silver; and that they should deliver to him one half of all their chariots ready and fitted for any warlike expedition. He sent likewise ambassadors to other cities, soliciting them to join with him, as if he purposed to conquer all the lower Africa. He seized likewise upon all the merchants' goods in the haven, and gave them for plunder to his soldiers, the more to encourage them to stick to him in the war.

But, in the height of his prosperity, a sudden blast of fortune brought him very low, upon the following occasion. Mnasiclus, one of his captains, a Cretan born, and an expert commander, be-

* Aridæus and Alexander.

gan to quarrel with him about the division of the spoil; and, being of a bold and turbulent spirit, he thereupon deserted, and went over to the Cyrenians; where, making great complaints of Thimbron's cruelty and breach of faith, he persuaded them to dissolve the league, and assert their liberty. Thereupon they stopped their hands, and would pay no more of the talents of silver agreed upon, having only paid sixty.

Thimbron hereupon accused them of treachery and breach of faith, and seized upon eight hundred of the Cyrenians that were in the port, and laid close siege to Cyrene; but, not being able to prevail, he drew off, and returned to the port. The Barceans and Hesperians sided with Thimbron: whereupon the Cyrenians drew part of their forces out of the city, and with them wasted and spoiled the neighbouring territories; to whose assistance Thimbron (whose aid was desired) marched out with what soldiers he had then ready at hand. The Cretan, taking advantage of that opportunity, when he conceived few were left in the port, advised them that were left in Cyrene to attack the port, who readily complied, and he himself was the principal acter in the attempt, which was easily accomplished, by reason of Thimbron's absence; so that, whatever merchandize was left in the port he restored to the merchants, and fortified the haven with all the care and diligence imaginable.

This first disaster greatly discouraged Thimbron, having both lost so convenient a post, and likewise his carriages. But afterwards plucking up his spirits, and taking Tarichæum by assault, his hopes revived. However, not long after, he again sustained a mighty loss: for the soldiers belonging to the fleet, by being exoluded the harbour, were in great want of provisions, and therefore every day roved up and down the fields to get what they could for the supply of their necessities. Thereupon the Africans, lying in ambush, fell upon them as they were roving all over the country, and killed multitudes of them, and took many prisoners: the rest escaped to their ships, and sailed off towards the confederate cities; but they were overtaken with so violent a storm, that many of their ships were swallowed up by the sea; and of the rest, some were driven to Cyprus, and others to the coasts of Egypt. Notwithstanding which distresses, Thimbron went on still with the war: for he sent some of his friends into Peloponnesus, to inlist soldiers of those strangers that were then still at Tenarus; for there were then many disbanded, wandering up and down, seeking to be inlisted by any that would employ them, to the number of two thousand five hundred, and upwards. Those that were sent took these into pay, and set sail with them straight towards Cyrene; before whose arrival the Cyrenians, encou-

raged by their successes, had fought with Thimbron, and had cut off great numbers of his men: by reason of which losses Thimbron gave up all for lost as to the war against Cyrene; but the unexpected arrival of the soldiers from Tenarus so strengthened his army, that he took fresh courage, and resumed his former hopes of victory.

The Cyrenians, perceiving that the war was renewed, craved supplies from the neighbouring Africans and Carthaginians; and, having raised an army composed of their own citizens and others, to the number of thirty thousand men, they resolved to lay all at stake, and try it out in a battle. A very sharp engagement therefore was fought, in which Thimbron was victor, with the slaughter of a multitude of his enemies; which cheered up his spirits to that degree, as if he should presently be master of all the neighbouring cities. The Cyrenians after this fight, having lost all their commanders, joined Mnasiclus the Cretan with some others in the chief command of the army. But Thimbron, lifted up with his victory, besieged the haven of Cyrene, and assaulted the city every day. The siege continuing long, the Cyrenians, for want of bread, fell out one with another; and the rabble (being the greatest in number) thrust forth the rich out of the city; some of whom fled to Thimbron, others into Egypt. Those in Egypt addressed themselves to Ptolemy for assistance, to help them in their return, and prevailed so far as that they went back with great forces both for sea and land, under the command of Ophelas, their governor. When their return was noised abroad, those exiles who were with Thimbron contrived to steal away in the night, and joined with those that were arrived; but, being detected, they were all killed.

The ringleaders of the sedition in Cyrene, being terrified at the return of the exiles, made peace with Thimbron, and resolved to join with him against Ophelas. But Ophelas routed Thimbron, and took him prisoner, and recovered all the towns, and delivered the cities, with their territories, into the hands of Ptolemy. And thus the Cyrenians and the neighbouring cities lost their former liberty, and became subject to Ptolemy.

Perdiccas and king Philip having overcome Ariarathes, delivered the province to Eumenes, and so departed out of Cappadocia. When they came into Pisidia, they determined to raze those two cities, one of the Larissians, the other of the Isaurians: for in the life-time of Alexander they had killed Balacrus, the son of Nicanor, who was appointed to be their general, and governor of the province. Larissa therefore they took upon the first assault, and put all that were able to bear arms to the sword, and sold all the rest for slaves, and laid the city even with the ground. As for the city of the Isaurians,

it was large and well fortified, and manned with resolute and stout men; and therefore, after they had assaulted it two days together, and had lost a great number of men, they were forced to draw off: for the inhabitants, being plentifully furnished with weapons, and all other things necessary for the enduring of a siege, were resolute to undergo all hazards, and readily sold their lives for the defence of their liberty. But upon the third day, having lost many of their citizens, insomuch that they were not able sufficiently to man the walls, they put in execution a most heroic piece of resolution, worthy for ever to be remembered. For, perceiving that they were destined to inevitable destruction, and had not force sufficient for their defence, they judged it not advisable to deliver up the city, and all that they had, to the will of the enemy, because their certain ruin, with the most barbarous usage, was obvious before their eyes. Therefore they all unanimously resolved to die honourably together: to that end, in the night they shut up their wives, children, and parents in their houses, and set them on fire, making choice by that means to perish and be buried together. When the flame mounted up into the air, the Isaurians threw all their wealth, and every thing valuable, or that might be of any advantage to the enemy, into the fire. The besiegers were struck with admiration at the sight, and ran here and there, seeking where to break into the city; but those that remained upon the walls for their defence threw many of the Macedonians down headlong from the battlements. At which Perdiccas was much surprised, and inquired what was the reason that, having set all their houses and every thing besides on fire, they were so diligent and careful to defend the walls. At length, when Perdiccas with his Macedonians were drawn off from the city, the rest of the Isaurians cast themselves headlong into the fire, and so every one's house became a common sepulchre for himself and all his relations. Perdiccas the next day gave the ransacking of the city to the soldiers, who (when the fire was extinguished) found much silver and gold in the rubbish, the city having been rich and prosperous a long time together.

After this destruction, Perdiccas married two wives, Nicæa the daughter of Antipater, to whom he was contracted; and Cleopatra, Alexander's half sister, the daughter of Philip and Amyntas. Perdiccas indeed had entered into league with Antipater before he was established in his government, and upon that account the marriage was consummated. But after he had gained the king's forces, and became possessed of the superintendency and administration of the affairs of the kingdom, he changed his mind: for affecting the kingdom, his design was to marry Cleopatra, concluding that for her sake,

and by her authority, the sovereign power would be yielded up to to him by the Macedonians. But because he had no mind as yet to discover his intentions, and to comply with the present circumstances of affairs, he married Nicæa, lest Antipater should oppose him in his projects. But Antigonus smelling out what he was contriving, and being one that had a great kindness for Antipater, and the most active man of all the commanders, Perdiccas resolved to despatch him, and take him out of the way.

Loading him therefore with false accusations and unjust aspersions, his design appeared plainly to take away his life. But Antigonus being a crafty man, and of a bold spirit, pretended as if he would defend himself against those things that were laid to his charge; but in the interim he secretly prepared for his flight, and in the night, with his servants and his son Demetrius, went on board some ships that belonged to Athens, and set sail for Europe, on purpose to confederate with Antipater. About that time Antipater and Craterus had taken the field against the Ætolians with thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse: for they only remained unconquered of those that were engaged in the Lamian war. But the Ætolians, though they were pressed upon by such mighty forces, yet were not at all discouraged; but having got together ten thousand brave and sprightly men, betook themselves to the difficult passes in the mountains, where they had before disposed and lodged much of their wealth, and all their wives, children, and old people. And though they had quitted the cities which were not tenable, yet they placed strong garisons in those that were fortified; and in this state undauntedly waited the approach of the enemy.

Antipater and Craterus therefore having entered Ætolia, when they saw all the cities that were weak and untenable forsaken by their inhabitants, made towards those that were posted in the fastnesses of the mountains. At the first assault they made upon these dreadful and inaccessible precipices, they lost multitudes of their men; for the valour of the Ætolians being supported and confirmed by the strength of the places, easily repulsed the enemy, who ran themselves upon difficulties that were insuperable. But afterwards, when Craterus's soldiers had secured themselves during the winter, by huts and warm tents, the Ætolians were obliged to endure the inclemency of the season in places covered over with snow, where they remained in great want of provisions; so that they were reduced to a most desperate condition. For they were brought to that dilemma, that they must of necessity either leave the mountains and fight with an army far superior in number to themselves, and against commanders who were every where renowned for their good con-

duct, or, if they remained longer, certainly to perish with hunger and cold.

And now all hopes of deliverance being despaired of, suddenly and unexpectedly appeared a release at hand from all their miseries, as if some god in an especial manner had had compassion of such brave and noble souls: for Antigonus, who had fled out of Asia, and was now come into the camp, informed them of what Perdiccas was hatching and contriving; and that having married Cleopatra, he was ready, as king, to come over with his army into Macedonia, to wrest the kingdom out of their hands. At which strange and unexpected news, Antipater and Craterus, and all those with them, were so affrighted, that they called a council of war, where, upon consultation, it was resolved, that matters should be compounded and ended with the Ætolians as well as they could; and that forces should be forthwith transported into Asia; and that Craterus should be general in Asia, and Antipater have the chief command in Europe; that ambassadors should likewise be despatched to Ptolemy, who was their friend and an enemy to Perdiccas, and designed to be cut off as well as they, to move him to join with them as a confederate. Hereupon they forthwith struck up a peace with the Ætolians, intending notwithstanding in due time afterwards, to root them up and all their families, and to send them into some remote and desert corner of the world far from Asia. The pacification according to the terms before agreed upon, being put into writing and signed, they prepared themselves for the expedition.

Perdiccas, on the other side, calling together his friends and general officers, consulted with them whether he should transport his army into Macedonia, or march first against Ptolemy. All agreeing that Ptolemy was first to be conquered, lest he should obstruct his expedition into Macedonia, he sent Eumenes on before with a considerable army, to secure the passes at the Hellespont, to prevent all passage that way: and he himself marched out of Pisidia with the whole of his forces towards Egypt. And these were the things done this year.

CHAP. III.

Description of Alexander's funeral chariot. Ptolemy honoured in Egypt. Perdiccas prepares for going into Egypt against Ptolemy. Eumenes beats Neoptolemus, who deserted. The battle between Eumenes and Craterus, who was killed with Neoptolemus. Combat between Neoptolemus and Eumenes. Perdiccas comes into Egypt; assaults the fort called the Camel's Wall; his miserable loss in the river Nile; is killed. Ptolemy makes Aridæus and Python protectors of the kings. Eumenes condemned to die. The Ætolians invade Thessaly. Polyperchon routs the Ætolians. The provinces again divided by Aridæus. Antigonus routs Eumenes, who flies to Nora. Antigonus besieges Nora. Eumenes's invention to exercise the horse. Ptolemy gains Syria and Phœnicia by Nicanor.

WHEN Philocles was chief magistrate at Athens, and Caius Sulpitius and Quintus Aulius were created Roman consuls, Aridæus, to whom was committed the care of conveying Alexander's body to his sepulchre, having now the chariot ready upon which it was to be carried, prepared himself for the journey. But, forasmuch as the whole business and concern was managed as became the majesty of Alexander, and upon that account did not only exceed all others in point of expense, state, and pomp, (for the charges amounted to many talents), but also in respect of curiosity and workmanship, we think it fit to recommend something to posterity in writing concerning it. And first, a coffin of beaten gold was provided, so wrought by the hammer, as to answer to the proportion of the body; it was half filled with aromatic spices, which served as well to delight the sense, as to prevent the body from putrefaction. Over the coffin was a cover of gold, so exactly fitted, as to answer the higher part every way. Over this was thrown a curious purple coat embroidered with gold, near to which were placed the arms of the deceased, that the whole might represent the acts of his life. Then was provided the chariot, in which the body was to be conveyed; upon the top of which was raised a triumphant arch of gold, set thick and studded over with precious stones, eight cubits in breadth, and twelve in length. Under this roof was placed a throne of gold, joined to the whole work, four square, on which were carved the heads of Goat-

harts*; and to these were fastened golden rings of two hands-breadth in diameter; at which hung, for shew and pomp, little coronets of various colours, which, like so many flowers, afforded a pleasant prospect to the eye. Upon the top of the arch, was a fringe of network, to which were hung large bells, to the intent that the sound of them might be heard at a great distance. On both sides the arch, at the corners, stood an image of Victory in gold, bearing a trophy. A peristylium† of gold supported the archwork, the chapiters of whose pillars were of Ionian workmanship. Within the peristylium, by a network of gold of a finger's thickness in the workmanship, hung four tables‡, one by another equal to the dimensions of the wall, whereupon were pourtrayed all sorts of living creatures. The first table represented a chariot curiously wrought, wherein Alexander sat with a royal sceptre in his hand. About the king stood his life-guards complete in their arms; the Macedonians on one side, and the Persians, who bore battle-axes, on the other; and before them stood the armour-bearers. In the second, elephants adorned in their warlike habiliments followed them of the guard, on which sat Indians before, and Macedonians behind, armed according to the manner of their respective countries. In the third might be seen squadrons of horse drown up in regular battalia. In the fourth appeared a fleet ordered in a line of battle. At the entrance of the arch stood lions of gold, with their faces towards the entrance.—From the middle of every pillar an acanthus§ of gold sprouted up, in branches spiring in slender threads to the very chapiters. Over the arch, about the middle of the roof on the outside, was spread a purple carpet in the open air, on which was placed a vast golden crown, in the form of an olive coronet‖, which, by the reflection of the sun-beams, darted such an amazing splendor and brightness, that at a distance it appeared as a flash of lightning. Under the seats or bottom of the whole work, ran two axletrees, about which moved four Persian wheels, whose spokes and naves were overlaid with gold, but the fellows were shod with iron. The ends and outparts of the axles were of gold, representing the heads of lions, each holding a dart in his mouth. In every centre of the arch, about the midway in the length, was artificially fixed a pole, upon which the whole might turn, as on a hinge; by the help whereof the arch might, in rough places, where it was apt to be shaken, be preserved from being overturned. There were four draft-trees, to every one

* Tragelaphi, Goat-harts, bred near the river Phasis in Colchis.—Plin. l. 8, c. 33.

† In form resembling a piazza.

‡ A sort of writing tables, whether of brass, stone, or wood.

§ A tree so called. ‖ Olive coronets, usually worn by conquerors.

of which were fixed four courses of yokes, and to every course were bound four mules, so that the mules were sixty-four in number, the most choice for strength and bigness that could be got. Every mule was adorned with a crown of gold, and bells of gold on either side of their heads; and on their necks were fitted rich collars, set and beautified with precious stones.

And in this manner was the chariot set forth, the sight of which was more stately and pompous than the report: so that the fame of it brought together multitudes of spectators: for the people out of every city wherever it was coming, met it, and ran back again before it, never satisfied with the delight they took in vewing and gazing. And, suitable to so stately a shew, a vast quantity of workmen and pioneers, who levelled and smoothed the ways for its passage, attended.

And thus Aridæus, who had spent two years in preparations, brought the king's body from Bobylon to Egypt. Ptolemy, in honour of the king, met the corpse with his army as far as Syria, where he received it, and accompanied it with great care and observance: for he had not resolved as yet to accompany it to the temple of Ammon, but to keep the body in the city* which Alexander himself had built, the most famous almost of any city in the world. To this end he built a temple in honour of Alexander, in greatness and stateliness of structure becoming the glory and majesty of that king; and in this repository he laid the body, and honoured the exequies of the dead with sacrifices and magnificent shews, agreeable to the dignity of a demigod. Upon which account he was deservedly honoured, not only by men, but by the gods themselves: for by his bounty and generosity he so gained upon men, that they flocked from all parts to Alexandria, and cheerfully inlisted themselves into his service, notwithstanding the king's army was then preparing for war against him: and though he was in imminent danger, yet all readily ventured their lives to preserve him. And the gods themselves, for his virtue, and kind obliging temper towards all, rescued him out of all his hazards and difficulties, which seemed insuperable: for Perdiccas, who before suspected the increase of his power, had resolved, bringing the kings† along with him, upon an expedition into Egypt, with the strength of his army. To that end he had delivered to Eumenes a considerable body of men, with a sufficient number of officers, with command to march to the Hellespont, to prevent the passage of Antipater and Craterus over into Asia. Amongst the com-

* Alexandria.—See Curtius, l. 10. c. ult.—The embalmed body was viewed by Augustus in Alexandria, three hundred years afterwards.—Sust.

† These kings were Aridæus and Alexander, the children of Alexander.

manders the most illustrious were Alcetas his brother, and Neoptolemus: but these he ordered in all things to be observant to Eumenes, because he was both a skilful and prudent general, and a constant and faithful friend. Eumenes therefore, with the forces delivered to him, came to the Hellespont, and completed his army with horse (raised out of his own province) of which his troops were before only deficient.

But after Antipater and Craterus had transported their army out of Europe, Neoptolemus, out of envy to Eumenes, (having a considerable body of Macedonians under his command), secretly sent messengers to Antipater, and, colleaguing with him, contrived how to entrap Eumenes: but his treachery being discovered, he was forced to fight, and lost almost all his men in the battle, and was very near being cut off himself. Eumenes being thus conqueror, after this great slaughter, joined the remainder of those that were left to his own army; and so by this victory not only increased his forces, but strengthened himself with a great number of Macedonians that were excellent soldiers. Neoptolemus fled off the field with three hundred horse, and went over to Antipater. Whereupon there was held a deep consultation between them, in reference to the concerns of the war; in which it was determined to divide the army into two bodies; one to march under Antipater into Cilicia to fight Perdiccas, and the other with Craterus to fall upon Eumenes; and when he was routed, then Craterus to return to Antipater; that so the whole army being joined together in one body, and having Ptolemy their confederate, they might be the better able to cope with the king's army.

Eumenes having intelligence of the enemy's march, collected forces together from all parts, especially horse; for, because he had not foot able to cope with the Macedonian phalanx, he raised a great body of horse, by whose assistance he hoped to be in a condition to overcome the enemy.

And now at length the armies drew near to each other; whereupon Craterus drew up his men together, in order, by a set speech to encourage them to fight; in which harangue he promised—That if they were conquerors, they should have all the pillage of the field, and all the bag and baggage as a prey to their own use. In all things thus encouraged, he drew up his army in battalia: the right wing he commanded himself, and the left he gave to Neoptolemus. His army in the whole consisted of twenty thousand foot, most of them Macedonians, men famous for their valour, in whom he placed the confidence of his victory; with these there went along with him above two thousand horse. Eumenes had likewise twenty thou-

sand foot of different nations, and five thousand horse, on whose valour principally he had resolved to venture, and lay all at stake in this battle.

The horse on both sides moving forward in two wings a great way before the foot, Craterus with a body of choice men made a gallant charge upon the enemy, but his horse stumbling, he was thrown out of the saddle to the ground, and not being known, was trampled under foot by the confused throng, and so unfortunately lost his life; upon whose fall the enemy was so encouraged, that, dispersing themselves over the field of battle, they made a terrible slaughter. The right wing being thus distressed, and at length totally routed, was forced to retreat to the foot. But in the left wing commanded by Neoptolemus, opposed to Eumenes, there was a very sharp engagement, the two generals singling out one another: for being known to each other by their horses, and other special marks, they fought hand to hand; and by combating thus singly, they put a remark upon the victory: for after they and tried it out by their swords, they presently began a singular and new sort of encounter, anger and revenge mutually exciting them. For, letting their bridles fall on their horses' necks, they catched hold of each other with their left hands, and so grappling together, their horses violently pressing forward, ran from under them, by which they both tumbled to the ground. And though it was a difficult matter for either of them, after so violent a fall, to rise again, and besides, being pressed down by the weight of their armour, yet Eumenes rising first, so desperately wounded Neoptolemus in the ham, that he lay hamstrung, grovelling upon the ground; and by reason of the grievousness of the wound, he was not able to raise himself upon his feet. But the stoutness and courage of his mind overcoming the weakness of his body, he got upon his knees, and gave his adversary three wounds on his arm and thigh: but none of them being mortal, (while they were yet warm), Eumenes gave Neoptolemus a second blow on the neck, which killed him outright.

In the mean time a great slaughter was made amongst the rest of the horse on both sides; so that while some were killed and others wounded, the fortune of the day was at first uncertain. But no sooner was it noised abroad that Neoptolemus was slain, and both wings broken, than the whole body of horse fled, and made off to the phalanx, as to a strong wall of defence. But Eumenes, content with keeping his ground, and the possession of the bodies of both the generals, sounded a retreat to his soldiers. Then he set up a trophy, and after he had buried the slain, he sent word to the phalanx, and to those that were thus routed—That whoever would, should

have liberty to take up arms with him, or to go wherever they pleased. The Macedonians accepted of these terms of peace, and, upon oath of fidelity given, they had liberty to march off to the next towns to supply themselves with provisons. But they dealt treacherously with Eumenes; for, re-assembling their forces, and furnishing themselves with provisions, in the night they stole away and went to Antipater. Eumenes indeed did all he could to revenge this breach of their oath, and to that end he forthwith endeavoured to pursue the phalanx; but by reason of the strength of the enemy, and his own indisposition through the wounds he had received, he was not able to do any thing effectually, and therefore he judged it better to refrain from any further pursuit.

Having therefore gained so glorious a victory, and cut off two such eminent commanders, his name became very famous. Antipater having received those that had escaped, after they had been refreshed, hastened away to Cilicia, and to afford assistance to Ptolemy. But Perdiccas hearing of the victory* gained by Eumenes, prosecuted his expedition into Egypt with much more assurance.—When he came near to the river Nile, he encamped not far from Pelusium; and while he was cleansing an old sluice, the river overflowed to that degree, that it defeated all his design, and ruined his works; and many of his friends deserted his camp, and went over to Ptolemy: for he inclined to cruelty; and having removed the rest of the captains from the chief commands, he made it his only business to be sole monarch and absolute tyrant.

Ptolemy on the contrary was courteous and mild, and gave free liberty to the rest of the captains to advise him in all his enterprises. Besides, he had put strong garrisons into all the convenient places of Egypt, and had furnished them with all sorts of weapons, and other things that were necessary. By which means he succeeded in every thing for the most part that he undertook, while many that loved the man cheerfully exposed themselves to undergo all hazards for his sake. But Perdiccas, to repair his losses, called together the commanders, and, having regained some by gifts, and others by large promises, and all by smooth words, he was so far encouraged, as to bear up against the hazards and difficulties that were coming apace upon him. And, when he had ordered them all to be ready for a march, about evening he moved from thence with his whole army. Not acquainting any whither he would lead them, he marched all night with a swift march, and at length encamped upon the banks of the Nile, not far from a castle called the Camel's Wall.

* His first victory over Neoptolemus, for Perdiccas was killed before the news of this last arrived, as appears afterwards.

When it was day he passed his army over, the elephants leading the way, and next to them the targeteers, with those that carried the scaling-ladders, and other things he had occasion to use in a siege: his best horse at length brought up the rear, with whom he intended to attack the Ptolemeans, if it happened that they appeared. In the middle of their march Ptolemy's horse shewed themselves, making forward in a swift career for the defence of the town; who, though they hastened to enter the fort, and by sounding of trumpets and shouts of men gave sufficient notice of their approach, yet Perdiccas was not at all diverted from his purpose, but boldly led up his army close to the fort; and forthwith the targeteers with their ladders mounted the wall, and those that rode upon elephants threw down the fortifications, and demolished the bulwarks. Whereupon Ptolemy, with those of his own guard about him, to encourage the rest of his officers and friends manfully to behave themselves, catched hold of a sarissa, and mounted the bulwark; and so, being on the higher ground, struck out the eyes of the foremost elephant, and wounded the Indian that sat upon him; and, as for those that scaled the walls, he hurled them down, dreadfully cut and wounded (together with their arms) into the river. After his example Ptolemy's friends valiantly exerted themselves, and, by killing the Indian that governed the next elephant, the beast became unserviceable. The assault continuing long, Perdiccas's soldiers assaulted the wall by turns, striving with all the vigour imaginable to gain the fort by storm. On the other hand, Ptolemy, calling to his friends now to approve their faithfulness and loyalty to him by their courage, fought like a hero, and gave an example of valour to all the rest. In this sharp dispute, many fell on both sides. The Ptolemeans had the advantage in the height of the place, and the Perdiccans in the greatness of their number, which far exceeded the other. At length, the whole day being spent in the assault, Perdiccas raised the siege, and marched back to his camp, and in the night decamped, and with a quiet and silent march came into a part of the country over against Memphis, where the Nile (dividing itself into two parts) makes an island sufficient to receive and encamp the greatest army. Into this place, therefore, he passed over part of his army, though the passage was very difficult, through the depth of the river; for the water reaching up to the chin, the soldiers could not stand upon their legs, and were likewise encumbered with their arms. Perdiccas therefore, discerning the strength and violence of the river, placed the elephants on the left, to break the force of the stream. The horse went on the right, by whose help he took up those that were hurried down by the current, and set them safe on the opposite shore. But there

happened in this passage that which was strange and unusual: for, when the first had got over, those that followed were in very great hazard; for the river rose on a sudden, without any apparent cause, and swept away whole sholes of bodies at a time, which put all into a consternation. The cause of this inundation could not be found out, though it was inquired into. Some imputed it to a dyke or sluice in the higer grounds, whose banks might be broken down, and so all its water ran into the Nile, by which means the ford was so much the higher: others conceived it was great rains that fell in the lands above which increased the waters of the river. But it was neither of these. But the true cause why the passage at first was without danger, was because the sand was then firm and unmoved; but afterwards, when by the treading of the horses and elephants, and the passage of the army, the sand was stirred and carried away by the force of the river, the ford by this means was, as it were, dug up, and made into holes, and so the passage was deeper in the middle of the river. Perdiccas therefore, not being able to pass the rest of his army over, was in a great strait, because those that had passed to the other side were very unequal to the force of the enemy, and those on this side of the river were not able to succour them. Hereupon he commanded all those that were landed in the island to return. The army thus forced to repass the river, those that could swim, and were strong-bodied men, with great difficulty recovered the other side of the Nile; but most of them lost their arms. The rest, who were not so skilful, some of them were drowned, and others were carried down the stream, and fell into the hands of the enemy. Very many for a long time tossed hither and thither, were at length devoured by crocodiles. Above two thousand having perished in this manner, (among whom were some eminent commanders), the hearts of the soldiers were much turned against Perdiccas. But Ptolemy caused all those bodies to be burned that were brought dead down the river to him, and, having performed all funeral obsequies and observances due to the dead, he sent their ashes and bones to their kindred and friends.

This far more enraged the spirits of the Macedonians against Perdiccas, and knit their hearts in affection to Ptolemy. When the night came on, the camp was full of cries and lamentations, that so many men should miserably perish without a stroke, amongst whom there were no fewer than a thousand who were swallowed by the monstrous crocodiles.

Hereupon many of the commanders railed against Perdiccas; and the whole phalanx of foot, being totally disaffected, discovered their hatred by their murmurings and threats: and a hundred of the chief

commanders deserted him, the chiefest of whom was Python, who had conquered the rebellious Greeks, and was not inferior in valour and reputation to any of Alexander's commanders. Afterwards some of the horse entered into a conspiracy, and made to his tent, and in a body fell upon him, and killed him.

The next day, when the soldiers were in consultation, Ptolemy came to them, and saluted the Macedonians, and made an apology for what he had done. And, seeing that they were in want of provisions, he furnished the army with abundance of bread, and supplied the camp with all other things that were necessary. But, though he was upon this account in great grace and favour with the soldiers, and so able easily to gain the protectorship of the kings, yet he demanded it not, but bestowed the chief command upon Python and Aridæus, to whom in gratitude he was much obliged. For when the Macedonians appointed a consultation concerning that honourable trust and high command, by the advice of Ptolemy they all unanimously created Python, and Aridæus who conveyed the king's body, to be protectors of the kings, investing them with sovereign authority. And in this manner Perdiccas, after he had enjoyed the sovereign command for the space of three years, lost both it and his life together. After his death, news was brought, that Eumenes had gained the day in Cappadocia, and that Craterus and Neoptolemus were both slain: which news, if it had arrived the day before Perdiccas's death, that prosperous success would have been a protection to his person, so as that none durst have lifted up their hands against him.

But the Macedonians now hearing how Eumenes had succeeded, condemned him and all his adherents, to the number of fifty lords, amongst whom was Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas, to die. And at that very time they put to death those who were Perdiccas's chiefest friends, then in their hands, with his sister Atalanta, the wife of Attalus the admiral of the fleet. For at, and after the death of Perdiccas, Attalus lay with the fleet before Pelusium; and when the news was brought him of the death of Perdiccas, and his wife, he departed from thence and went to Tyre; where Archelaus, a Macedonian governor of the city kindly received him, and delivered up to him the city, and faithfully restored to him the money intrusted in his hands by Perdiccas, to the amount of eight hundred talents. And by this means Attalus, taking up his residence at Tyre, received all Perdiccas's friends that fled to him from the camp at Memphis.

After Antipater had gone over into Asia, the Ætolians, in pursuance of their league concluded with Perdiccas, marched into Thes-

saly, with a design to divide Antipater's army. They had twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse*, commanded, as general, by Alexander, an Ætolian.

In their march they besieged the Locrians in Amphissa, and harassed their country, and took some of the neighbouring towns and villages. They likewise routed Polycles, Antipater's general, and killed him, together with a great number of his men. Of the prisoners they took, some were sold for slaves, and others were ransomed. Afterwards, they broke into Thessaly, and brought over many there to join them in the war against Antipater, insomuch as they made up in the whole a body of five-and-twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse; while they were taking in the cities, the Acarnanians bearing a grudge to the Ætolians, invaded Ætolia, wasted and spoiled the country, and besieged the cities.—When the Ætolians heard what danger their country was in, they left the rest of their forces in Thessaly under the command of Menon of Pharsalia, and they themselves speedily marched back with their own soldiers into Ætolia, and struck such a terror into the Acarnanians, that they presently relieved their country. While they were thus employed, Polyperchon, who was left general in Macedonia, came into Thessaly with a noble army, and fought and routed the enemy, killing Menon the general, and, cutting off most of his army, soon recovered Thessaly.

As for the affairs of Asia, Aridæus and Python, protectors of the kings, leaving the river Nile, came with the kings, and the whole army, to Triparadisus†, in Higher Syria‡. There Eurydice§, the queen, taking upon her to intermeddle and pry too curiously into matters that concerned her not, and to control the protectors, Python and his friends hereby became much disgusted, and, perceiving that the Macedonians were more observant to her commands than to theirs, they called a council, and gave up the protectorship. Whereupon the Macedonians chose Antipater protector, with absolute authority. A few days after Antipater, going to Triparadisus, found Eurydice stirring up the Macedonians to a sedition against him; whereupon there arose no small mutiny in the army. Antipater hereupon called a general council, and so argued and canvassad the business with them, that he allayed the spirit of the people, and brought Eurydice, through fear of him, into a better and more moderate temper.

* Or rather four hundred.

† Triparadisus, called by Pliny, Paradisus.—Nat. Hist. l. 1, c. 23.—The triple garden.

‡ The Higher Seria, or what is called Cœlosyria.

§ The wife of Aridæus, one of the kings of Macedon.

After these things were over, Antipater made a second division of the provinces, and allotted to Ptolemy that whereof he was then in possession; for it was not practicable to remove him, because it appeared Ptolemy had gained Egypt as a conqueror. Syria he gave to Laomedon of Mitylene; and Cilicia to Philoxenus. Of the other provinces, he assigned Mesopotamia and Arbelitis to Amphimachus; the province of Babylon to Seleucus; and Susiana to Antigonus*, because he was the first occasion of the overthrow of Perdiccas. To Peucestes he granted Persia; to Tlepolemus, Carmania; to Python, Media; and to Philip, Parthia.. Aria and Drangina he allotted to Stasander the Cyprian; Bactria and Sogdiana to Stasanor of Solium, born in the same island; Paropamisus, to Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, whom Alexander married; and India, bordering upon Paropamisus, to Python, the son of Agenor. Of the kingdoms next adjoining, that which bordered upon the river Indus, continued under the power of Porus; that which lay next to the Hydaspes, remained with Taxiles: for these kings were not to be dispossessed but with the royal army, and a skilful and expert general. As to the northern provinces†, he gave the government of Cappadocia to Nicanor; and the Greater Phrygia and Cilicia‡ to Antigonus, to hold them as he did before. Lastly, to Cassander he assigned Caria; to Clitus, Lycia§; and to Aridæus, Phrygia at the Hellespont. Antigonus he appointed general of the royal army, and commanded him to pursue and destroy Eumenes. To Antigonus he also joined Cassander and Clearchus, that, if he secretly projected any thing, he might be discovered. He himself marched with the kings and his troops towards Macedonia, that he might conduct the kings back into their own country.

Antigonus therefore, being declared absolute commander of Asia, drew the forces out of their winter-quarters to fight with Eumenes; and to that end furnishing himself with all necessary preparations for the war, he marched towards Eumenes, who then lay in Cappadocia; where one called Perdiccas, one of his chief commanders, had deserted him, and lay encamped with three thousand foot and five hundred horse (that followed him) about three days march distant. But Eumenes sent out Phenices of Tenedos with four thousand good foot, and a thousand horse against him; who with a swift march fell upon the rebels on a sudden in the night, when they were asleep, and took Perdiccas and all his army prisoners, about the second watch of the night. Eumenes put to death the chief ringleaders of the defection, and spared the rest of the soldiers, and mixed them

* For Antigenes, captain of the silver targeteers. † The Lesser Asia.
‡ Cilicia for Lycia. § For Lydia.

amongst his own, and by this means gained all their affections. After this Antigonus, by a correspondence with one Apollonides, general of the horse on Eumenes's side, by large promises so effected the business, that he prevailed with him to betray Eumenes, and come over to him in the heat of the fight. Eumenes was then encamped in Cappadocia, in places* very convenient for an engagement with horse. Antigonus therefore made thither with his whole army, and possessed himself of the higher ground under the foot of the mountains. He had at that time above ten thousand foot, (of whom most were Macedonians, brave and valiant men), and two thousand horse, and thirty elephants. Eumenes had no less than twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Presently a sharp and bloody battle was fought, in which Antigonus (through the sudden and unexpected desertion of Apollonides with his horse, and going over to the other side) got the day, killing eight thousand men of the enemy upon the place, and possessing himself of all their bag and baggage; so that the Eumeneans (through the slaughter that was made) were in a consternation, and, by the loss of all their carriages, were brought to an utter desperation. Hereupon Eumenes designed to fly into Armenia, to persuade some of the inhabitants to join with him in arms; but, being prevented by a swift pursuit, and perceiving his men to run away from him to Antigonus, he possessed himself of a strong fort called Nora. It was indeed very small, not above two furlongs in compass, but in strength impregnable: for the houses were built upon a very high rock, and it was wonderfully fortified both by nature and art. Besides, there was there laid up great store of corn, fuel, and other things of that kind; so that all who fled for shelter thither might be abundantly supplied with all things necessary for many years together. Those that were his fast friends accompanied him in his flight, and resolved at the last and utmost extremity to die with him. They were in number, both horse and foot, about six hundred.

Antigonus being now strengthened with the forces of Eumenes, and the revenues of his provinces, and having got together a great mass of treasure, began to aspire to matters of higher concern: for none of the Asiatic commanders were as yet so potent as to dare to contend with him for the sovereign command. For the present, indeed, he bore a fair outside towards Antipater, but secretly had resolved, that when he had firmly settled his affairs, he would neither regard him nor the kings. And in the first place he blocked up them in the fort with a double wall, and with deep trenches and works of earth of a wonderful height. Then he entered into parley with

* In the country of Orcynia, in Cappadocia.—Ush. Ann. 300.

Eumenes, willing to renew their antient friendship, and endeavoured to persuade him to join with him as an associate in all his affairs. But Eumenes, foreseeing a change of fortune at hand, insisted upon terms, and that degree of favour which seemed very unequal and unfit to be granted to one in his present circumstances: for he required, as of right, to be restored to all his provinces, and to be fully acquitted and discharged of all pretended offences whatsoever. Antigonus promised to acquaint Antipater with his demands, and, leaving sufficient strength for continuing the siege, he marched against the generals, (who were moving towards him with all their forces), viz. Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas, and Attalus, the admiral of the fleet. Some time after, Eumenes sent ambassadors to Antipater, to treat upon terms of peace, (amongst whom was Hieronymus, a colonel, who wrote the history of the successors). In the mean time he himself, having experienced many changes and turns of fortune, was not at all discouraged, knowing very well what quick and sudden alterations had happened on both sides. For he saw that the Macedonian kings were only vain and insignificant shadows of princes, and the many valiant commanders who were with them so managed their commands one after another as to seek only the advancement of their own private interests. Therefore he hoped (as it afterwards happened) that many would desire his assistance, both upon account of his skill in martial affairs, and of his constancy and faithfulness.

But when he saw that the horse could not be exercised in a place so strait and craggy, and so were unserviceable for horse engagements, he ingeniously found out a new and unusual way for the exercise of them: for he tied up their heads by chains to a post or strong stake, and drew them up so high as that they should stand upon their hinder feet, and but just touch the ground with the ends of their fore feet. Whereupon the horse presently, striving to get his fore feet to the ground, did so curvet and caper, that legs, thighs, and every member was in action, and by this motion the horse was all of a foam; and thus they were all exercised to the highest degree. He himself fed of the meanest food with the rest of the soldiers, and, by thus eating with them in common, not only gained to himself the love of all his fellow-soldiers, but caused them to be at perfect peace and concord one with another. In the mean time, Ptolemy in Egypt (Perdiccas with all the king's army being broken in pieces) enjoyed that country as a conqueror: and, casting his eye upon Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, (as lying very commodiously to Egypt), he used his utmost endeavour to possess himself of the cities of those countries. To that end he created Nicanor, one of his

friends, general, and sent him into those parts with a considerable army, who, coming into Syria, took Laomedon, the governor of that province, prisoner, and brought all Syria under his own power. He gained likewise all the cities of Phœnicia, and put garrisons into them, and, having in a short time finished a troublesome expedition, returned into Egypt.

CHAP. IV.

Antigonus routs Alcetas in Pisidia, and takes Attalus. Alcetas received into Termessus, and there protected. He is murdered there treacherously: his body inhumanly used by Antigonus. Antipater's death. Antipater puts Demeas, one of the Athenian ambassadors, to death. Polyperchon made chief in Macedonia. Cassander conspires to put him out. Antigonus's plots to be sovereign of all. Aridæus secures himself in Phrygia: besieges Cyzicum. Antigonus goes to relieve it. Eumenes got out of Nora by Antigonus's order. Antigonus's further acts. The various fortunes of Eumenes. A council in Macedonia called by Polyperchon against Cassander. The decree of the council. Polyperchon invites Olympias out of Epirus into Macedonia. Writes to Eumenes to join with the kings.

AFTERWARDS, when Apollodorus executed the office of lord-chancellor at Athens, and Quintus Publius and Quintus Poplius* were consuls at Rome, Antigonus, after the defeat of Eumenes, determined to march against Alcetas and Attalus: for those only remained of all Perdiccas's friends and kindred who were skilful commanders, and had forces sufficient to cope with him for the sovereign power. To this end he marched away with his whole army out of Cappadocia, and made for Pisidia, where Alcetas then lay, and came with a swift march suddenly and unexpectedly to Critopolis, (as it was called), having marched two thousand five hundred furlongs in seven days and seven nights, and by that means was upon them before they were aware; and there he first possessed himself of certain hills and other difficult passes in the country. When Alcetas's party had intelligence of the enemy's approach, they presently drew up a phalanx†

* Lucius Papirius. † Of horse.

in order of battle, and by a fierce charge endeavoured to drive the horse down the hills, who had now gained the tops of the mountains. Hereupon began a sharp engagement, in which many falling on both sides, Antigonus, with a body of six thousand* horse, bore down with all his might upon the enemy, endeavouring to cut off all ways and means of retreat to Alcetas: this done, those upon the tops of the mountains, by advantage of the steepness and difficulty of the places, easily put the phalanx to flight. Hereupon Alcetas's men, being surrounded with the multitude of their enemies, and all passes blocked up between them and their foot, they looked upon themselves all as dead men. Therefore, seeing no other remedy or means left to escape, Alcetas (with the loss of multitudes of his men) at length with much ado broke through his enemies, and got to the foot. Hereupon Antigonus marching down from the hills with his whole army, and his elephants, the enemy (who were far inferior in number) were mightily terrified: for all the confederates were not above sixteen thousand foot, and nine hundred horse; whereas the forces of Antigonus (besides elephants) were above forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse. Those therefore with Alcetas (considering that they should meet with elephants in the front, and be surrounded with multitudes of horse, and forced to engage with foot far exceeding them, both in number of men, and in the skilfulness of their arms, and besides had the advantage of the higher ground) fell into confusion and amazement; nay, the enemy hastened, and came upon them so fast, that they were not able to draw up their men in due order of battle; so that the whole army was presently broken in pieces, and Attalus Docimus and Polemo, and many other commanders, were taken prisoners. But Alcetas, with his life-guard, his children, and those Pisidians that sided with him, got into Termessus, a city of Pisidia. Then Antigonus came to an agreement with the captains, his prisoners, and the rest he disposed of among his own troops, using them with all humanity, and by this means greatly increased his army. But about six thousand Pisidians (valiant men) resolved to stick to Alcetas, and promised that they would never desert him upon any terms whatsoever: for they loved him entirely, for the reasons following:

When Alcetas, after the death of Perdiccas, had no confederates in Asia, he determined by some acts of kindness or other to engage the Pisidians; because he knew he should thereby gain a warlike people, who had a country very difficult to enter, and full of strong forts, to be his confederates. Therefore in every expedition he always bestowed special marks of honour upon them above all the rest of his

* The Greek is so, but the Latin is six hundred.

confederates: for he so divided the spoil of his enemies, that the half was ever allotted to them. Moreover, by his familiarity and freedom in converse, daily invitations of the most eminent persons amongst them to his table, and by his bounty and liberality in bestowing upon them many large gifts and rewards, he engrossed to himself the love of all: so that now (having anchored all his hopes, and placed his chiefest confidence in them) he was not frustrated in his expectation: for, when Antigonus encamped with his whole army before Termessus, and demanded Alcetas to be delivered up to him, (and the elders of the city had determined to give him up), all the young men got together, and resolved to run all hazards, and the utmost extremity, for his preservation. The elders indeed at first endeavoured to dissuade the young men, and draw them off from their former resolve, wishing them not to involve their country in war for the sake of one Macedonian. But when they saw that they could not allay the heat of the young men, they secretly consulted together, and in the night sent away a messenger to Antigonus, and by him faithfully promised—That they would deliver Alcetas up to him, either dead or alive. To this end, they desired him—That, by assaulting the city for some days, he would decoy the young men to sally out, and, while he was skirmishing with them, to feign a flight; by this means, when the young men were out of the city, and busy in pursuit, they should have an opportunity to accomplish their design. Antigonus assented hereunto, and drew off from the city at a further distance, and so urged on the young men to skirmishes and light pickeerings. The elders now, discerning Alcetas left alone, employed the faithfullest of their servants, and the most active men of the city, (that were not engaged with him), and with them (in the absence of the young men) set upon him; but could not take him, for he killed himself with his own hand, lest he should fall alive into the power of the enemy: but they laid his body upon a bier, casting over it a coarse cloth, and carried it out of the gates, and, unknown to them that were skirmishing, delivered it to Antigonus. By this device they freed their country, and prevented a war; but they could not avoid the fury of the young men. For when they returned, and understood what was done, (through that ardent love and affection they bore Alcetas), they were so enraged at their governors, that they first possessed themselves of a part of the city, and resolved to set the houses on fire, and then to issue out with their arms, and betake themselves to the mountains, and waste and destroy all the country round belonging to Antigonus. But afterwards they altered their purpose as to the burning of the city, and began, by robbing and spoiling, miserably to lay waste a great part of the enemy's country.

In the mean time, Antigonus having received the body of Alcetas, used it with all the disgrace and contumely imaginable for the space of three days together; and it then beginning to putrify, contemptuously cast it out without any burial, and so marched out of Pisidia.

But the young men of Termessus, bearing still a love and respect to the abused body of the dead, took it up, and decently buried it. He was of so kind and obliging a nature, that there was something singular in him of love and respect to all those who deserved well, and therefore he was ever towards such unchangeable in his love and affection.

Antigonus having left Pisidia, made towards Phrygia with his whole army. When he came to the city of the Creteans, Aristodemus the Milesian brought with him the news of Antipater's death, and that the chief command, together with the protectorship of the kings, was devolved upon Polyperchon the Macedonian. He was pleased with the news, and now his hopes were exalted, for he made it his business to rule and govern all the affairs of Asia, and to gain the absolute and sovereign command there without stooping to any. And thus stood the affairs of Antigonus at this time.

In Macedonia, while Antipater was seized with a grievous sickness, (and old age making way for his dissolution), the Athenians sent Demades (who was looked upon as one that had managed things with the Macedonians with a great deal of honesty and integrity) ambassador to Antipater, to desire him to draw out the garrison from Munichia, as it was at first articled and agreed. Antipater at the first was very kind to Demades; but after the death of Perdiccas, when some letters of Demades, amongst others, were found amongst the king's papers, wherein he pressed Perdiccas to hasten with all speed into Europe against Antipater; though he suppressed his resentment for a time, yet in truth he bore him a grudge. Therefore when Demades had delivered his message, as he was commanded, and had somewhat sharply debated the matter concerning the garrison; Antipater, without giving any answer, committed his son Demeas (who was joint ambassador with his father) to the executioners*, who presently carried him away to the prison, and for the reasons beforementioned cut off his head.

Afterwards, Antipater, when he was near his end, appointed Polyperchon, the eldest almost of all Alexander's captains, and one in great honour and reputation with the Macedonians, to be protector of the kings, with chief and absolute authority. And his son Cassander he created Chiliarch†, next in power and authority to Polyperchon. This

* Our sheriffs.

† Commander of one thousand men; a colonel.

office was first made a place of honour and credit by the Persian kings, and afterwards by Alexander when he grew great, and began to imitate this and other customs of the Persians. But Cassander relished not his father's ordering of matters, and judged it very dishonourable to his family to have one that was nothing related, either in blood or affinity, to succeed in the sovereign command, when there was a son who in Macedonia gave apparent and pregnant evidences both of valour and parts, sufficient to govern the affairs of the state in the room of his father.

In the first place therefore, he took a journey into the country with some of his friends, where having both leisure and opportunity, he discoursed with them about the chief command, and dealt with every one of them privately apart by themselves, to contrive ways and means for him to gain the principality; and by large promises prevailed with them to join together in their assistance, for the accomplishment of what he desired. He likewise privately sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, to renew the league, and pray his assistance; and that he would to that purpose help him with shipping out of Phœnicia, and send them with all speed to the Hellespont. In like manner he sent ambassadors to the rest of the cities and captains, to solicit them to join with them in arms. But the better to conceal his design, and that he might not be suspected, he spent his time for many days together in hunting.

But Polyperchon having gained the guardianship of the kings, called together a general council of his friends, and by their advice sent for Olympias, wishing that she would take into her care Alexander's son*, who was then but a child, and reside for the future as queen-regent in Macedonia: for by reason of the quarrels and heart burnings between her and Antipater, she had withdrawn herself into Epirus.

When the death of Antipater was noised abroad in Asia, stirs and commotions began to change the face of affairs there, while they that were in power and authority made it their business, and sought every one how to advance his own particular interest. The chief of whom was Antigonus, who (upon the account of his having conquered Eumenes in Cappadocia, and was joined with his forces, and Alcetas and Attalus in Pisidia, and besides was appointed by Antipater viceroy of Asia, and had the command of a great army) bore himself very high, and swelled with pride in the imagination of his own greatness. And being now possessed already (in his own conceit) of the sovereignty, he resolved neither to regard the kings nor their guardians: for in regard he had a greater army, he was confident he could possess him-

* Alexander, one of the kings.

self of all the treasures laid up in Asia, seeing there was none able to oppose him. He had then in his army threescore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and thirty elephants. And besides these, he doubted not but to raise more, whenever he had occasion; for there was money enough in Asia for the enlisting of soldiers abroad in any place where he pleased.

Pondering these things in his head, he sent for Hieronymus the historian, Eumenes the Cardian's special friend and fellow-citizen, (he who fled to Nora), and having brought him to him by many rich gifts and presents, he sent him as an agent to Eumenes, with instructions to desire him to forget the battle in Cappadocia, and to be his friend and confederate in the war; and that he should have a far larger province, and much more wealth than ever he enjoyed before: and to let him know—That he should be chiefest of his friends, and share with him in the advantages and successes of all his designs.

Then without any further delay he called his friends together, and imparted to them the whole of his design; and to those who were of greatest account among them, to some he allotted provinces, to others commands in the army; and by raising the hopes and expectations of every one of them, he made them all very forward to assist him in carrying on his intrigues: for he determined to pass through all Asia, and to remove all the governors of the provinces, and bestow them upon his friends.

While he was in execution of these projects, Aridæus the governor of Phrygia at the Hellespont, understanding what he was contriving, resolved to secure his own province, and to that end put sufficient garrisons into the principal cities, and marched against Cyzicum, being the greatest and most important city of all others for his purpose. He had with him above ten thousand foot of mercenaries, a thousand Macedonians, five hundred Persian darters and slingers, and eight hundred horse, together with all sorts of engines for battery, both for shooting of darts and casting of stones, and all other things necessary for the carrying on of a siege. He came upon the city on a sudden, and having surprised most of the people when they were abroad in the open fields, he pressed on the siege, and endeavoured to force the inhabitants (who were in a very great fright) to receive a garrison. The Cyzicans, though they were thus surprised, and that many were shut out that were in the fields, and those that remained were altogether unable to defend the place, looking upon it as their duty to assert their liberty, cowardly sent forth ambassadors to treat concerning the raising of the siege; and to let Aridæus know—That the city was ready to submit to any thing he thought fit, except the receiving of a garrison: but in the mean time they

secretly armed all their young men and slaves that were fit for service, and so lined the walls round with men for the defence of the town. But Aridæus still pressing the matter for the receiving of a garrison, the ambassadors answered—That they would acquaint the citizens with his demands; which he consented unto, and so discharged them: and being thus freed, they spent all that day, and the night next following, in preparations for the holding out of the siege. Being thus deluded, he lost the opportunity of accomplishing what he designed: for the Cyzicans, in regard the city was very strong, and well guarded on the land side (for it was a peninsula) and being masters likewise at sea, they easily repulsed the enemy. Moreover, they sent to them of Byzantium for soldiers, and darts, and all other things that were necessary and useful against an assault. All which were speedily and readily sent to them; whereby their hopes were so revived, that they were the more encouraged to stand it out to the utmost. They presently likewise put forth their long ships to sea, and sailed along the coast, and took in those that were in the fields, and brought them back into the city. Having therefore thus increased the number of their soldiers (after the killing a great number of the besiegers) they forced the enemy to raise the siege; whereupon Aridæus (cheated by this stratagem of the Cyzicans) after a fruitless attempt, returned into his own province.

In the mean time, Antigonus lying at Celæna, was informed of the siege at Cyzicum, and therefore resolved to lay an obligation on that city (then in danger to be ruined) to favour him in his future designs. To that end he detached out of his whole army twenty thousand of his best foot, and three thousand horse, and with these marched away with all speed to the aid of the Cyzicans; but he came thither a little too late: and so, though he made a show of great kindness to the city, yet he was wholly frustrated in his design. But he sent ambassadors to Aridæus, to expostulate matters with him; first—Why he dared to besiege a Greek confederate city without any provocation: then, to charge him with open rebellion, and with a purpose to make himself absolute lord and sovereign of the province. Lastly, to command him to depart out of the province, and thence forward to live a private life, and content himself with only one city for his subsistence.

Aridæus hearing these demands of the ambassadors (and charging them with insolence) told them he would not leave the province; but that he would garrison all his cities, and was resolved to decide the matter with him by the sword.

In pursuance of what he had said, (having every where fortified his towns and cities), he sent away a general with part of his army,

commanding him to join with Eumenes, and to free the fort from the siege, and Eumenes from the straits and difficulties wherein he then was, and to persuade him to be his confederate in the war.

Antigonus, in the mean time, eager to be revenged on Aridæus, sent away some of his forces against him; and he himself marched with a numerous army towards Lydia, with a purpose to depose Clitus the lord-lieutenant of that province: who having before intelligence of his march, garrisoned all his principal cities, and he himself sailed over into Macedonia, to inform the kings and Polyperchon of the revolt and impudence of Antigonus, and to crave their aid and assistance.

Antigonus at his first approach had Ephesus delivered up to him, by the assistance of some in the city: afterwards, when Æschylus the Rhodian arrived at Ephesus with four ships, wherein were six hundred talents of silver sent out of Cilicia to the kings in Macedonia, he seized upon the money, alledging that he had occasion to use it for the raising and listing soldiers; by which act he sufficiently declared to the world, that he was altogether designing his own interest, and was an apparent enemy to the kings. After this, he besieged those cities that stood out, some of which he took by assault, and others he gained by fair words and promises.

Having now related the acts of Antigonus, we shall pass over to those things that happened to Eumenes. This man had the frequent experience of sudden turns and changes of fortune, being sometimes in low, and other times again (beyond all expectation) in very prosperous circumstances.

In former times, when he assisted Perdiccas and the kings, he gained the province of Cappadocia, and those places that, as members, belonged to it, where he lived in the height of prosperity, commanding both men and money at his pleasure: for he conquered Craterus and Neoptolemus, two famous captains, who then commanded the before unconquered troops of the Macedonians, and killed them both in the fight: so that now he seemed to be invincible, when on a sudden his fortune was so changed, that he was routed by Antigonus in a great battle, and forced to fly with a few friends to a very little fort for shelter. Being then shut up, and hemmed in with a double wall, he had no friend left that could help him in his distress; but after he had been cooped up a year together, now utterly despairing of deliverance, unexpectedly and on a sudden appeared an opportunity of freedom from all his troubles: for Antigonus, who a little before had straitly besieged him, and earnestly sought to take away his life, (the scene being changed), now solicits him to be a partner with him in his concerns; and so (upon a

mutual stipulation upon oath between them) he was freed from the pressures and hardships of the siege. And thus, after a long time, being unexpectedly delivered, he continued awhile in Cappadocia, where he again got together his old friends, and his former fellow-soldiers, that were dispersed and scattered up and down in the country; and he was so wonderfully beloved, that many of his associates and companions, in the same hopes and expectations, presently flocked to him, ready to join in arms, and be observant to all his commands. To conclude, within a very few days he had got together above two thousand soldiers, who cheerfully listed themselves, besides those five hundred friends who endured the siege with him in the fort: and, by the assistance of fortune, he was at length raised to that height, that he gained the king's forces, and defended the interest of the kings against all that dared to deprive them of their sovereign authority. But we shall give a more exact account of these matters shortly hereafter, in their proper time and place. And so, having now in short related the affairs of Asia, we shall pass to things done in Europe.

Cassander, though he was excluded from the chief command of Macedonia, yet was not at all discouraged, but resolved to gain it; for he looked upon it as a base and dishonourable thing that the sovereign authority, enjoyed by his father, should now be managed by others. But discerning that the Macedonians favoured Polyperchon, he privately discoursed with some of his friends, and then sent them (that nothing might be suspected) to the Hellespont: he himself in the mean time continuing for some days together in the country, and spending his time in hunting, made every one believe that he had no thoughts or designs of aspiring to the sovereign command. But when he had got all things ready for his journey, he secretly departed out of Macedonia, and proceeded to the Chersonesus, and thence forward to the Hellespont; where, passing over, he went to Antigonus in Asia, craving his assistance, and told him that Ptolemy would join with him. Antigonus readily embraced the offer, and made him large promises of assistance, and engaged forthwith to supply him with forces both for land and sea service. But all this was nothing but dissimulation, pretending that he joined with him upon account of the love and kindness he always bore towards Antipater; whereas in truth he designed to divert Polyperchon with fierce and bloody wars, to the end that he might with more ease subdue Asia in the mean time; and so, without any hazard, gain the sovereign command of all at last.

While these things were acting, Polyperchon, the protector of the kings, having a prospect of a great war he was likely to have with

Cassander, (and conceiving that it was not fit to undertake any thing without consulting first with his friends), assembled all his captains, and all those that were of chief authority among the Macedonians. And, forasmuch as it was apparent that Cassander was strengthened with the forces of Antigonus, to gain all the cities of Greece; and that some of them were garrisoned with his father's forces, and others were governed by an oligarchy, influenced chiefly by the friends and favourites of Antipater: and besides all this, that Ptolemy, who had the power in Egypt, and Antigonus, who had openly and apparently deserted the kings, were confederates with Cassander; and that both were richly stored with men and money, and had the command of many potent cities and provinces: for these reasons he appointed a consultation, to consider how the war should be managed against them. After the matter had been banded to and fro with variety of opinions, it was at length resolved that the cities of Greece should be restored to their liberties, and the oligarchy every where abolished: for by this means they conceived they should weaken the interest of Cassander, and much advance their own reputation, and gain strong and powerful confederates. Hereupon they that were present forthwith sent to the ambassadors of the cities, and, wishing them to be courageous, promised to restore them to their several democracies; and they delivered to the ambassadors the decree in writing, that every one of them (when they returned into their countries) might the better inform the people of the kindness of the kings and captains to the Grecians. The decree was in this form:

"SINCE it has ever been the practice of our ancestors to express their acts of grace in the many instances of their bounty towards the Grecians, ourselves are likewise desirous to preserve and keep on foot what they determined, and are willing to evidence to the world the kindness and good will we shall ever be careful to preserve towards the Greeks: and whereas it is well known that even in the life-time of Alexander, and before the kingdom devolved upon us, we were of opinion—That all ought to be restored to that peace and form of government which was ordered and appointed by our father Philip, and written to all the cities at that time concerning that affair: yet afterwards it happened that some unadvisedly, when we were far remote from Greece, made war upon the Macedonians; which unruly persons being suppressed and subdued, by the help and conduct of our captains, many cities were thereby involved in great troubles, and brought under the smart and sense of many inconveniences: impute, therefore, the cause of all those sufferings (as justly you may) to those commanders. But now, in reverence and due regard

to that antient constitution, we grant to you our peace, and the same kinds of government which you enjoyed under Philip and Alexander, and full power and authority to manage all other things, according to the several rules and orders by them prescribed. We likewise recal all them who have either voluntarily withdrawn themselves, or have been forced away by the command of our captains, from the time that Alexander first landed in Asia. It is likewise our pleasure—That all those thus recalled by us enjoy their estates without quarrelling or remembrance of former injuries, and that they be restored to the franchises and liberties of their several cities; and whatever decree is made against them, let it be abrogated, except such as are banished, by due course of law, for murder or sacrilege. But we do not hereby intend to recal the exiles of Megalopolis, nor Polyenerus, who are condemned for treason; nor the Amphisseneans, nor the Trieceans, nor the Pharcadonians, nor the Heracleots. But as for all others, let them return before the thirtieth day of the month Xanthicus*. But if there be any laws or orders made by Philip or Alexander against them, let them be brought to us, that such course may be taken therein as may be most for the service and advantage of us and of the cities. Let the Athenians enjoy all other things as they did in the time of Philip and Alexander; and the Oropians hold Oropus as now they do. Yet we restore Samos to the Athenians, because our father Philip before gave it to them. Let all the Grecians make a law—That none take up arms, or act any thing against us; otherwise, that such be banished, and forfeit all their goods. And we have ordered that Polyperchon shall manage these and all other matters: and let all be observant to him in what we have before written to you; for those that do contrary to what we have prescribed, we shall not in the least pardon."

THIS decree being transmitted to all the cities, Polyperchon wrote to Argos, and the rest of their cities, commanding them—That all that were in any command in the commonwealth under Antipater should be forthwith banished; and that some should be put to death, and their estates confiscated; that, being reduced to extremity, they might be in no capacity to assist Cassander. He sent letters likewise to Olympias, Alexander's mother, who was then in Epirus, for fear of Cassander, to entreat her to return with all speed into Macedonia, and take care and charge of Alexander's little son, till he was of age, and capable to take upon him the sole management of affairs. He wrote moreover to Eumenes, that he would stick to the interest of the kings, and not league by any means with Antigonus;

* April.

but make his choice, either to come over into Macedonia, in order to join with him in the protectorship of the kings, or abide in Asia, and be receive both men and money from them to make war upon Antigonus, who had now openly declared himself a rebel against the kings, who would be sure to restore him the province which Antigonus had forced from him, and likewise all other privileges and advantages which he ever at any time before enjoyed in Asia. And besides, he alledged, that it became Eumenes above all other men to protect the royal family, as consonant to all those demonstrations of his loyalty, in his late appearances on the behalf of the kings; and if he stood in need of forces, he himself, together with the kings, would come over into Asia with the whole army. These were the transactions of this year.

CHAP. V.

Polyperchon courts Eumenes to assist the kings. Eumenes's prudence amongst the Macedonian captains. Ptolemy sends to the captains and others not to assist Eumenes. Antigonus contrives to kill Eumenes; who marches into Phœnicia. Nicanor deceives the Athenians, and still keeps Munychia, and subtilely gets the Piræus. Ordered by Olympias to deliver the Piræus and Munychia to the Athenians; but he shifts it off. Alexander, son of Polyperchon, enters Attica; secretly corresponds with Nicanor, and displeases the Athenians. Phocion's hard usage at his trial in Athens; is condemned, and executed. Cassander arrives at the Piræus. Polyperchon comes against him, but returns. Besieges Megalopolis; but is there completely baffled, and his elephants destroyed by a stratagem. A sea-fight between Clitus and Nicanor. Nicanor beaten. Clitus afterwards routed by Nicanor, is killed in his flight to Macedonia. Antigonus goes after Eumenes. Eumenes near losing his army by the breach of a dyke in Babylonia. The Greek cities revolt to Cassander. The Athenians make peace with him. He kills Nicanor.

ARCHIPPUS being chief magistrate of Athens, and Quintus Ælius and Lucius Papirius Roman consuls, the letters from Polyperchon were delivered to Eumenes presently after his release out of the fort;

in which were contained, besides what was before declared—That the kings had, of their bounty, bestowed upon him five hundred talents, to repair the losses he had lately sustained, and had sent letters to the governors and treasurers of Cilicia to pay to him the said five hundred talents, and what other monies he should have occasion for, either for raising of soldiers, or any other necessary uses. And that they had ordered a thousand Macedonian Argyraspides, with their officers, to be observant to him, and readily and cheerfully to serve him upon all occasions, as he that was appointed general, with full and absolute power and authority, over all Asia. There came likewise letters to him from Olympias, by which she earnestly entreated him to be assistant both to her and the kings; for that he only remained the most faithful of all the friends they had, who was able to relieve the desolate state and condition of the king's family. She likewise desired him to advise her—Whether it was better for her to remain still in Epirus, (and not trust him who claimed the guardianship of the kings, but in truth sought the kingdom), or to return? Hereupon Eumenes forthwith wrote to her back again—That he conceived it most advisable for her at the present time to continue in Epirus, till the war was ended: that he himself was resolved to be ever faithful and constant in his love and duty towards the kings, and not in the least to adhere to Antigonus, who was aspiring to gain the kingdom: and because Alexander's son, by reason of the tenderness of his age, and the covetousness of the captains, stood in need of help, he looked upon it as his duty to expose himself to the utmost hazards for the preservation of the kings. Hereupon he forthwith commanded all his soldiers to decamp, and so marched out of Cappadocia, having with him about five hundred horse, and above two thousand foot: for he had no time to wait upon the slow march of those who had promised to join with him; because a great army of Antigonus (under the command of Menander*) was near at hand, and it was now no longer safe for him to stay in Cappadocia, being a declared enemy of Antigonus: but, though this army came three days too late, (and so lost their opportunity), yet they resolved to pursue the troops with Eumenes; but, not being able to reach him, they returned into Cappadocia: for Eumenes, making long marches, presently recovered Mount Taurus, and so got into Cilicia. Here Antigenes and Tautamus, the captains of the Argyraspides, with their friends, (in obedience to the letters of the kings), met Eumenes, after a long and tedious march, and joyfully congratulated him upon his unexpected deliverance out of his great troubles, promising to be ready on all occasions at his command. There met

* Leander.

n likewise about three thousand Argyraspides out of Macedonia, th great demonstrations of love and affection. This sudden and most incredible change was the subject of every body's admiration; ien they considered how the kings and Macedonians (a little be- e) had condemned Eumenes and all his followers to die, and w, having forgot that sentence denounced against him, not only ioned him, but promoted him to the highest place of command the whole kingdom. And it was not without just cause, that they considered the wonderful changes that attended Eumenes should thus affected—For who that does but observe the different acci- nts in the course of man's life, would not be amazed at the various ns and changes of fortune to and fro, first on one side, then on other? Or who, trusting in the present support of a prosperous tune, would upon that account be so far transported as to forget infirmity of human nature? For every man's life (as disposed d ordered by the providence of some one of the gods) has been equered (as it were) with the reciprocal turns of good and evil in ages of the world. So that it is a wonder, that not only what is ange and unaccountable, but that even every thing which happens, ould be surprising and unexpected. Therefore who can suffi- ently value history? For, by the variety and change of affairs there resented, a check is given to the pride of the fortunate, and allays grief and misery of the unprosperous. Which things Eumenes n wisely considering, and weighing beforehand the instability of tune, he managed his affairs with the more caution and prudence. r thinking within himself, that he was but a stranger*, and had no ht to kingly power and authority, and that the Macedonians (who re now under his command) not long before had judged him to , and that the commanders and captains were all inflamed with heat of ambitious designs, he conceived that in a short time he ould be despised and envied, and at length be brought into danger his life: for none are willing to submit to the commands of those at they look upon to be their inferiors, nor to be lorded over by em who ought rather to be under the commands of others them- lves. Seriously, therefore, pondering these things within himself, the first place he refused to accept of the five hundred talents or- red him by the kings' letters for the repair of his former losses, d refitting of himself with necessaries: for he said—He needed t so large a sum, seeing he pretended to no principality there; d that which he now enjoyed was not of his own choice, but he s forced by the kings to undertake the present service. To con- ude, he said—That by reason of the continual fatigues of war he

* Of Cardia, in the Chersonesus of Thrace.

was so worn out, that he was not able to endure those hardships, and retreats from place to place, any longer, especially because that a stranger had no right to command, and by law was excluded from the authority due to be executed by such as were of the same nation with the Macedonians: for he said—There was represented to him a wonderful apparition in his dream, which he judged very necessary to discover to them all, because it might (as he conceived) conduce much to the promoting of peace and concord, and the public good. He declared—That in his sleep Alexander, the late king, seemed to appear to him, (as he was when living), adorned in his royal robes, and sitting on his throne, giving out orders to his captains, and (as in his health) disposing and managing all the affairs and concerns of the kingdom. "Therefore," says he, "I am of opinion—That a throne of gold should be made at the charge of the king's treasury, in which should be placed the diadem, sceptre, and crown, and all the other ensigns of royalty; and that at spring of day all his captains should offer to him sacrifices, and, standing together near the throne, should receive commands in the king's name, as if he were alive at the helm of the government." All were very well pleased with what he said; and thereupon every thing was presently prepared for the purpose, for the king's treasury was very rich; and that stately work was forthwith finished, and the throne was set up, whereon were placed the diadem, sceptre, and the arms he used to wear. Then was placed an altar with fire upon it, upon which all the captains, one after another, cast frankincense, (taken out of a golden casket), and other costly sweet odours, and adored Alexander as a god. After this were ordered a great number of seats, upon which the captains and great commanders sat together, and there consulted and debated all the weighty and important affairs. Eumenes in the mean time carrying himself with an equal respect and deference in all public meetings towards all the captains, and suppling them with fair and courteous language, not only avoided the strokes of envy, but thereby gained all their hearts. By the same artifice (through the prevalency of superstition relating to the king) he so elevated the hopes and expectations of the whole army, as if some god were to be their general. In like manner he behaved himself towards the Argyraspides, and thereby so gained their favour, that they counted him highly worthy to be the protector of the kings.

Then he picked out the fittest persons from among his friends, and furnished them with great sums of money, and employed them to hire soldiers up and down upon large pay. Whereupon some of them forthwith went into Pisidia and Lycia, and the bordering countries, and diligently put in execution what they were commanded.

Others went into Cilicia, and some into Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and others sailed to the cities in Cyprus. This listing of soldiers being noised abroad, and reported what large pay was offered, many came flocking in from the cities of Greece, and enrolled their names for this service; so that in a short time they had raised above ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides the Argyraspides, and those who came along with him.

The forces of Eumenes being thus on a sudden increased to an incredible number, Ptolemy arrived with the fleet at Zaphyrium, in Cilicia, and sent away some commanders to solicit the Argyraspides not to side with Eumenes, whom all the Macedonians had condemned to die. He sent likewise to the governors of the garrison in Quinda*, desiring them not to help Eumenes with any money, and he would bear them out: but no man regarded what he said, because the kings, and their protector Polyperchon, and Olympias, the mother of Alexander, had written to them to be obedient in all things to Eumenes, as to the commander-in-chief, and general of the kingdom.

But of all others, Antigonus was most displeased and uneasy at the growth and advancement of Eumenes; for he looked upon him as the most powerful enemy he had set up against him by Polyperchon, because he had deserted the kings: therefore he resolved by some stratagem to cut him off; to which end he employed one of his friends, Philotas, and delivered to him letters to the Argyraspides, and the rest of the Macedonians, (that sided with Eumenes), and sent along with him thirty Macedonians (who were crafty and fair-spoken men) with orders to deal with Antigenes and Tautamus, the captains of the Argyraspides, privately and apart by themselves, to destroy Eumenes, promising them great rewards, and larger provinces; and that they should likewise apply themselves to their fellow-citizens and acquaintances amongst the Argyraspides, and by bribes draw them to cut off Eumenes: but they were not able to prevail with any except Tautamus, one of the captains of the Argyraspides, who being corrupted by bribes, promised not only for himself, but undertook to draw over his colleague Antigenes to this foul design: but Antigenes being a prudent and faithful man, not only refused, but prevailed with him that was before corrupted to alter his purpose: for he told him—That it was more expedient that Eumenes should live than Antigonus: for he being already grown great, when he became more powerful, would thrust them all out of their governments, and give them to which of his friends he pleased: but

* Where the kings' exchequer for Asia was kept.—Strabo, l. 14, 72.

as for Eumenes, being but a stranger, he durst not attempt to gain the sovereign authority, but would be content with his present command, and to gain their favour, would secure to them their provinces, and perhaps add more to them. And in this manner were all the projects against Eumenes frustrated and brought to nought. In the mean time Philotas delivering a letter of Antigonus to the commanders, written to all the captains and soldiers in general; the Argyraspides and other Macedonians got together by themselves unknown to Eumenes, and commanded it to be read openly to them: in which were accusations against Eumenes, and advice to the Macedonians forthwith to seize upon him and put him to death, and if they did not, that he would come presently and fall upon them with his whole army, and do exemplary justice on them for their disobedience. Upon the hearing the contents of these letters, the Macedonians and their captains were greatly terrified: for one of these two was unavoidable, either to fall under the revengeful displeasure of Antigonus by adhering to the kings, or be punished by Polyperchon and the kings for observing the commands of Antigonus. While all the soldiers were in these distracted thoughts, Eumenes comes in amongst them, and hearing the letters read, advised them to obey the orders of the kings, and not to give any regard to an open declared rebel; and, having spoken many things pertinent to the present occasion, he not only avoided the present imminent danger, but inclined all the soldiers to him in a firmer bond of duty and affection than ever they were before. And thus this man, who was again on a sudden even involved in insuperable dangers, yet was so wonderfully fortunate, as thereby to strengthen himself the more. Ordering, therefore, his army to march, he made for Phœnicia, and endeavoured to get shipping from all sea-towns along as he went, in order to make up a strong navy, that, by having a fleet in Phœnicia, he might be master of the sea, and have what forces he pleased, and be able to transport Polyperchon at any time with safety out of Macedonia into Asia against Antigonus. To this purpose therefore he continued in Phœnicia.

While these things were acting, Nicanor (who held Munychia) hearing that Cassander had left Macedonia, and was gone to Antigonus, and that Polyperchon was suddenly expected with an army in Attica, earnestly solicited the Athenians to stand firm in their affections to Cassander. But when none would consent to what was desired, but all were rather for the garrison to march away with all speed, at first he over-persuaded the people with fair words to forbear a few days, and that he would afterwards do what should be most for the good of the city. But after the Athenians had been

quiet for some days, secretly in the night he brought soldiers by little and little into Munychia, so that now he had got in strength sufficient to defend the place, and to oppose those who designed a siege.

Hereupon the Athenians, perceiving that Nicanor meant nothing in what he did for the advantage and safety of the city, sent a messenger to the king and Polyperchon, desiring their assistance, according to the purport of their letters, whereby they restored the Grecians to their liberties. Then they had frequent assemblies and consultations among themselves how to manage the war against Nicanor: and, while they were busying their heads about these affairs, he drew out many of his mercenaries secretly in the night, possessed himself of the walls of the Piræus and the mouth of the harbour. The Athenians hereupon were vexed to the heart, to see how they were gulled and cheated as to Munychia, and had carelesly lost the Piræus. They sent, therefore, some of the greatest persons of quality, and such as were Nicanor's special friends, that is to say, Phocion the son of Phocus, Conon the son of Timotheus, and Clearchus the son of Nausicles, as agents to Nicanor, to debate the late transactions they had with him, and requiring him to permit them to enjoy their laws and liberties, according to the late edict in that behalf. To whom he answered—That they must go to Cassander, for he was commissioned by him to be governor of the garrison, and had no power to treat of himself.

About this time came a letter from Olympias to Nicanor, commanding him to deliver Munychia and the Piræus to the Athenians. He, understanding that the kings and Polyperchon had recalled Olympias into Macedonia, and committed the young son of Alexander to her care and tuition, and had restored her to her former royal state and dignity, (the same that she enjoyed when Alexander was living), merely out of fear, promised to deliver them, but always contrived some colourable excuse or other, and so protracted the business. The Athenians in former times had ever a great esteem for Olympias, and now purposing (in the reality of their affections) to celebrate those public honours which were decreed to her, (and hoping that the liberties of the city would be by her perfectly restored to them, and put out of the reach of all future danger) were very jocund and exceedingly pleased.

In the mean time, the promises of Nicanor not being performed, Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, came with an army into Attica. The Athenians indeed thought that he came to restore to them Munychia and the Piræus; but the event proved the contrary; for he seized upon both for the service of the war. For some who had been Antipater's friends, (and among them Phocion), fearing some pu-

nishment from the laws, met Alexander, and, advising him what to do, persuaded him to retain the forts in his own hands, and not restore them to the Athenians till the war was ended with Cassander. Hereupon Alexander encamped at the Piræus, and would not permit the Athenians to treat with Nicanor; but, by his separate treaties with him, and secret and private transactions of affairs between them, he gave manifest indications of the injury designed the Athenians. The people therefore met together in a common assembly, and deposed the present magistrates, and set up such as most favoured the democracy, and condemned those that favoured the oligarchy, some to death, and others to banishment and confiscation of goods, amongst whom Phocion was one, who had the chief command in the time of Antipater.

These being all forced out of the city, fled to Alexander the son of Polyperchon, and endeavoured to engage his help for their preservation. Alexander kindly received them, and wrote on their behalf to his father, to protect Phocion and his friends, as those that favoured his interest, and engaged readily to afford their assistance in all his concerns: the Athenians likewise sent an embassy to Polyperchon, to accuse Phocion, and to solicit for the restitution of Munychia, and the restoring them to their antient laws and liberties. Polyperchon indeed had a very great desire to retain the Piræus, because that port might be of weighty concern and importance in the carrying on of the war, but was ashamed to act contrary to the edict divulged by himself; and, fearing lest the Grecians should desert him if he dealt so basely with that city, which was the metropolis, he changed his mind. Having therefore heard the ambassadors, he courteously dismissed those from the Athenians with a gracious answer, but seized upon Phocion and all his followers, and sent them bound to Athens, granting power to the people either to pardon them, or put them to death: whereupon, a general assembly being called in Athens, judgment of death was resolved upon Phocion and the rest that were accused: this was carried on by those who had been banished under Antipater, and others that favoured not that government; both these strongly urged to have them put to death.

The sum of the accusation was this—That after the Lamian war, they endeavoured for the most part to enslave their country, and to abolish the democracy, and the antient laws. Time being allotted to the accused to plead their cause, Phocion began to speak for himself; but the people tumultuously cried out against all that he said, and rejected his defence, so that the accused knew not what course to take. When the tumult ceased, Phocion began again to speak, whereupon the whole multitude set up a shout, on purpose that what

he said should not be heard: for the commonalty (having been recently excluded from any share in the administration of the government, and now lately restored to their right beyond all expectation) bore an inveterate hatred against those who deprived the citizens of their laws and liberties.

While Phocion was thus overborne, and even in a desparate condition, struggling to preserve his life, those that were next to him understood the justice and equity of his cause, but those at a distance could hear nothing for the noise and clamour that was made by the tumultuous rabble, but only discerned the various trembling motions of his body, occasioned by the inevitable danger that seemed to threaten him. At length Phocion, in despair of his own life, cried out aloud, desiring them to condemn him to die, but to spare the rest.

But the common people being fierce and inexorable, some of Phocion's friends stood up to make his defence. Hereupon the people were quiet for awhile, and heard what they said at first; but when they proceeded to urge arguments in support of his innocence, they were rejected with tumultuous and contradicting clamours: at length being all condemned by the unanimous voice of the people, they were carried away to the gaol, there to be executed, and were followed by many honest and sober men, who bewailed their condition, and the greatness of their misery: for upon serious consideration of the inconstancy of every man's fortune, it terrified many to see that magistrates and persons of eminent quality, and men that had shewed many acts of kindness in the course of their lives, should neither have liberty to plead for themselves, nor otherwise enjoy the benefit of law. But many of the rabble being incensed against Phocion unmercifully, even rent his heart in pieces with scoffs and scorns, and bitterly upbraided him with the misery of his present condition. For hatred smothered towards men while in prosperity, when it breaks forth with anger against them in time of their adversity, becomes altogether savage and implacable. Being therefore all put to death (according to the custom of the country) by drinking a potion of hemlock, all their bodies were cast forth unburied, out of the bounds and limits of Attica: and this was the end of Phocion, and others who suffered the same calamity with him.

After this, Cassander having got five-and-thirty long ships and four thousand men, sailed into the Piræus, and being received by Nicanor, governor of the fort, possessed himself of the Piræus and the harbour: but Nicanor kept Munychia himself, with a force sufficient to defend the place. At this time Polyperchon and the kings lay in Phocis; where, being informed of Cassander's having landed

at the Piræus, Polyperchon marched into Attica, and encamped near the Piræus: he had with him twenty thousand Macedonian foot, and four thousand confederates, a thousand horse, and sixty-five elephants; he resolved therefore to besiege Cassander: but because provisions were scarce, and the siege was likely to be long and tedious, he was forced to leave so many of the soldiers in Attica as the country was able to sustain, under the command of Alexander, and he himself marched into Peloponnesus with the greater part of the army, to reduce the Megalopolitans to the obedience of the kings; for they, being for an oligarchy, sided with Cassander. While Polyperchon was busied in these affairs, Cassander sailed with his fleet to the Ægeans, and brought them in to join with him; but the Salaminians (who were disaffected) he closely besieged, and being well furnished both with men and arms, he assaulted them several days together, and reduced them to very great extremities: but when the city was near being taken by storm, Polyperchon sent a considerable force, both by sea and land, to attack the besiegers; at whose approach Cassander being affrighted, he raised the siege, and sailed back to the Piræus. Then Polyperchon passed over to Peloponnesus, to settle matters there for the service and advantage of the kings. Coming there he called a senate, and spoke to them concerning their joining with him as confederates in the war; he sent likewise commissioners to the cities with orders to put to death them that were created magistrates in the oligarchy by Antipater, and to restore the people to their antient laws.

Many obeyed the order, so that while slaughters and banishments filled the cities, they that favoured Antipater's party were ruined and destroyed; and the democratical governments being restored to their antient laws, all joined with Polyperchon. The Megalopolitans only kept firm to Cassander, therefore he determined to besiege their city. The Megalopolitans hearing what was designed by Polyperchon, ordered by a public decree that every thing should be brought into the city that was then in the fields: then taking an account of their strength, they found that in antient citizens, strangers, and servants, they were in number fifteen thousand who were able to bear arms; they forthwith therefore formed some into regiments, others they appointed to work in the fortifications, and to some were allotted the care and charge of guarding the walls; so that at one and the same time some were employed in drawing a deep trench round the city, some carrying earth out of the fields, and others repairing and making up the breaches in the walls; others hammering of arms, and others were busy in making darts and artillery; so that the dangers which threatened, and the forwardness of the inhabitants, put the whole

city into action: for the greatness of the king's army, and the wonderful strength of the elephants that attended them, was noised abroad in every place. And now all things were ready and prepared, when Polyperchon approached with his army, and encamped near the city, dividing his forces into two camps, one of Macedonians and another of confederates; and then brings wooden towers to the walls, of that height as to overtop them; on which towers men were placed with all sorts of weapons, and with these he drove them off who were placed on the ramparts.

In the mean time the walls being undermined, and the props and supporters set on fire, three of the largest towers were destroyed, with the ruin of the like number of turrets placed between them. This great and sudden destruction caused the Macedonians to set up a shout, and the strangeness of the thing amazed the besieged: and now the Macedonians rush through the breach into the city, and the Megalopolitans, before in parties, now all together (having the advantage of the difficulty of the place, occasioned by the rubbish) made up to one part, and bravely bore the brunt of the enemy's attack, and beat them off: then they cast up another work of earth to guard the breach; and working night and day without intermission, raised another wall between them and the enemy, which was presently completed; for being furnished with every thing that was necessary, and having many hands at work, the Megalopolitans soon repaired the damage sustained. As for those that assailed them from their wooden towers, they annoyed them with their engines of artillery, and with darts and stones out of bows and slings, galled and wounded many of their enemies. After many were killed and wounded on both sides, till night approaching, Polyperchon sounded a retreat, and drew off his men into the camp.

The next day he removed the rubbish before the breach, to make way for the elephants, for he thought by the strength of these creatures to break through into the city: but the Megalopolitans, by the help and conduct of Damides, (who in the wars under Alexander had learnt by experience the nature and use of the elephants), altogether baffled the enemy: for he, making use of his own reason and industry against the strength and violence of the beasts, made their strong bodies useless. For in a great number of planks he drove sharp spikes, and then strewed them here and there in deep trenches covered with earth, so as that the points of the spikes might not be seen, and thus over these he left the passage into the city: but he suffered none of the soldiers to stand in front, but placed a great number of darters and archers, and engines of artillery in the flank.

Polyperchon therefore having cleared the place, and now approach-

ing with the throng of his elephants, an unexpected misfortune befel them: for none appearing in front to oppose them, the Indians pressed them forward to make their way into the city, who, by the great weight of their bodies pressed down upon the spikes, so that their feet being wounded, and even pierced through, they were so foundered that they were neither able to go forward nor return back: and besides, showers of all sorts of darts and arrows being poured upon them by the flankers, some of the Indians were killed, and others so wounded that they were disabled from further service.

In the mean time the elephants (through the multitude of darts, and the strange and unusual wounds by the spikes) were so cruelly tormented that they forced back upon their own men, and trod many under foot. At length the strongest and most formidable amongst them fell down, others became altogether unserviceable, and some killed many of their own men.

Upon this success the Megalopolitans were much encouraged; but Polyperchon wished he had never undertaken the siege; and as he could stay no longer there, he left part of his army to carry it on, and betook himself to more urgent affairs. Then he sent off Clitus the admiral, with the fleet, commanding him to lie upon the coasts of the Hellespont, to stop the passage of the forces out of Asia into Europe, and to join with Aridæus, who had fled to the city of the Ganians, being an enemy to Antigonus. After he had passed over the Hellespont, and taken in the cities of the Propontis, he strengthened his army with the forces of Aridæus. Nicanor, the governor of Munychia, on the other side, being sent off with the whole fleet by Cassander, sailed to those parts where Clitus lay: he joined likewise with the navy of Antigonus, so that he had a fleet of above a hundred sail.

Hereupon there was a fight at sea near Byzantium*, in which Clitus was conqueror, and sunk seventeen of the enemy's ships, and took no less than forty, together with all their men. The rest got into the haven of Chalcedon. Clitus being thus successful, imagined, that on account of this great loss, the enemy durst not again engage at sea.

But Antigonus having intelligence of this defeat of the fleet, by his industry and admirable conduct, quickly repaired it: for having sent for several transport ships in the night, from the Byzantines, in which he put darters, slingers, and other light-armed men, sufficient for the present design, and in the night transported them to the other side; who, attacking the enemy at land before day, (who had left their ships, and were there encamped), put Clitus and his men into great

* Now Constantinople.

r and confusion, who in that sudden fear and amazement leaped their vessels, so that through the incumbrance of their luggage, the multitude of their prisoners, there was a great tumult and rder.

n the mean time Antigonus had fitted out some long ships, and ned them with many of his stoutest foot soldiers, and bid them lly attack the enemy, for they were sure to be conquerors. Here- n they came up with Nicanor in the night, and about break of fell suddenly upon the enemy, still in confusion, and at the very : charge put them to flight; some of the enemy's ships they broke pieces with the beaks of their own, and brushed off the oars of ers; some they gained without fighting, being delivered up by men on board. At length all the rest (except the admiral's) fell into their hands. Clitus forsook his ship, and got ashore, igning to have preserved himself by getting into Macedonia; in his way falling amongst some of Lysimachus's soldiers, he slain.

Antigonus's reputation for skill and prudence in the management martial affairs, was much advanced by this remarkable victory. reupon he was very earnest and intent to be master at sea, and thout the least doubt of the matter) to gain the sovereignty of a. To this end he chose out of his whole army, twenty thousand t, and four thousand horse, of the most active men, and marched ards Cilicia, to destroy Eumenes before he grew too strong. But menes knowing the hot temper of Antigonus, marched into Phœ- ia, to regain it for the kings, then unjustly detained from them by lemy: but not having an opportunity to do what he designed, he Phœnicia, and marched with his army through Cœlosyria, to into the higher provinces. Afterwards he lost some of his men the river Tigris, by an attack upon him in the night, by some of inhabitants. In the like manner he was fallen upon in the pro- ce of Babylon, by Seleucus, near the river Euphrates, and was in at danger to have lost all his army; where by the breach of a dike whole camp was very near being overflowed and drowned. But ting his wits at work he fled to a high bank of earth, and diverting water another way, preserved both himself and his army.

And so beyond his expectation he escaped Seleucus, and got into rsia with fifteen thousand foot, and thirteen hundred* horse. Ha- ng refreshed his soldiers after all their toils and labours, he sent to governors and captains of the higher provinces to furnish him th more men and money. And in this state were the affairs of Asia is year.

* Three thousand in the margin.

But as for Europe, after the losses and misfortunes of Polyperchon at Megalopolis, many of the Greek cities revolted from the kings to Cassander. And because the Athenians could not get rid of the garrison either by the help of Polyperchon or Olympias, one of the most eminent citizens made bold to say, in the public assembly—That it was for the interest of the city to close with Cassander. At first there was a great hurly-burly, some being for and others against what was said: but the advantages being more calmly debated and considered, by common consent it was at length agreed—That peace should be made with Cassander, upon such conditions as could be obtained by their ambassadors. In pursuance whereof (after some meetings) these were the terms agreed upon—That the Athenians should quietly enjoy the city, the territory, and all the profits, together with the shipping and all other things, and should for the future be friends and confederates with Cassander; but that Cassander should for the present hold Munychia till the war was ended with the kings: and that the commonwealth should pay a tribute of ten minas; and that an Athenian should be constituted protector and guardian of the city, whoever Cassander pleased. Whereupon Demetrius the Phalerian was chosen; who being invested with the office, kept the city in perfect peace, and behaved very obligingly towards all the citizens.

After this Nicanor brought his fleet into the Piræus, adorned with the beaks of ships gained in the late victory; on account of which success he was at first highly honoured by Cassander, but afterwards perceiving that he grew proud and haughty, and still detained the fort of Munychia with his own soldiers, he suspected he intended to revolt, and therefore laid a trap for him, and cut him off. Then he marched into Macedonia, where many of the inhabitants revolted to him: many likewise of the Greek cities were inclined to join with Cassander*. For Polyperchon appeared to be slothful and careless in managing the affairs both of the kingdom and the allies. Cassander, on the other hand, behaved with great candour towards all, and approved himself industrious in the management of public affairs, so that he gained many who countenanced him in his seeking to obtain the supreme authority.

But as Agathocles became tyrant of Syracuse the following year, we shall, as we designed at the beginning, put an end to this book, and begin the next with the advance of Agathocles to the throne, and go on with the affairs proper and pertinent to our history.

* Antipater in the Greek, but erroneous.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK XIX.

PREFACE.

IT is an old saying, (brought down to us by tradition)—That none overturn democracies, but men that overtop others in power and interest. For which reason some cities are always jealous of such of their fellow-citizens as grow great and powerful, and therefore do what they can to depress them: for when men are in power, the next step is to domineer over their country; and with those that (through the greatness of their interest above others) have grounds to expect the sovereign authority, it is very difficult to be free from a desire of monarchy: for it is very natural for those that are ambitious, when they have much, to thirst after more, and never set bounds to their insatiable ambition.

The Athenians therefore, upon this very account, made a law, which they called Ostracism, for the banishing such as grew great amongst them; not so much to punish them for any fault they had committed, but to prevent the mischief and prejudice to their country, which, by their power and interest, they were in a capacity to bring upon it: for they remembered (as it were an oracle) what Solon had formerly said, who, foretelling the tyranny of Pisistratus, composed this elegiac—

A city by great persons is o'erthrown,
And fools beneath a monarchy do groan.

Of all other places, Sicily was most infected with this desire of monarchy, before the Romans reduced it into the form of a province: for the cities, deceived by the flattery of the orators, advanced inconsiderable men to that height, that they became absolute lords over the deluded multitude.

But the advancement of Agathocles to be prince of Syracuse is, above all others, the most singular and remarkable: for he began at first in very mean and unlikely circumstances, but at last he involved not only Syracuse, but all Sicily, and Libya itself, in blood and slaughter. He was so mean and low in the world, in his origin, that he followed the trade of a potter; from whence he rose to that height of power and cruelty, that he lorded over the greatest and richest island in the world, and for some time gained the greatest part of Africa, and some parts of Italy, and filled the cities of Sicily with butcheries and oppressions. None of the tyrants that ever were before him committed the like villanies, or exercised such barbarous cruelties upon their subjects: for, as for his own kindred, he put them all to death, root and branch; and he so plagued the cities, that he sometimes butchered all that were at men and women's estate, and would cut the throats of multitudes of poor innocents for the faults of a few, without any difference or distinction, and then presently would murder whole cities, men, women, and children.

But because this book, with others that follow, comprehend the tyranny of Agathocles, omitting any further preface relating thereunto, we shall now connect things coherent with those that were before related, first allotting to every thing we treat of its due and proper time.

In the preceding eighteen books, we have endeavoured to set forth whatever was done in the known parts of the world, from the beginning of time, to the year next before the reign of Agathocles, to which time, from the taking of Troy, are computed eight hundred and sixty-six years.

In this book, beginning with the first of his reign, we shall end with the battle fought by Agathocles with the Carthaginians, containing an account of affairs for the space of seven years.

CHAP. I.

Agathocles's parentage and education: his rise: his stratagems: his bloody massacre at Syracuse. He gains the sovereign power. The affairs of Italy. Olympias returns into Macedonia by Polyperchon's means. The armies revolt to her: Her cruelties. She murders Eurydice, and Aridæus, her husband. Affairs in Asia. Eumenes and Seleucus. Eumenes joined by many of the captains. The number of their forces. He comes to Susa. Attalus and others imprisoned by Antigonus in a strong castle; seeking to escape, are afterwards besieged, and taken.

AT the time when Demogenes ruled as chief magistrate at Athens, and when Lucius Plotius and Manius Fulbius were Roman consuls, Agathocles became tyrant of Syracuse. That things as they were severally done may be more clearly and distinctly understood, we shall premise a few things concerning this prince.

Carsinus of Rhegium, being banished from his country, dwelt at Thermæ in Sicily, which city was then in the hands of the Carthaginians. This man married a woman of that place, who, when she was big with child, used often to be troubled with strange dreams: being therefore much perplexed in his mind concerning this embrio, he intrusted this affair with some devout Carthaginians, who were then going to Delphos, and desired them to inquire of the oracle concerning this child; who faithfully performing what they were enjoined, the oracle gave this answer—That that child would bring dreadful calamities upon the Carthaginians and all Sicily. The father, being terrified at this prediction, exposed the child in the open fields, and left it with some to watch and observe its end. After several days, it still continued alive, and the guard left with it growing remiss and careless, the mother in the mean time stole the child away in the night, but durst not bring it back to her own house, for fear of her husband; but she intrusted it with her brother Heraclides, and called it Agathocles, after the name of her own father.

Where being brought up, he grew very beautiful, and of strength of body above what was usual at his age. When he came to be seven years old, Carsinus was invited by Heraclides to sacrifice*, and

* To a feast at a sacrifice.

there seeing Agathocles playing with some other children about the same age, he greatly admired both his strength and beauty; and when his wife told him—That the child which he so exposed, if he had been brought up, would have proved as manly a child as that he then saw, he answered, that he was sorry for what he had done, and then fell a-weeping: whereupon the woman, perceiving that what she had done would be very pleasing to her husband, discovered to him the truth of the whole matter; whereat he was mightily pleased, and took away his son, and, out of fear of the Carthaginians, removed with all his family to Syracuse: but, being but a poor man, he taught his son, then a child, the potter's trade: at which time Timoleon the Corinthian, having routed the Carthaginians at the river Cremissus, made all free of the city that would come in to him, amongst whom Carsinus (with Agathocles) were enrolled as citizens; and Carsinus died a little time after.

The mother of Agathocles had in a certain place set up her son's statue in stone, upon which a swarm of bees fastened, and began to make their wax-combs upon the hips of the statue: which remarkable circumstance being related to those who apply themselves to studies of that kind, all unanimously agreed—That when he came to be a man, he would be famous; which happened accordingly: for Demas, a nobleman of Syracuse, falling in love with Agathocles, first supplied him liberally with every thing he had occasion for, so that he began in some measure to taste of plenty; afterwards Demas, being created general of the Agrigentines, advanced him to be a colonel, in the room of one that was then lately dead. He was indeed very remarkable and of great esteem before he was an officer, upon account of the strength of his body; for in the time of training and military exercise, he bore so great a weight of armour, and carried such mighty weapons, as no other man was able to bear. But now, since he was made a military tribune, his fame spread abroad much more than it did before; for he was eager to fight, daring in action, and bold, nay, impudent in his harangues to the people. Demas afterwards fell sick, and died; and, having left all his estate to his wife, Agathocles married her, and so was esteemed one of the richest of the citizens.

Afterwards, the Crotonians being besieged by the Brutii, the Syracusans sent a great army to their relief, under the command of Antander, the brother of Agathocles, and others; but the sovereign command and chief management of the affair was committed to Heraclides and Sosistratus, men who employed themselves all their lives long in assassinations, murders, and all kinds of wickedness

and debauchery; which the book* next preceding this hath particularly set forth. With those in this expedition (by a decree of the people) was joined Agathocles, who was then a colonel; and, though he had remarkably approved his valour against the barbarians, yet he was so envied by Sosistratus, that he altogether disregarded him, not allowing him the honour due to his demerits: at which he was so exasperated, that he accused Sosistratus and his followers to the people, as having designs to advance himself to the monarchy. But the Syracusans giving no regard to those accusations, Sosistratus, after his return from Crotona, became supreme and absolute lord of his country.

Agathocles being incensed against him, first (with those that sided with him) remained in Italy, and endeavoured to possess himself of Crotona; but, failing in his design, with some few along with him, he escaped to Tarentum, where he was entertained, and taken into pay; but, committing many rash and inconsiderate acts, he began to be suspected of some intended innovation, and thereupon his commission was taken from him; upon which he got together the exiles of Italy, and relieved them of Rhegium, who were then besieged by Heraclides and Sosistratus. Afterwards, when the monarchy was abrogated at Syracuse, and Sosistratus was expelled out of the city, he returned into his country. And in regard at that time many of the nobility who were for an oligarchy (to the number of six hundred of the greatest persons of quality) were, together with the magistrates, thrust out of the city, a war broke out between the exiles and those that were for a democracy, and the Carthaginians sided with Sosistratus and his exiles: hereupon there were daily skirmishes and drawing up of armies one against another, in which Agathocles, acting sometimes as a private soldier, and at others as a commander, gained the reputation both of valour and policy; for always upon every opportunity he invented some stratagem or other which proved advantageous to his party; amongst which there was one thing especially to be remembered.

The Syracusans had encamped near to Gela, and at that time in the night he broke into the city with a thousand armed men, who were presently met by Sosistratus, with a strong and well-ordered party, who forced them that had entered back, and killed three hundred of them: the rest, looking upon themselves all as lost, endeavoured to get out at a sally-port, and were, beyond all hope and expectation, freed from their present imminent danger by Agathocles:

* Nothing is said of them in the preceding book, therefore there must be some mistake or omission. Rhodomannus thinks there was either another book between these, or a want of what was to have been inserted in the preceding book.—See his notes.

for he fought with great valour and resolution at the head of his men, and received seven wounds; and, when he was even ready to faint, (through loss of blood) and the enemy bearing down upon him, he commanded the trumpeters to sound a charge at both parts of the walls; which being presently done, those who came to force out those that had entered, could not discern the truth of the thing, because of the darkness of the night; and therefore, believing that another party of the Syracusans had broken in at both places, they made a halt, and pursued no farther: and so, being divided into two parts, at the sound of the trumpets, they forthwith ran together to defend the walls. In the mean time Agathocles, with his soldiers, having thus made room for themselves, got safe to the trenches; and thus, having deluded the enemy, he not only wonderfully preserved his own men that first entered, but seven hundred more who came in to his assistance.

After this, Acestorides the Corinthian being created general at Syracuse, Agathocles was thought to aspire to the monarchy for his good service; but he avoided the danger that hung over his head upon that account: for Acestorides (not willing to cut him off, for fear of a tumult) commanded him to depart the city, and ordered some to kill him in the night as he was making away. But Agathocles, conceiving what the general was plotting against him, picked out one of the young men that was very like himself, both in stature and feature, and delivered to him his horse, arms, and garments, and by this means subtilely deceived those who were sent out to be his murderers; but he himself slinked away in bye paths, in a poor ragged coat; and his pursuers, by the arms and other signs, conjecturing that the other was Agathocles, (the darkness of the night not permitting a perfect discovery), perpetrated indeed the murder, but missed the person.

Afterwards, the Syracusans having re-admitted the exiles that were driven out of the city with Sosistratus, and having made peace with the Carthaginians, Agathocles himself, now an exile, raised an army of his own in the heart of the country, at which not only the citizens, but the Carthaginians were much affrighted, and therefore he was courted to return into his own country; and when he came, being conducted into the temple of Ceres by the citizens, he there swore that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy.

Putting on therefore a cloak of dissimulation, as if he would protect the democracy, and having deceived the people by divers tricks and devices, he was made general and conservator of the peace, till all matters should be appeased amongst the exiles that were returned to the city: for every company and fraternity were divided into many

factions, and very great heart-burnings there were between private and particular persons: but the senate of six hundred, that was appointed to govern the city after an oligarchy, was most fierce against Agathocles's party; for the members of this assembly were such as were the richest and of the best quality among the Syracusans.

However, Agathocles, who now affected the sovereignty, gained many opportunities for the accomplishing of his designs: for he had not only the command of an army as general, but news being brought that there was an insurrection in the interior of the country at Erbita, he gained a further opportunity to increase his army, and raise what men he pleased without suspicion. Under colour, therefore, of his expedition to Erbita, he raised men out of Morgantium and other cities in the heart of the country, together with those that had formerly served him in the wars against the Carthaginians; for all these had a great respect for Agathocles, upon the account of the many instances of his kindness towards them, throughout the whole war. On the other hand they hated the six hundred, who had been a part of the oligarchy in Syracuse, and no less abhorred the people who forced them into obedience. There were three thousand of them that were thus ready with heart and hand to overturn the democracy: To these he joined some of the citizens, who by reason of their poverty envied the power and pomp of the great ones.

When every thing was ready, he ordered the soldiers to meet him at spring of day, in a body, at Timoleontium*; and he himself in the mean time sent for Pisarchus and Decles, who seemed to be the most leading men among the six hundred, pretending to discourse with them concerning the public good: when they came to him, accompanied with forty of their friends, he pretended he was to be betrayed by them, and thereupon seized them all, and accused them to the soldiers, declaring, that for his love to the people, he was likely to be hurried away to destruction by the six hundred, and sadly bewailed his miserable state and condition; at which all the soldiers were so enraged that they cried out, that revenge should be presently taken, without any further delay, upon the authors of such injustice: upon which he commanded the trumpets to sound a charge, and ordered his soldiers to kill those that were the ring-leaders of the mischief, and spoil and plunder the six hundred, and all those that sided with them, of all their goods and estates.

Hereupon all being now eagerly set upon ravage and spoil, the whole city was filled with horror and confusion; for the most innocent of the citizens, not dreaming of any massacre designed against them, ran out of their houses into the streets, to learn the cause of

* Near Syracuse.

the uproar; whereupon the soldiers, partly through their covetousness to enrich themselves, and partly through madness and rage, fell upon the naked people that (through ignorance) had no arms to defend themselves, and put them all to the sword. For the soldiers having secured all the narrow lanes and passes in the city, the citizens were inhumanly murdered, some in their houses, and others in the streets, and many (altogether innocent, not accused of the least fault) were knocked on the head while they were asking the reason why they were to be killed. For the common soldiers (having now all in their hands) made no difference betwixt friend and foe; but he was sure to be reputed an enemy where most was to be gotten by his fall; so that then the city was filled with violence, murders, slaughters, and all kinds of wickedness: for some, out of former grudges spared not to load those they before hated with all sorts of disgrace, having now full sway to do whatever they pleased; others judging it an act of prudence to enrich themselves by the massacre of them that were rich, spared no means, nor omitted any contrivance to destroy them. For some broke down the gates of the out-courts; others, by ladders ascended the house tops; and some fought with them that defended themselves from the roofs of the houses. Nay, there was no safety even to them who fled to the temples under the shelter of the gods; but piety towards the gods was crushed and borne down by the cruelty of men: and these things Greeks against Greeks, in their own country, and kindred against kindred in a time of peace, without any regard either to the laws of nature, or leagues, or reverence to the gods, dared thus audaciously to commit: upon which account not only friends, but even enemies themselves, and every sober man, could not but pity the miserable condition of these distressed people. All the gates were shut up, and above four thousand were killed in one day, for no other fault but that they were in greater esteem than others: of those that endeavoured to fly, some in running to get out of the gates were laid hold on, others who cast themselves over the walls, escaped to the next towns. Some, through fear and inconsiderateness leaped off the walls, and broke their necks. After all there were thrust out of the city, as exiles, above six thousand, of whom the greatest part fled to Agrigentum, where they were received and entertained with that humanity as was agreeable to their present condition. But those of Agathocles's faction (who spent the whole day in butchering of the citizens) were not sparing in committing their rage and villanies upon the women, but thought they should be revenged upon them that escaped death, if they could but abuse their kindred and relations, in the most vile and beastly manner imaginable: for that it was very reasonable to think

that it would be more bitter than death itself to husbands and parents to think of the abuses of their wives, and the ravishings of their daughters: but from hence we must forbear composing a tragedy, as is very usual with other writers, especially to stir up compassion towards them that are involved in such horrible sufferings; because none will expect an express account of every particular, when the whole is so ready and clear to be understood. For they that durst impudently at mid-day murder innocents in the open streets and market-place, have no need of a writer to set forth what they did in the houses in the night, and how they behaved towards wives and young maids then in the power of their enemies, without any protection or defence.

But Agathocles, after he had glutted himself with the slaughter of the citizens two whole days, brought together all the prisoners, and released Dinocrates, on account of an old friendship with him: but as to the rest, such as were his greatest enemies he put to death, and banished the others. Then calling a common assembly, he accused the six hundred, and those who had favoured the oligarchy, declaring that he would purge the city of all those who affected a monarchy, and restore the people to perfect liberty; and that he would henceforth stand upon equal ground with them all, and live a private life, free from further cares and toils: upon saying of which he threw away his general's coat, and put on a jacket, and so went his way, making a show of himself as one of the common people. He did this dissemblingly to act the part of a commoner; being in the mean time very well assured that there were many of his brethren in iniquity in the assembly, who would never suffer the generalship to devolve on any other.

Hereupon those that had robbed the oppressed people of their goods, immediately cried out, and with a loud voice wished him not to desert them, but to take upon him the entire and absolute management of all affairs. At first he appeared to be very shy; but being afterwards more earnestly pressed by the multitude, he told them he was willing to accept of the chief command as general, provided he should not be joined with any other colleague, for he should never be willing to be accountable (as the law then was) for the miscarriages and irregularities of those that should be joined with him in commission. Hereupon, the people having agreed that the whole power should be in him alone, they voted him general, with full and absolute authority; so that for the future he plainly acted the part of a monarch, and managed the affairs of the whole city.

The Syracusans, as yet tame and quiet, some curbed by fear,

and others kept down by force, durst not discover (as a thing vain and to no purpose) the heart-burnings that were among them.

But many of the poorer sort, and those that were in debt, were much pleased with this revolution: for Agathocles had promised in the senate that all former debts should be remitted and made void, and that lands should be allotted and shared out to the poor.

After he had finished these things, he ordered that none for the future should be killed or otherwise abused. But on the contrary, changing his former course, he carried himself with a great deal of mildness towards the people, encouraging many with rewards, and not a few with large promises, and courting all with smooth words, he not a little ingratiated himself into the favour and good opinion of the people: and though he was advanced to so high a pitch of honour, yet he put not on a diadem, nor suffered the attendance of a life guard, nor allowed any difficulty of access to his person, which is the common practice of almost all tyrants: but he made it his business chiefly to look after the public revenue, and the making and providing all sorts of weapons and arms: he built, likewise, other long ships, to increase and strengthen his fleet: and lastly, he brought many of the cities and towns in the heart of the country to stoop to his authority. And thus then stood the affairs of Sicily.

In Italy this was the ninth year of the war of the Romans with the Samnites, before which time there had been very sharp battles and engagements between them; but then (except some incursions into the enemy's country) there was little or nothing done worth taking notice of, only some forts were taken, and the country harassed. But in Apulia the Romans wasted and spoiled all Daunia*, and having conquered the Canutii†, received hostages of them. There were added likewise two other tribes to the former, the one of Falerina, and the other of Ufentina.

While these things were acting, the Crotonians made peace with the Brutians; but the war being continued another year with the exiles, (who were expelled by the people for their conspiring with Heraclides and Sosistratus, of which we have given a particular account in the former book‡) they created Parones and Menedemus their generals. In the mean time the exiles went to Thurium, and there listed three hundred mercenaries, and endeavoured in the night to break into the city: but being repulsed by the Crotonians, they encamped on the confines of the Brutians; but within a short time after, they were every man cut off by a much stronger party, who sallied out of the city against them.

* Now Capitania, in the kingdom of Naples.

† Canutii in France, now called Chartres. ‡ No such account appears there.

And now having given an account how matters went in Sicily and Italy, we shall pass to the things done in other parts of Europe.

Eurydice being queen-regent in Macedonia, as soon as she heard that Olympias was preparing for her return, sent an express to Cassander, then in Peloponneus, wishing him to hasten to her aid and assistance; and in the mean time, by her bribes and promises, she induced the most active men among the Macedonians to favour her designs.

But Polyperchon got an army together, and being joined with Æacidas of Epirus, he brought back Olympias, with Alexander's son*, into the kingdom. And hearing that Eurydice was at Eutæa in Macedonia with an army, aiming to make an end of all by one battle, he makes swiftly after her; and presently, as soon as the armies encamped one over against the other, on a sudden the Macedonians (in reverence to Olympias, and calling to mind the many advantages and kindnesses they had received at the hands of Alexander) turned about; whereupon king Philip† with all his servants were presently taken. Eurydice‡, likewise, together with Polycles, (one of her counsellors), were afterwards taken, having before returned to Amphipolis.

Olympias having thus gained the custody of both the kings, and likewise the kingdom, without blood, used not her good fortune with that humanity as she ought to have done: but at the very first, imprisoning both Eurydice and Philip her husband, she used them very cruelly; for she cooped them both up in a very small place, where every thing for their necessary use was delivered to them through a little narrow hole: and for many days together she thus (against all law and conscience) exercised her rage and revenge upon these miserable princes.

But when she perceived that the Macedonians spoke ill of her, out of pity and commiseration towards those that were thus miserably dealt with, she delivered Philip to certain Thracians, (after he had reigned six years and four months), to be stabbed with poniards. But she ordered Eurydice to be more severely dealt with, because she was so free of her tongue, that she was still blabbing it out that she was fitter to rule the kingdom than Olympias: and therefore she sent to her a sword, a rope, and a cup of poison, bidding her choose which she would to despatch herself with, neither valuing the former state and dignity of the injured lady, nor commiserating the common lot of mankind; and therefore she came at length to experience the same turns of fortune herself, and came to an end every way becom-

* His name was Alexander, the son of Roxana. † Aridæus, called Philip.
‡ Eurydice the wife of Philip.

ing her cruelty. For Eurydice, in the presence of the person that brought her the instruments of her death, prayed the gods that she might have the like present sent to her; and then having bound up the wounds of her husband, as well as the shortness of time would permit, she wrapped him up, and so without any womanish complaints, or any base dejection of spirit through the greatness of her misery, she strangled herself with her own garter.

Having made an end of these two, she killed Nicanor, the brother of Cassander: then she picked out a hundred Macedonians, of Cassander's friends, and put them all to death. Having gratified her revenge by these cruel acts, many of the Macedonians were incited to hate her mortally for her cruelty: for they all remembered the words of Antipater, who, like an oracle, a little before his death, had given strict charge not to admit this woman to govern the kingdom. Olympias therefore managing things after this rate in Macedonia, it clearly pointed out a revolution in the state.

In Asia, Eumenes having with him the Argyraspides under their captain Antigenes, wintered in the province of Babylon, in the towns called Carrhæ; thence he sent ambassadors to Seleucus and Python, requiring them to assist the kings, and that they would join with him in the war against Antigonus. Python was appointed lord-lieutenant of Media, and the other of the province of Babylon, when the second division of the provinces was made in Triparadisus. Seleucus answered, that he and those with him would supply the kings with whatever they wanted, but that he would never observe any of the commands of Eumenes, who was adjudged to die by the common suffrage of the Macedonians. After many disputes relating to this resolution, Python and Seleucus solicited Antigenes and the Argyraspides by their agents to cast off Eumenes.

But the Macedonians rejecting what they required, Eumenes commended them for their fidelity, and marched away and came to the river Tigris, and there encamped, three hundred furlongs from Babylon: for he designed to march to Susa, because he intended to raise forces out of the higher provinces, and to make use of the king's treasures as there should be occasion. But he was forced to pass the river, because that part on this side was eaten up by foraging and deprepations, and the country on the other side was yet untouched, and afforded plenty of forage and other provisions for his army. While he was procuring vessels to pass over the river, Seleucus and Python sailed up the river with two gallies of three tiers of oars, and many other small vessels, being part of those that Alexander built at Babylon.

As soon as they arrived at the place where the passage was intended,

they renewed their solicitations to the Macedonians, to persuade them to cast off Eumenes, and not to abet and encourage a fellow against them who was but a stranger, and had destroyed multitudes of the Macedonians. But when Antigenes could not be prevailed with upon any terms whatsoever, the Seleucians sailed to an old sluice, and broke down the head of it, where it was grown up through length of time; upon which the Macedonian camp was surrounded with water, and all the tract of ground overflowed, so that the whole army was in great danger of being utterly lost. All that day, therefore, they rested, considering and advising what was best to be done in such an exigency. The next day, without any disturbance from the enemy, they transported the greatest part of the army in flat-bottomed boats, to the number of thirty, forced forward with long poles: for Seleucus had only horse with him, and those far inferior in number to the enemy. And now night approached, when Eumenes (in great pain for his carriages left behind) caused all the Macedonians to repass the river; and then, by direction of one of the natural inhabitants, he set upon cleansing another such like place, by which the water might be easily diverted, and the ground all round about drained dry. Which when Seleucus perceived, (intending to get rid of them out of his province with what speed he could), he sent ambassadors to them to make a truce, and so permitted them to pass over the river: but forthwith sent expresses to Antigonus in Mesopotamia, to desire him with all speed to come down with his army, before the governors of the provinces came in with their forces.

Eumenes having now passed the river Tigris, as soon as he came into Susiana, he divided his army into three bodies, on account of the scarcity of provisions; and thus marching through the country three several ways, he was in great want of bread-corn, and therefore distributed rice, millet*, and dates, with which that country abounded, amongst the soldiers.

Although he had before taken care to send away the king's letters to the lord-lieutenants of the upper provinces, yet he then again sent expresses, to desire them all to meet him with their forces in Susiana. At which time it so happened that they had their forces then in the field, and were got together for some other reasons. Of which it is necessary here to say something before we proceed further.

Python was lord-lieutenant of Media, and general of all the higher Satrapies, by nation a Parthian, who had killed Philotas the former general, and had placed Eudamus, his own brother, in his room. Upon which all the other provinces joined together, lest they should

* A white grain, of which the Indians make oil.

be served in the same way, because Python was of a restless spirit, and had engaged himself in matters of high importance. Having therefore overcome him in battle, and cut off most of his army, they drove the man himself out of Parthia, who first sought for shelter in Media, and in a short time after he went to Babylon, and prayed assistance from Saleucus, and that they might join together in one common interest. The governors, therefore, for these causes having drawn their forces together, Eumenes's messengers came to the armies when they were ready, and prepared in the field. Peucestes was the most renowned captain of them all, and was made general by a unanimous assent. He was formerly squire of the body to Alexander, and advanced by the king for his valour. He was lord-lieutenant of the greatest part of Persia, and in great esteem among the natives. And for this reason, he of all the Macedonians was allowed by Alexander to wear a Persian gown, because he thought thereby to ingratiate himself with the Persians, and engage them to be more observant to all his commands. He then had with him ten thousand Persian archers and slingers, and of other nations (taken into the rank of Macedonians) three thousand, with six hundred horse of Greeks and Thracians, and of Persian horse four hundred. Polemon, a Macedonian, governor of Carmania, had fifteen hundred foot, and seven hundred horse. Siburtius, governor of Arachosia, had a thousand foot, and six hundred and ten horse. Androbazus, likewise, was sent from Paropamisus (of which province Oxyartes was governor) with twelve hundred foot, and four hundred horse. Stasander, governor of Aria and Drangina, being joined with the Bactrians, had with him fifteen hundred foot, and a thousand horse. Out of India came Eudamus with five hundred* horse, and three thousand foot, and a hundred and twenty elephants, which he got after Alexander's death, when he treacherously slew Porus. There were in the whole, with the governors of the provinces, above eighteen thousand and seven hundred† foot, and four thousand and six hundred horse.

When all these came into the province of Susiana, and joined with Eumenes, a public assembly was called, where was a hot dispute concerning the choice of a general. Peucestes, on account of his bringing most men into the field, and his eminent post under Alexander, conceived he had most right to challenge the chief command. Antigenes, captain of the silver targeteers‡, insisted upon it, that the whole power of election ought to be committed to his Macedonians, who, under Alexander, had conquered Asia; and by their valour had so signalized themselves, as to gain the reputation of being uncon-

* Three hundred in the margin.—Ush. Ann. 307.

† The particulars make one-and-twenty thousand. ‡ Argyraspides.

querable. But Eumenes fearing lest by their divisions they should become an easy prey to Antigonus, advised that they should not make one general only, but that all who were before chosen captains and commanders should meet every day in the king's pavilion, and there consult of all the public affairs. For a tent had been before erected to Alexander, and his throne placed therein, to which they used to resort, (offering incense as to a god), and there debate all matters of weight and special concern. This advice being approved and applauded by all, they met there every day, as in a city governed by a democracy. Afterwards being come to Susa, there Eumenes was supplied with what monies he had occasion for out of the kings' exchequer. For the kings by their letters had ordered the treasurers, that they should issue to Eumenes alone so much money as he at any time required. Hereupon he gave the Macedonians six months pay before-hand, and to Eudamus (who brought the elephants out of India) he paid two hundred talents, under colour to defray the charge and expence of the elephants, but in truth the more to engage him to his interest. For if contests should arise, that party would have the greatest advantage with whom he sided, by reason of the terror occasioned by the use of these beasts. The rest of the governors every one maintained their own soldiers they brought with them. This done, Eumenes continued for some time in Susa, and there refreshed his army.

In the mean time Antigonus, who wintered in Mesopotamia, resolved forthwith to set upon Eumenes before he grew too strong: but when he heard that the provincial governors, with their forces, together with the Macedonians, were joined with him, he let his soldiers rest, and made it his busines to raise more. For he saw that he had need of a great army, and reason to make more than ordinary preparations for the war.

In the midst of these preparations Attalus, Polemon, Docimus, Antipater, and Philotas, who before were commanders in Alcetas's army, and were taken prisoners and kept in an extraordinary strong castle, hearing of Antigonus's intended expedition into the higher provinces, (conceiving now they had gained a fair opportunity), bribed some of their keepers to suffer them to escape. Having therefore procured arms, about midnight they set upon the guard: they themselves were but eight in number, (surrounded with four hundred men), yet valiant and expert soldiers, through their experience in the war with Alexander. Xenopithes, the governor of the castle, they threw off from the walls, headlong down a steep rock, a furlong high; and as to the rest, some they killed upon the place, and others they hurled down, and then set the houses on fire. Hereupon they took into the

castle five hundred men that were without, expecting the issue: it was indeed very well stored with provisions, and all other things necessary: but they consulted together whether it was better to stay there, and trust to the strength of the place, waiting for relief from Eumenes, or to get away, and wander about in the country, making use of a change and turn of fortune when it might happen. Much canvassing and disputing there was on both sides: Docimus was for leaving the place, but Attalus declared he was not able to endure labour, by reason of the hardship of his late imprisonment.

Whilst they were thus at variance amongst themselves, above five hundred foot and four hundred horse, were drawn out of the neighbouring garrisons, and got together in a body, besides three thousand of the natural inhabitants, and upwards, gathered from all parts of the country; these created one from among themselves to be their general, and laid close siege to the castle.

Being therefore thus unexpectedly again cooped up, Docimus, acquainted with a passage under ground, where no guard was set, by a private messenger kept correspondence with Stratonice, the wife of Antigonus, who was not far distant from the place: and afterwards he, with one other in his company, through this pass slipt out to her; but, contrary to her promise, he was seized and secured. And he that came out with him undertook to conduct the enemy into the castle, and accordingly brought in a great number, and with them gained one of the highest rocks within the fort.

And although Attalus, and all those with him, were far inferior in number, yet they defended the place courageously, fighting valiantly every day, till at length they fell into the enemy's hands, after a siege of sixteen months.

CHAP. II.

Antigonus marches to the Tigris after Eumenes. Eumenes cuts off a great many of his men there. Antigonus goes into Media. Eumenes comes to Persepolis. The description of Persia. Peucestes's great feast. Eumenes's policy. His tale of the lion. A battle in Pareteceni, between Antigonus and Eumenes. Antigonus returns into Media. The story of Ceteus's two wives striving which should be burnt. Eumenes marches to Gabene; Cassander to Macedonia. Olympias goes to Pydna: is there besieged. The Epirots forsake their king, and join with Cassander. Antigonus designs to surprise Eumenes, who stops his march by a stratagem. The last battle between them in Gabene. Eumenes basely delivered up. Antigonus returns to Media. The dreadful earthquakes in the country of Rhages.

AFTERWARDS, Democledes was chief governor at Athens, and Caius Junius and Quintus Æmilius were consuls at Rome. At that time was celebrated the hundred and sixteenth Olympiad, at which Deinomenes the Laconian gained the victory. About this time Antigonus marched out of Mesopotamia and came to Babylon, and made a league with Seleucus and Python, and having strengthened himself with forces received from them, made a bridge of boats over the river Tigris, passed over his army, and hastened away with a swift march after the enemy. Of which Eumenes having intelligence, he sent to Xenophilus, governor* of the citadel at Susa, not to give any money to Antigonus, nor by any means to come out to parley with him.

He himself marched with the army to the Tigris, a day's journey distant from Susa, where he came into the country of the Uxians, a free people. The river is in some places three, and in others four furlongs broad. The depth in the middle of the channel was equal with the height of the elephants. It runs in a current from the mountains seven hundred furlongs, and empties itself into the Red sea. There are many sea-fish and whales in this river, which appear chiefly at the rising of the dog-star†.

The Eumenians had the river before them for a defence, and manned the bank all along from the head of the river to the sea‡, with forts every where built upon the bank, and there waited for the ene-

* Or treasurer. † In the dog-days: about the end of July.

‡ The Red sea, or Persian gulf.

my's approach. But because these forts required a great number of men to keep them, in regard they stretched out a great length, Eumenes and Antigenes solicited Peucestes to send for ten thousand archers more out of Persia; who at first refused, complaining how he was denied to be general of the army. But afterwards, upon mature deliberation with himself, he complied, concluding that if Antigonus prevailed, he should lose both his province, and be in danger of losing his life besides; careful, therefore, to preserve his own interest, and hoping thereby with more ease to gain the chief command by having more men than any of the rest, he brought ten thousand archers more into the camp according to their desire.—And though some of the Persians were distant one from another thirty days march, yet they had placed their guards with that art and exactness, that they all heard the word of command in one and the same day; the reason of which is worthy remark: for Persia is full of long and narrow vallies, and is full of high watch-towers, upon which were placed some of the inhabitants that were men of loud and strong voices: when the voice was heard by those of the next division, they imparted it in the same manner to the others, and they again to the rest, one after another, till what was commanded came at length to the end of the province.

While Eumenes and Peucestes were busy about these affairs, Antigonus came with his army to the king's palace in Susa, and made Seleucus lord-lieutenant of the province, and leaving with him a sufficient army, ordered him to besiege the citadel, Xenophilus the treasurer refusing to obey his commands; but he himself marched away with his army against the enemy, through a hot scalding country, very dangerous for foreign armies to pass. Therefore they were forced to march in the night, and encamp near the river before sun-rising: however, he could not secure himself from all the inconveniencies and mischiefs of that country: for though he did all that was possible for him to do, yet through the excessive heat of the season, (being about the rising of the dog-star*), he lost a great multitude of his men. Coming at length to the river Coprates, he prepared what was necessary for the passing over of his men. This river issues from a mountainous country, and runs into the Tigris, and is four acres broad, and was fourscore furlongs distant from Eumenes's camp. The stream is so rapid and swift, that there is no passing over without boats or a bridge. Having therefore got together a few flat-bottomed boats, in them he put over some of his foot, ordering them to draw a trench and cast up works to defend it, and there to attend the coming over of the rest.

* See the foregoing page.

Eumenes having intelligence by his scouts of the enemy's designs, passed over the bridge of Tigris with four thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse, and found above three thousand foot and three hundred horse of Antigonus's army got over*; and no less than six thousand who were foraging up and down the country: these he suddenly set upon and routed, and presently put the rest to flight. As for the Macedonians, (who stood their ground), being overpowered by numbers, he forced them all to the river, where running headlong into their boats, and overcharging them, they sunk down: upon which many of them endeavouring to swim, some few of them escaped, but the rest were all drowned. Others that could not swim, (judging it more advisable to fall into the enemy's hands, than certainly to lose their lives in the river, were taken prisoners, to the number of four thousand. Antigonus, for want of boats, was not able to help them, though he saw such multitudes perish. Conceiving therefore that it was impossible to pass the river, he marched back to the city of Badaca, seated on the river Ulaie. By reason of the vehement heat, this march was very sweltering and troublesome, and many of the army were tired out, so that they were heartless, and even at their wits end: but when he came to the city before mentioned, staying there some days, he refreshed his army. Thence he judged it advisable to march to Ecbatana in Media, and making that the seat of war, to take in all the higher provinces.

There were two ways that led to Media, and both were difficult: that over the mountains was pleasant, and the high way; but scorching hot, and very long, almost forty days journey. That through the country of the Cosseans was strait, narrow, and steep, leading through the enemy's borders, and barren and scant of provisions, but a short cut, and more cool; yet it was not easy for an army to march this way, unless agreement were first made with the barbarians who inhabit the mountains.

They have been a free people time out of mind, and inhabit in caves, and feed upon acorns and mushrooms, and the salted flesh of wild beasts. But he looked upon it as a dishonourable thing for him who commanded so great an army, to court these barbarous people with smooth words, or gain them by rich gifts. He picked out therefore the choicest of his targeteers, and divided the archers and slingers, and such like light-armed men into two bodies, and delivered them to Nearchus, with command to go before him, and first secure the straits and difficult passes. These being posted all along in the way, he himself led the phalanx, and Python commanded the rear.

They that were sent with Nearchus had endeavoured to possess

* The river Coprates, which falls into the Pasitigris.

themselves of a few watch-towers; but, being hindered and prevented of many, and the most necessary and commodious places, they lost many of their soldiers, and, being set upon on every side by the barbarians, they had much difficulty in making their way through them. And as to those that followed Antigonus, (having entered the straits), they fell into dangers that were inextricable: for the natives, being well acquainted with the places, and having before possessed themselves of the steep and craggy rocks, cast down many stones upon the heads of the soldiers as they passed by; and besides, making use of showers of arrows, they so galled them, that they were neither able (through the inconveniency of the place) to annoy their enemies, nor avoid their shot: and in regard the passage was very craggy and difficult, the elephants, horses, and heavy-armed men, were involved both in toils and hazards at one and the same time, and in no capacity to help themselves.

Antigonus being brought into these straits, now repented that he did not follow the counsel of Python, who had advised him to have bought his passage with money. But after the loss of many of his men, and the rest still in imminent hazard, after nine days troublesome march, he came at length to the inhabited parts of Media.

One mischief after another thus falling upon the army, the intolerable distresses they were brought into stirred up the soldiers to cry out against Antigonus, insomuch that they gave him very harsh and bitter words.

For in forty days time, they had three several times been miserably slaughtered: but by fair words, and a plentiful supply of all things necessary, he at length quieted them. Then he commanded Python to go over all Media, to get together horsemen, and horses, and carriages, which he easily performed, the country abounding with horses and cattle. For Python returned, bringing along with him two thousand horsemen and a thousand horses, ready furnished, and so many loads of ammunition as that the whole army might be completely armed; together with five hundred talents out of the king's treasury.

Antigonus formed the horse into regiments, and distributed the horses among those that had lost their own, and gave the draught-beasts freely among those that wanted them, whereby he regained the former love of the soldiers.

In the mean time, the governors of the provinces, and captains of the forces with Eumenes, when they heard that the enemy was in Media, were of various opinions what to resolve upon: for Eumenes, Antigenes, and the rest who came up from the sea-coasts, were for returning thither again. But those who came from the higher pro-

vinces (upon the account of their friends and relations that were left at home) were for defending those parts. The contest growing hot, Eumenes, considering that one part of the army (which was now divided into two) was not strong enough to cope with the enemy, complied with the governors of the upper provinces. Decamping therefore from Pasitigris, he moved towards Persia, and came to the royal seat of the kingdom, Persepolis, at the end of four-and-twenty days march.

The country, in the first entrance into it, and as far as the Ladders, (as they are called), is flat and low, exceeding hot, and barren of provisions; but the rest is higher, of a wholesome air, and very fruitful: wherein are many shady vallies, variety of pleasant gardens, natural walks bounded on each side with all sorts of trees, and watered with refreshing springs. So that those that pass this way many times stop here and solace themselves in these pleasant places with great delight.

Here the inhabitants brought in to Peucestes abundance of all kinds of prey and booty, which he largely distributed among the soldiers, to gain their favour and good will. In this tract inhabit the most warlike of the Persians, being all archers and slingers, and is far more populous than any of the other provinces.

When they came to Persepolis, the king's palace, Peucestes the governor, and general of the province, ordered a magnificent sacrifice to the gods, and to Alexander and Philip; and to that end sending almost over all Persia for beasts to be sacrificed, and abundance of all other provisions necessary for a festival and public assembly, he feasted the whole army.

In this festival the guests were placed in four rounds, including one within another, the greatest surrounding all the rest, which was ten furlongs in compass, and was filled with mercenaries and confederates.

The second round was eight furlongs, in which were placed the Macedonian silver targeteers, and the rest of Alexander's fellow-soldiers. The other circle was of four furlongs, and filled with inferior officers, special friends, commanders, and horsemen.

That in the midst of all was two furlongs, wherein the generals, masters of the horse, and the nobility of Persia, had their several tents allotted them; and in the midst of them were placed the altars of the gods, and of Alexander and Philip.

The tents were made of green boughs of trees, covered with arras, and all sorts of tapestry hangings, Persia plentifully affording every thing for pleasure and delight.

The rounds were at that convenient distance one from another, as

that the guests found nothing of trouble or uneasiness; but every thing that was prepared was near at hand. All being thus gracefully managed, with the general applause of the common soldiers, thereby expressing how great Peucestes was in their favour and esteem, he was suspected by Eumenes, who conceived that Peucestes did this to ingratiate himself with the army, and thereby to gain the sovereign command; he therefore forged a letter, by which he raised up the spirits of the soldiers, and made them more courageous, and brought down the haughty spirit and pride of Peucestes; but advanced his own reputation with the army, by the hopes of good success for the future. The contents of the letter was this—That Olympias, with Alexander's son, (having killed Cassander), had fully recovered the kingdom of Macedon; and that Polyperchon, with the main power of the king's army, and his elephants, had put over into Asia against Antigonus, and was then in Cappadocia. This letter was written in Syriac characters, in the name of Orontas, governor of Armenia, an intimate friend of Peucestes. These letters passing as authentic, because of the continual correspondence between him and the lord-lieutenants, Eumenes ordered them to be carried about, and shewn to the captains and most of the soldiers. Hereupon the whole army changed their mind, and all eyes were upon Eumenes, as the chief favourite, and therefore they resolved to depend upon him, as he whose interest in the kings would be able to advance whom he pleased, and to punish whom he thought fit.

When the feasting was ended, Eumenes, the more to terrify them that were regardless of his orders, and who affected the sovereign command, called in question, in due form of law, Siburtius, the governor of Arachosia, Peucestes's special friend: for Peucestes, sending away some horse into Arachosia, had secretly commanded Siburtius to intercept the carriages coming from thence. Whereupon Eumenes brought him into such imminent danger, that unless he had privately withdrawn himself, he would have been killed by the soldiers. By this piece of policy, having terrified others, and advanced his own honour and reputation, he put on a new face again, and so gained upon Peucestes with smooth words and large promises, that he became both kind and courteous to him, and cheerful and ready to afford aid and assistance to the kings. Desiring likewise to be assured of the rest of the governors and captains by some pledges, which might engage them not to forsake him, he pretended to want money, and desired them to contribute, every one according to his ability, to the kings.

Hereupon, receiving four hundred talents from among so many of the captains and generals as he thought fit, those whom he before

suspected of treachery or desertion, became most faithful attendants and guards to his person, and stuck close to him in all encounters.

While he thus prudently managed affairs, and was providing for the future, news was brought by some who came out of Media, that Antigonus was marching with his army into Persia: whereupon he moved forward, with a design to meet and engage the enemy.

The second day of their march he sacrificed to the gods, and plentifully feasted the army, wishing them to continue firm and faithful to him; but, wishing to comply with the humour of his guests, who loved to drink freely, he fell into a distemper, which caused him to lay by, and so hindered his march for some days.

In the mean time the army was greatly dejected, to consider that the most expert and bravest commander of all the generals should be now sick, at the very time (as they thought) they were even ready to fight the enemy.

But his distemper abating, and after a little time having recovered himself, he pursued his mareh, Peucestes and Antigenes leading the van; and he himself in a litter followed after with the elephants, to prevent disturbance by the crowd, and the inconveniency by the straitness of the places they were to pass.

And now the two armies were within a day's march one of the other, when the scouts on both sides brought an account of their approach, and what numbers they were, and ways they took. Whereupon each party prepared for battle: but at length they parted without fighting; for there was a river and a deep trench between the two armies. Both indeed were drawn forth in battalia, but, by reason of the badness of the ground, they could not come to action: wherefore, drawing off three furlongs distant one from another, they spent four days in light skirmishes, and foraging the country thereabouts, being much in want of all things necessary. The fifth day Antigonus, by his agents, again solicited the governors of the provinces, and the Macedonians, to desert Eumenes, and commit themselves to his protection. For he promised that he would leave to every one of them their own several provinces, and would bestow large territories upon the rest; and others he would send into their own country, laden with honours and great rewards; and, as for those that were willing still to bear arms, he would give them places and posts in the army suitable to their several circumstances: but the Macedonians would not hearken to any part of these terms, but sent away the messengers with great indignation and threats: upon which Eumenes came amongst them, and gave them thanks, with commendations for their fidelity, and told them an old story, but very

suitable to the present occasion—That a lion falling in love with a young lady, treated with her father to bestow her upon him in marriage; who answered—That he was very willing to give the young woman to be his wife, but that he was afraid of his claws and teeth, lest, when he was married, according to the nature of his kind, he should devour the poor girl. Hereupon the lion beat out his teeth, and tore off his claws: upon which the father, perceiving that now he had lost whatever before made him formidable, fell upon him, and easily cudgelled him to death. And that now Antigonus was acting a part not much unlike this: for he courted them with fair promises, till such time as he could get the army into his power, and then he would be sure to cut the throats of the commanders. This fine story, thus handsomely told, was highly applauded by the army; and hereupon he dismissed them.

The next night some deserters from Antigonus came in, and gave intelligence, that he had ordered his army to march at the second watch. Hereupon Eumenes, upon serious thoughts, and musing on what his designs might be, at length hit upon the truth of the matter, that the enemy's purpose was to march to Gabene, which was a country three days march distant, then untouched, abounding in corn and forage, sufficient to supply the greatest army plentifully with all sorts of provisions; and besides, it was a place of great advantage, full of rivers and deep ravins that were impassable. Contriving therefore to prevent the enemy, he put in execution the like project; and sent away some of the mercenaries, (whom he hired with money), under colour of runaways, with orders to inform Antigonus, that Eumenes would fall upon his camp that night. But Eumenes himself sent off the carriages before, and commanded the soldiers with all speed to eat their suppers, and march: all which was presently despatched.

In the mean time Antigonus, upon the intelligence received from the deserters, resolved to fight the enemy that night, and therefore put a stop to his march, and placed his army in order of battle.

During which hurry of Antigonus, and while he was preparing to meet his enemy, Eumenes stole away with his army, and made towards Gabene before him. Antigonus for some time waited with his soldiers at their arms; but receiving intelligence by his scouts, that the army of Eumenes was gone, he perceived that a trick was put upon him. However, he went on with what he had before designed; and, to that end, giving the word of command to his army to march, he posted away with that haste and speed, as if he had been in a pursuit.

But when he understood that Eumenes had got six hours march

before him, and so perceiving that he was not able at so great a distance to overtake him with his whole army, he contrived as follows: he delivered the rest of the army to Python, willing that he should come softly after him; and he himself posted away with the horse. About spring of day he came up with the rear of the enemy's army, as they were marching down a hill; upon the top of the mountain he made a halt, and there presented himself to the view of the enemy.

Eumenes, at a convenient distance, seeing the enemy's horse, conceived that the whole army was near at hand, and therefore made a stand, and drew up his men in order of battle, as if they should forthwith engage. In this manner these two generals put tricks one upon another, as if they were striving which should outwit the other, thereby shewing, that all their hopes of victory lay and were grounded upon their own stratagems.

By this means, therefore, Antigonus put a stop to the enemy's march, and gained time for his army to come up to him; which at length joining with him, he drew up in battalia, and in that order marched down the hill in a terrible manner upon the enemy. The whole army (with those brought in by Python and Seleucus) amounted to above eight-and-twenty thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants. Both the generals ranged their armies in an array that was strange and unusual, as if they strove which should excel the other even in this piece of art also. In the left wing Eumenes placed Eudamus, the captain of the elephants from India, who had with him a body of a hundred and fifty horse: in front of these were drawn up two squadrons of choice horse armed with lances, fifty deep, and were all joined to those who were placed upon the rising ground near the foot of the mountain. Next to them was drawn up Stasander, with nine hundred and fifty of his own horse. After these, he ordered Amphimachus, lord-lieutenant of Mesopotamia, who had under his command six hundred horse. Next to them were drawn up the horse from Arachosia, lately commanded by Siburtius, but, because he was then fled, the command was given to Cephalus. Close to these were five hundred horse from Paropamisus, and as many Thracians from the upper colonies. In the van of all these stood five-and-forty elephants, drawn up in the form of a half moon, lined with as many archers and slingers as was thought fit.

Then he drew up his main body of foot in a phalanx in this manner: at the farthest point were placed above six thousand foreign soldiers, then five thousand out of several countries, armed after the manner of the Macedonians; after these were drawn up no more

than three thousand Argyraspides, but men never conquered, and for their valour dreaded by the enemy. And lastly, after all, three thousand targeteers of the life guard; which, together with the Argyraspides, were commanded by Antigenes and Tautamus. And in the van of this phalanx stood forty elephants, lined with light-armed men. Next to the phalanx in the right wing he drew up eight hundred of Carmanian horse, under the command of Tlepolimus, the governor of that province; and after them nine hundred who were called Companions. Then the squadron of Antigenes and Peucestes, being three hundred in one troop. In the utmost part of the wing was placed Eumenes's own regiment, consisting of as many horse; and before these was a forlorn-hope, made up of Eumenes's servants, placed in two bodies, each consisting of fifty horse. There were likewise two hundred horse drawn up in four squadrons, and placed in the flank at a distance from the main wing, to be a guard to that part. And besides all these, he placed three hundred horse, called out of all the provinces for strength and speed, to be a guard to the rear of his squadron: and in the van of this wing thus arrayed were placed forty elephants, for the better defence of the whole. Eumenes's whole army amounted to five-and-thirty thousand foot, six thousand and one hundred horse, and one hundred and fourteen elephants.

Antigonus observing from the top of the hills how the army of the enemy was drawn up, drew up his likewise so as might be most convenient to the present circumstances. For taking notice that his enemy's right wing was very strongly guarded with horse and elephants, he fronted them with the choicest of his own horse, who being in small parties, at a considerable distance one from another, might charge in manner of a running fight, wheeling off one after another, and so still renew the fight by fresh men. And by this means the strength of that part of the enemy's army, wherein they placed their greatest confidence, was wholly eluded. For in this phalanx he had placed about a thousand archers and lanceteers on horseback, out of Media and Armenia, who had ever been used to this way of charging by turns. Next to them were drawn up two thousand and two hundred Tarentines, who came up with him from the sea-coasts, who were men very expert in laying ambuscades, and contriving other stratagems of war, and had a great respect and kindness for him: a thousand, likewise, out of Phrygia and Lydia; fifteen hundred under the command of Python; and four hundred spearmen led by Lysanias. After all these followed those called the Anthippi*, and them out of the higher provinces, to the number of eight hun-

* Anthippi: i. e. enemies or opposers of the horsemen.

dred. And of this body of horse was the left wing completed and made up, all under the command of Python. In the main battle, of foot were placed in the front nine thousand foreigners; next to them three thousand Lycians and Pamphilians, and above eight thousand out of divers nations, armed after the Macedonian manner; and in the rear were the Macedonians, to the number of eight thousand, which Antipater had formerly sent as recruits when he took upon him the government of the kingdom. In the right wing of horse, close to the right of the phalanx of foot, were first placed five hundred mercenaries; next to them a thousand Thracians, and as many confederates; and close after them were a thousand called Companions. These were all commanded by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, which was the first time he appeared in arms to assist his father: in the utmost part of the wing were placed three hundred horse, with which Antigonus himself engaged. This squadron consisted of three troops of his servants, and as many of others, drawn up in equal distances one from another, supported by a hundred Tarentines. Round this wing were placed thirty of the strongest of his elephants, in form of a half-moon, interlined with light-armed men: many of the other elephants he placed in the front of the phalanx of foot, and a few with some horse in the flank on the left. The army arrayed in this manner, he marched down upon the enemy in an oblique order: for he ordered the right wing to be stretched out far in length, and the left to be much contracted, designing with this to make a running fight, and to engage hand to hand with the other.

And now the armies drew near one to the other; and signal of battle being given on both sides, shouts echoed one to another, and the trumpets sounded a charge. And first the horse with Python fell on, although they had no forlorn either of men or elephants for a firm defence; yet overpowering the enemy in number and swiftness, made use of that advantage: but looking upon it not safe to encounter the elephants in the front, they wheeled about, and poured in showers of shot upon the enemy in the flank, and with little or no prejudice to themselves, by reason of their speed, and nimbleness of their horses, for they sorely galled the enemy, who were neither able to fall upon the assailants, on account of the weight of their arms, nor in a capacity to avoid them as occasion required. Hereupon Eumenes seeing how the right wing was distressed by multitudes of archers on horseback, sent for some of the swiftest horse from Eudamus, who commanded the left wing; and by this body of horse brought in from the other wing, (though it were but small), he made so fierce a charge upon the enemy, being seconded by his elephants, that he easily put

the Pythonians to flight, and pursued them as far as to the foot of the mountains.

In the mean while the foot fought stoutly a long time together; at length, after many falling on both sides, the Eumenians routed them by the valour of the silver shields*. For though they were now very old, yet by frequent use of their arms in many battles, they so excelled all others, both as to courage and skill in their weapons, that none were able to stand before them. And therefore at this very time, though they were only three thousand, yet they were the chief strength and support of the whole army.

When Antigonus perceived that his left wing was routed, and the whole phalanx† put to flight, though he was advised (seeing that part of the army with him was yet entire) to retreat to the mountains, and receive in again those that were fled, yet he would not hear of it; but prudently making use of the present opportunity, both saved his own men, and gained likewise the advantage.

For the Argyraspides, with Eumenes and the rest of the foot, having put the enemy to flight, continued their pursuit to the foot of the mountains: upon which Antigonus, through an open passage made in the enemies main body, with a party of horse fell upon the flank of Eudamus's regiments, which were in the left wing, and by this sudden and unexpected charge put them to flight; and after the slaughter of multitudes, sent away some of the swiftest of his horse to recal his own men that were before fled, and so caused them to rally at the foot of the mountains. And Eumenes also perceiving the flight of his men, hastened to the relief of Eudamus, and recalled by sound of trumpet, those of his that fled. And now the stars began to appear, when the generals having recalled their flying men, on both sides prepared for battle afresh; such was the heat and vigour both of the officers and common soldiers. The night was very clear and serene, and the moon at full: and the armies being about four acres distant one over against the other, the clattering of arms, and the neighing of horses seemed on both sides as if they had been in the midst of one another. It was now midnight when they had drawn off about thirty furlongs from the place of battle where the dead lay, and by reason of the troublesomeness of the march, and the toils and grievances of the fight, with the want, likewise, of provisions, both sides were but in a bad condition: therefore they were forced to leave off fighting, and encamp. Eumenes had a design to have marched back to the slain, in order to have buried them, as a sign of his being absolute victor, but the army refused, and all were instant with loud cries to return to their carriages, which were then at a great distance

* Argyraspides. † Battalion of foot.

from them, so that he was forced to submit. For seeing there were so many that affected the chief command, he had no power to move the army by threats, nor saw at that time any convenient opportunity to gain upon them that were obstinate by arguments and entreaties. But Antigonus, on the contrary, was an absolute general, without any dependance upon the popularity, and therefore forced the soldiers to encamp near the dead bodies; and so gaining the privilege of burying the dead, he raised a doubt who was victorious, saying—That he who had power to bury his dead, was ever to be esteemed conqueror of the field.

In this battle there were killed on Antigonus's side three thousand and seven hundred foot, and fifty-four horse, and above four thousand wounded. On Eumenes's party were slain five hundred and forty foot, but very few horse, and above nine hundred hurt.

Antigonus, after the battle was over, perceiving that the spirits of his soldiers were very low, resolved, with all the haste he could, to remove far off from the enemy's camp, and that his forces might march the more readily, he sent away the wounded men and heavy baggage to a town near at hand. Then having buried the dead, about break of day (detaining with him the herald that was sent to him by the enemy to beg the bodies of the dead), even at that very hour he commanded the soldiers to dine. At night he discharged the herald, and gave leave to come and bury the dead the next day. He himself presently at the first watch of the night moved with his whole army, and by continued and long marches got a long way off from the enemy, to a country untouched, where he had plenty of provisions for the refreshing of his army: for he marched as far as to Gamarga in Media, a country under the command of Python, abounding in all things for the maintaining of the greatest armies. Eumenes having intelligence by his scouts that Antigonus was gone, would not follow after him, both because his army was in want of provisions, and in other bad circumstances, as likewise because he had a great desire to inter his dead in the most solemn manner he possibly could.

Upon which occasion a strange accident occurred at this time, very unusual and dissonant from the laws of the Grecians: for there was one Ceteus, who commanded them that came out of India, and fought with great resolution, but died in this battle; he left two wives behind him, who followed him all along during the campaign: one he had but lately married, the other had been his wife for some years before; and both loved their husband exceedingly. It had been an antient custom in India for men and women to marry with

their own mutual liking, without consulting the advice of their parents. And in regard that in those former times young people would rashly marry one another, and often repent after, as being deceived in their choice, many wives were corrupted, and through their inordinate lusts fell in love with other men; and because they could not with their credit and reputation leave them they first chose, they would often poison their husbands; to the more ready effecting of which the country did not a little contribute, by bearing many and divers sorts of poisonous plants, some of which ever so little bruised and mixed either in meat or drink, certainly kill the party. This wicked art growing still more and more prevalent, and many being destroyed by this means, and though several were punished for these pieces of villany, yet others would not be reclaimed, nor restrained from the like practices: another law therefore was made—That wives should be burnt together with their dead husbands, except they were with child, or had born children; and that she who would not observe the common law of the land, should remain a widow, and as one convicted of that impiety, should be excluded from all sacred rites, and all other benefit and privilege of the laws. This being thus established, henceforward this wickedness of the wives was changed into a contrary practice. For seeing that every wife, to avoid that insufferable disgrace, was voluntarily to die, they became not only careful to preserve the health, and provide for the well-being of their husbands, as that which was likewise their own preservation; but the wives strove one with another, as who should gain the highest pitch of honour and reputation. An example of which fell out at this time. For although by the law one only was to be burnt with the husband, yet at the funeral of Ceteus, both strove which should die, as for some honourable reward of their virtue: whereupon the matter was brought before the generals for their decision. The younger declared, that the other was with child, and therefore her death could not satisfy the law: the elder pleaded, that it was a greater piece of justice, that she who was before the other in years, should be preferred before her in honour: for in all other cases the constant rule is to yield more honour and respect to the elder than to the younger. The captains being informed by the midwives that the elder was with child, preferred the younger before the other: upon which she lost her cause, went out weeping and wailing, renting her veil in pieces, and tearing her hair, as if some sad and dreadful news had been told her. The other, rejoicing in the victory, made forthwith to the funeral pile, crowned by the women of her house with attires called mitres*, and by her kindred brought forth most richly adorned, as to

* Attires women used to wear, with labels hanging down.

some nuptial festival, setting forth her praises all along as they went, in songs fitted for that occasion.

As soon as she came to the pile she threw off her attire, and distributed them amongst her servants and friends, leaving these behind her, as tokens of remembrances for them that loved her. Her attire was multitudes of rings upon her fingers, set with all manner of precious stones of divers colours. Upon her head were a great number of little golden stars, between which were placed sparkling stones of all sorts. About her neck she wore abundance of jewels, some small and others large; increasing by degrees in bigness as they were put on one after another. At length she took leave of all her family and servants, and then her brother placed her upon the pile, and to the great admiration of the people, (who flocked thither to see the sight), with an heroic courage she there ended her life.

The whole army solemnly in their arms marched thrice round the pile before it was kindled: she in the mean time (disposing of herself towards her husband's body) discovered not by any shrieks or otherwise, that she was at all daunted at the noise of the crackling flames, so that the spectators were affected, some with pity, and others with admiration, and extraordinary commendation of her resolution. However there are some who condemn this law as cruel and inhuman.

After the funeral was over, Eumenes marched from Pareteceni to Gabene, which being yet untouched, was in a condition to supply the army with all things necessary, which was distant from Antigonus's army (going through the countries inhabited) five-and-twenty days journey; but passing through the deserts, (where there is no water), it is but nine days journey; being thus far distant one from another, he there wintered, and so gave his army time to refresh themselves.

As for the affairs of Europe, Cassander, while he lay at the siege of Tegæa, hearing of the return of Olympias into Macedonia, and of the death of Eurydice and king Philip, and what was done to the sepulchre of Iolas his brother, agreed with the Tegæans, and marched with his army into Macedonia, leaving his confederates in great trouble and perplexity. For Alexander the son of Polyperchon was then entered Peloponnesus, and ready to set upon the cities with a great army. And the Ætolians, to ingratiate themselves with Olympias and Polyperchon, seized upon the strait passes at Pylæ, and blocked up the passage to stop Cassander in his march: but he perceiving that it was very difficult for him to force his way through those narrow straits, by the help of some ships and several boats out

of Eubœa and Locris, passed over into Thessaly. And hearing that Polyperchon lay with his army in Perrhæbia, he ordered away Callas his general, with some forces to fight him. In the mean time Dinias being sent away to secure the straits of Perrhæbia, possessed himself of those passes before the forces of Olympias could reach them.

As soon as Olympias heard that Cassander was entering Macedonia with a great army, she created Aristonus general, and commanded him to fight Cassander. She herself, taking along with her the son of Alexander, and Roxana his mother, and Thessalonica the daughter of Philip the son of Amyntas, Deidamia the daughter of Æacidas king of Epirus, and sister to Pyrrhus, (who afterwards made war upon the Romans), and the daughters of Attalus, and other kindred and eminent relations, entered into Pydna, so that a great throng of people, useless and unserviceable for war, attended upon her. Neither was there provision in that place sufficient for such a multitude, to hold out any long siege. All which disadvantages, though they were clear evidences of the greatness of the danger, yet she was resolved to stay here, expecting many Greeks and Macedonians to come in to her assistance by sea.

There were with her some horse from Ambracia, and many of the troops of the household; and the rest of Polyperchon's elephants: the others had been before taken by Cassander, at his former irruption into Macedonia; who now having recovered the passes at Perrhæbia, so as that he had his way open to Pydna, begirt the town round with a mud wall from sea to sea; and sent for shipping, and all sorts of weapons and engines of battery from his confederates, with a design to block up Olympias both by sea and land.

But when he had intelligence that Æacidas king of Epirus was coming with a strong army to the relief of Olympias, he delivered some forces to the command of Atarchias, with orders to meet the Epirots, who presently executing what he was commanded, possessed himself of the passes into Epirus, so that Æacidas was wholly defeated in his design.

For the Epirots were forced against their wills to the expedition into Macedonia, and therefore mutinied in the camp: however, Æacidas, desirous by any way possible to relieve Olympias, cashiered all those that favoured not his design; taking in those who were willing to run the same risk with himself; he was indeed very forward to engage, but had not yet force enough; for the party that stuck to him was very small.

In the mean time the Epirots that were sent away into their own

country revolted from the king; and his people, by a common decree of the state, banished him the kingdom, and confederated with Cassander; like to which never before happened in Epirus, from the time that Neoptolemus the son of Achilles reigned there. For the kingdom ever descended from the father by right of succession to the son, till this time.

When Cassander was thus supported by the confederacy of the Epirots, and had sent Lyciscus both as general and viceroy into Epirus, they in Macedonia, who before were at a stand whether they should confederate with Olympias or not, now, (seeing no hopes remaining for the retrieving her affairs), joined with Cassander. So that now the only prop remaining to rely upon for relief was Polyperchon,-and this was presently in a strange manner shattered and broken in pieces; for when Callas, who was sent as general by Cassander, sat down with his army near to Polyperchon in Perrhæbia, he so corrupted most of his soldiers with large bribes, that very few remained, especially of those that were looked upon to be most faithful: and thus low were the affairs of Olympias sunk in a very short time.

As for the affairs of Asia at this time, Antigonus then wintering in Gadamalis, otherwise Gadarlis, looking upon his army too weak for the enemy, contriving how to fall upon them unawares, and to outwit them. Eumenes's soldiers were so scattered and dispersed in their winter-quarters, that some of them were six days march distant one from another. But Antigonus judged it not advisable to march through the countries that were inhabited, both in regard the journey would be very long and tedious, and likewise presently known to the enemy, but conceived it much more for his advantage to lead his army through the dry and barren deserts, though it were far more troublesome, for that it was much the shorter cut; and by that means his march would be secret, and so he might fall upon the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly, as they lay dispersed and scattered in their quarters, never dreaming of any such thing.

Upon these considerations he commanded his soldiers to be ready for a march, and to prepare for themselves ten days victuals, such as need not the fire. He himself gave it out that he would march through Armenia: but on a sudden, contrary to the expectation of his whole army, in the depth of winter*, he marched towards the deserts. In their march he ordered fires to be made in the day, but to be put out in the night, lest that any seeing them far off from the

* The winter tropic.

mountains, might discover his approach to the enemy: for the desert was almost entirely plain and champaign, surrounded with many high hills, from whence it was easy to discover the fires from a great distance off. But when the army had spent five days in this tedious journey, the soldiers, for very cold, as for other necessary uses, fell to making of fires by night as well as by day; which some of the inhabitants of the wilderness espying, they immediately, on the very same day, sent away messengers upon dromedaries, to give intelligence thereof to Eumenes and Peucestes. This beast will commonly run fifteen hundred furlongs* a day.

Peucestes being informed that the enemy's army was seen half way of their march, began to think of running away as far as he could†, being afraid the enemy would be upon him before he could get the forces together, from every quarter where they then lay dispersed. Eumenes perceiving the fright he was in, bid him be of good heart, and continue upon the edge of the wilderness, for he had found out a way that Antigonus should not come into those parts in three or four days. And having done that, they should be able within that time easily to get all their forces together; and so the enemy being tired out, and starved for want of provisions, would all fall into their hands. All wondered at this strange undertaking, and every one was earnest to learn what it was that should give a stop to the enemy. Eumenes hereupon commanded all the captains and soldiers that were then at hand, to follow him with a great number of urns full of fire, and then chose out some of the highest ground in the country, which looked every way towards the wilderness, and there marked out several places, within the compass of seventy furlongs, and allotted to every captain a post distant about twenty cubits one from another, with command to kindle a fire in the night in every place; and at the first watch to make the greater fires, as if they were then still upon the guard, and going to supper and refreshing themselves; at the second, that the fires should be less; and at the third to be left nearly out and extinct; that so at a distance it might seem as if the army were certainly there encamped together.

The soldiers observing the order given them, some of the inhabitants of the mountains over against them (friends to Python, the governor of Media) perceived the fire, and supposing the army was really there encamped, ran down into the plain, and informed both

* Two hundred miles, or thereabouts.

† To the utmost bounds of their winter quarters.

Python and Antigonus; who being amazed, (and as it were thunder-struck at this strange and unexpected news) made a halt, and consulted with those that brought them the news, what course was best to be taken. For men that were tired out, and in want of every thing that was necessary, to engage with an enemy prepared and furnished with plenty of all sorts of provisions, was alledged to be a desperate and hazardous adventure. Concluding therefore that they were betrayed, and that the forces of the enemy were drawn together, (upon intelligence given them of what was designed), it was resolved not to march forward, but turn aside to the right; and so the army moved into both parts of the countries inhabited, to the end that the soldiers might refresh themselves after their toilsome march.

In the mean time, Eumenes having by this stratagem thus deluded the enemy, got all his army together from all parts where they were in their winter-quarters, and fortifying his camp with a rampart and a deep trench, he there received his confederates as they came in to him, and plentifully furnished his camp with all things necessary.

But Antigonus, after he had marched through the desert, receiving intelligence from the inhabitants that the rest of Eumenes's forces had almost all come to him, but that his elephants, coming out of their winter stations, were not far off, with a very slender guard, sent out two thousand horse lanceteers, two hundred Tarentines, and all his light-armed foot to intercept them: for by setting upon them as they were without a sufficient guard, he hoped he might easily make himself master of them; and so deprive the enemy of the main strength of his army. But Eumenes fearing the worst that might happen upon that account, sent away (for a further guard) five hundred of his best horse, and three thousand light-armed foot.

As soon as Antigonus's soldiers came in sight, the commanders of the elephants drew them into a square, in the form of a tile, and placed the carriages in the middle, and so marched on. They were supported in the rear with no more than four hundred horse. The enemy then pouring in all their force upon them, and pushing on still with great violence, the horse in the rear being overpowered, made away. The masters of the elephants stood for some time, galled with darts and arrows on every side, not able to damage or touch the enemy. And now, when they were just ready to give up all, the Eumeneans unexpectedly arrived, and extricated them out of all their dangers. A few days after, the armies encamped within forty furlongs

of each other; and now being about to lay all at stake, both sides prepared for action.

Antigonus drew up his horse in two wings, and committed the left to Python, and the right to his son Demetrius, where he himself intended to charge; the foot was in the middle battle, and all the elephants he placed in front of the whole army, interlined with light-armed men. His whole army was twenty-two thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, besides those that were listed in Media; and sixty-five elephants.

When Eumenes understood that Antigonus had placed himself in the right wing, with the best of his horse, he himself fronted him with the choicest of his own, in the left; for here he placed most of the governors of the provinces, with the best of that horse which they themselves brought into the field; and with these he ventured himself.

In this wing too was Mithridates, son of Ariobarzanes, descended from one of those seven Persians who slew Smerdis, one of the Magi, a man of exemplary valour, and brought up in the feats of war from his very youth. In front of this wing he placed sixty of his best elephants, drawn up in form of a half-moon, interlined with light-armed men.

As to the foot, the targeteers were placed in the front, then the Argyraspides, and in the rear all the foreigners, and those that were armed after the manner of the Macedonians, and so many elephants and light armed men were placed in front of the main battle of foot as was thought sufficient. In the right wing were drawn up such horse and elephants as were judged the most weak and feeble of all the rest, over which Philip was appointed commander, with orders to retire leisurely as he fought, and diligently to observe the event of the other side.

Eumenes's army amounted to thirty-six thousand and seven hundred foot, six thousand and fifty horse, and a hundred and fourteen elephants.

A little before the battle, Antigenes, general of the Argyraspides, had sent a Macedonian horseman to the enemy's phalanx, with command to ride up as close to them as he possibly could, and proclaim with a loud voice what he had ordered him. Hereupon, when he was come up within hearing of that part of the army where Antigonus's Macedonian phalanx was drawn up, he cried out with a loud voice, thus—Oh ye villains! ye fight against your fathers, who ventured their lives, and performed all those noble acts with Philip and Alexander, whom you shall shortly experience to be men worthy

those kings, and those former conquests!—The youngest of the Argyraspides at that time were at least three score years of age, but most of the rest were seventy, and some older; all of them for strength and skill in their weapons unconquerable: for continual practice of their arms had made them expert and daring.

Proclamation being made, as we have before said, there were many harsh words and discontented speeches cast out in Antigonus's army. That they should be forced to fight against their own countrymen, and with men that were so much older than themselves. In Eumenes's army, on the other hand, they were continually crying out, while the army was drawing up, to be led out against the enemy. Eumenes seeing the alacrity of the soldiers, lifted up the ensign of battle, upon which forthwith the trumpets sounded a charge, and the whole army set up a shout for the onset. The elephants in the first place fought one with another; then the horse charged on both sides. The field was very large, sandy, and waste, so that so much dust was raised by the trampling of the horses, as that a man could not see what was done, though but at a small distance from him: which Antigonus observing, immediately sent away some Median horse, and a body of Tarentines, to set upon the baggage of the enemy.

For he hoped by reason of the dust that was raised (as the thing in truth proved) that they would not be discerned, and that if he got possession of the carriages, he should easily bring the whole army into his power. Hereupon those that were sent forth secretly slipping by the enemy's wing, set upon the pages, scullion boys, and others that were with the baggage, and about five furlongs distant from the place of battle.

There they found a multitude of useless and unserviceable rabble, and a very small guard in the place, so that they were presently put to flight, and the rest all fell into the enemy's hands. In the mean time, Antigonus charging the enemy with a strong body of horse, so terrified Peucestes, governor of Persia, that he, with his horse, got out of the dust, and drew fifteen hundred more after him. But Eumenes, though he was left but with a very few in the outskirts of the wing where he was, yet accounted it base to flag or fly; judging it more honourable to be faithful to his word, in the quarrel of the kings, and to die in an honest and just cause with resolution, made a fierce charge upon Antigonus; so that now there was a sharp dispute between the horse; where the Eumeneans excelled the others in heat and resolution, but the Antigonians them in number; and many fell on both sides. At which time the elephants fighting one with another, the leader on Eumenes's side engaging with one of the

stoutest of the other, was there slain. Hereupon, Eumenes perceiving his horse to be worsted on every hand, withdrew with the rest of the horse out of the fight, and passed over to the other wing, and joined himself to those with Philip, whom he had ordered to make a leisurely retreat. And thus ended the engagement between the horse.

But as to the foot, the Argyraspides (or silver shields) in a full body flew with that violence upon the enemy, that they killed some upon the spot, and put the rest to flight, for they were not to be withstood; who, though they engaged with the enemy's main battle, yet they signalized both their valour and dexterity to that degree, that they killed above five thousand without the loss of one man, and put the whole foot to flight, though they were far more in number than themselves.

When Eumenes understood that all the carriages were taken, and that Peucestes was not far off with the horse, he endeavoured to rally them all again, and to try their fortune in a second engagement with Antigonus: for he concluded, if he prevailed he should not only recover his own carriages, but likewise possess himself of the enemy's: but Peucestes would not hear of fighting any more, but got farther off, so that Eumenes was forced to yield the day.

Then Antigonus dividing his horse into two bodies, he himself with one sought how to entrap Eumenes, observing which way he made; the other he delivered to Python, with orders to fall upon the Argyraspides, who were then forsaken by their horse; who forthwith setting upon them, as he was commanded, the Macedonians drew up in form of a square, and got safe to the river, exclaiming against Peucestes, as the cause of the routing of the horse.

When Eumenes came up to them in the evening, they consulted together what was then best to be done. The governors of the provinces were for returning with all speed into the higher provinces; but Eumenes was for staying where they were and fighting, in regard the enemy's main battle was broken and cut off, and that they were then equal in horse on both sides. But the Macedonians seeing that they had lost their carriages, wives and children, and all that was dear to them, declared they would neither do the one nor the other. And so at that time they parted without agreeing in any thing. But afterwards the Macedonians secretly corresponding with Antigonus, seized and delivered Eumenes into his hands. And having received their carriages, and faith taken for security, they all marched away together; whose example the governors of the provinces, and most of the other captains and soldiers followed, forsaking their general, chiefly consulting their own safety and preservation.

Antigonus having thus strangely and unexpectedly possessed himself both of Eumenes and his whole army, seized upon Antigenes, captain of the Argyraspides, and put him alive into a coffin, and burnt him to ashes. He likewise put Eudamus to death, who brought the elephants out of India; and Celbanus, and some others; who appeared against him on all occasions. But Eumenes he put in prison, and took time to consider how to dispose of him; for he had in truth a great desire to have gained so good a general to his own interest, and to have obliged him upon that account; but because of the great kindness and strict correspondence which passed between him and Olympias, and the kings, he durst not absolutely rely upon him; for but a while before, though he had delivered him out of the straits he was in at Nora in Phrygia, yet he shortly after fell in and sided with the kings; and therefore upon the pressing importunities of the Macedonians he put him to death. But in respect of his former familiarity with him, he caused his body to be burnt, and his bones to be put into an urn, and delivered to his nearest friends. Amongst those that were wounded and prisoners was Hieronymus of Cardia, historiographer, who having been ever in great esteem with Eumenes during his life, after his death found great favour also with Antigonus.

Antigonus returning into Media with his whole army, spent the rest of the winter in a town not far from Ecbatana, where the palace-royal of that province stood. He distributed his army here and there all over the province, and especially in the country of Rhages; so called from the calamities it had miserably suffered in former times. For being heretofore full of rich and populous cities, such terrible earthquakes happened in those parts, that both cities and inhabitants were swallowed up together, not one left, and the very face of the country was so changed, that new rivers and ponds appeared in the room of the old.

CHAP. III.

The inundations at Rhodes. Antigonus kills Python, getting him into his power by dissimulation. Then he marches into Persia. Revolters from Antigonus cut off in Media. He divides the provinces of Asia, and contrives to destroy all the Argyraspides. Gets great treasure in Susa. Cassander besieges Olympias in Pydna: the great distress to which it was reduced. Amphipolis surrendered to Cassander. He kills Olympias. Marries Thessalonica: builds Cassandria. Imprisons Roxana and her son Alexander. His expedition into Peloponnesus against Alexander the son of Polyperchon. The history of Thebes. Cassander rebuilds Thebes.

ABOUT this time happened a flood near the city of Rhodes, which destroyed many of the inhabitants. The first flood did little prejudice, because the city was then but newly built, and far larger in compass; but the second was more mischievous, and destroyed multitudes. The last happened at the beginning of the spring, accompanied with violent storms of rain, and hail-stones of an incredible bigness; for they were a mina in weight, and sometimes more, so that they not only beat down houses, but killed many men. And in regard Rhodes was built in the form of a theatre, and that the water ran for the most part into one place, the lower parts of the city were presently filled with water: for, the winter being now looked upon to be over, no care was taken to cleanse the channels and aqueducts; and the pipes likewise in the walls were choaked up; so that the waters flowing in altogether on a sudden, all the ground about the Digma*, (as it is called), and the temple of Bacchus, was filled with water; and it now rising up like a standing pond to the temple of Æsculapius, all were in a consternation, and could not agree together what should be done, in order to their preservation. Some were for making to the ships, and others for hastening to the theatre. Some now almost surrounded with the evil that threatened them, in great terror and amazement climbed up to the top of the highest altars, and others to the top of the pedestals of the statues. The city being in this danger to be overwhelmed and ruined, with all its inhabitants, on a sudden they were unexpectedly delivered: for the

* Some monument in the town, in memory of some remarkable event, either good or bad.

wall burst asunder, making a large breach, and the water, which before stood in a flood, made its way through, and ran with a violent current into the sea, and so every one presently had free passage to his own house.

It was of great advantage to these distressed people that this inundation was in the day-time: for most of the citizens ran to the higher parts of the city for shelter. And another advantage was, that the houses were not built of tile, but of stone; so that those who got to the house-tops escaped without any great damage: however, there perished in this common calamity above five hundred souls; and some of the houses were borne down to the ground, and others much damaged and shaken. And in this danger was Rhodes.

Antigonus, while he wintered in Media, discovered Python plotting to draw over the soldiers, then in their winter-quarters, partly by bribes, and partly by fair promises, to his own interest, and to make a turn and defection in the army. But Antigonus covered and concealed his design, and pretended to give no credit to the informers, but to chide them as those that contrived only to set him and Python at variance together. In the mean time, he caused it to be noised abroad—That he intended to leave Python, with a considerable army for his defence, lord-lieutenant of the higher provinces; and he wrote likewise to Python, and desired him to hasten to him with all speed, that, after they had consulted together on some weighty affairs, they might forthwith march away into the Lesser Asia. Thus he managed his business, thereby to remove all ground of suspicion, and to get the poor man into his hands, upon an expectation and hopes to be left governor of those provinces: for it was a difficult matter to take one by force who had been in such great repute with Alexander, and for his valour advanced by him to places of honour; and who, being then governor of Media, was a help and support to the whole army.

Python was at that time in the farthest parts of all Media, in his winter-quarters, and had now corrupted many, who had promised to join with him in the defection. His friends likewise acquainting him by their letters with Antigonus's purpose, gave him an expectation of mighty things: and thus deceived, he went to Antigonus; who, having now seized his prey, brought him before a council of war, even of his own confederates, where he was easily convicted, and forthwith had his head cut off.

Hereupon Antigonus, gathering all his army together, committed the government of Media to Orontobates, a Median born; but made Hippostratus general of the army, who had three thousand five hundred foreign foot-soldiers under his command. He himself, taking

with him the body of his army, went to Ecbatana, where receiving five thousand talents of massy silver, he marched into Persia; and it cost him twenty days march before he arrived at the capital city Persepolis.

In the mean time, while Antigonus was on his march, Python's friends, who were concerned with him in the conspiracy, (the chief of whom was Meleager and Menetas), and other well-wishers of Eumenes and Python, who were scattered abroad into corners, met together, to the number of eight hundred horse; and in the first place wasted the territories of the Medes, who refused to join with them. Then, receiving intelligence where Hippostrates and Orontobates lay encamped, they broke in upon them in the night, and were not far from effecting what they designed; but being overpowered by numbers, and having only enticed a few of the soldiers to join with them, they were forced to retreat; yet some of the nimblest of them (all being horsemen) made many sudden incursions upon the country, and caused a great consternation and confusion amongst them; but they were at last enclosed in a place compassed about with rocks, and were there all killed or taken. But Meleager, and Cranes the Median, and some of the better sort of them, stood it out to the last, and died with their swords in their hands. And this was the condition of the conspirators in Media.

As for Antigonus, when he came into Persia, the people honoured him as a king, and he that was now undoubtedly absolute lord of all Asia. There calling together a council of his nobility, he propounded to them the matter concerning the government of the provinces: in which consultation they left Carmania to Tlepolemus, and Bactria to Stasanor; for it was no easy matter to expel them, having gained the hearts of the people by their fair deportment, and likewise were associated with potent confederates. Eritus he sent into Aria; who dying shortly after, was succeeded by Evagoras, a man of wonderful valour and prudence. Oxyartes likewise, the father of Roxana, was permitted to enjoy the province of Paropamisus, as he did before; for neither could he eject him without a long expense of time and a very great army.

But he sent for Siburtius, a well-wisher of his, out of Arachosia, and bestowed upon him the government of that province, and gave him the most turbulent of the silver shields, under colour of serving him in the war, but in truth with a design to have them all cut off; for he gave him private instructions to employ them in such services as that by degrees they might all be destroyed. Amongst these were those that betrayed Eumenes, that vengeance might in a short time after overtake these perfidious villains for their treachery against their

general. For princes, by reason of their great power, may reap advantage by the wicked acts of others; but private men who are the actors, for the most part, are by those means brought into miserable disasters.

Antigonus moreover, finding that Peucestes was much beloved in Persia, made it one of his first pursuits to deprive him of that government. At which all the natives greatly repined; and a chief man amongst them, called Thespias, spoke openly against it, and said—That the Persians would be governed by no other man but Peucestes: whereupon Antigonus slew Thespias, and made Asclepiodorus governor of Persia, and committed to him a considerable army; and he held on Peucestes with vain hopes of conferring upon him higher preferments elsewhere, until he had drawn him quite out of the country.

While Antigonus was on his way to Susa, Xenophilus, who had the keeping of the king's treasure there, being sent by Seleucus, went and met him at Pasitigris, and offered him his service in whatsoever he pleased to command him. Antigonus received him very graciously, and seemed as if he honoured him above all the friends he had, fearing lest he might alter his mind, and keep him out when he came thither. But when he came into the castle of Susa, he possessed himself of it, and there seized upon the golden vine, and store of other such rarities, to the value of fifteen thousand talents: all which he turned into ready money, besides what he made of crowns of gold, and other presents and spoils taken from the enemy, amounting to five thousand talents more, and a like quantity collected out of Media, besides the treasure had from Susa; so that in the whole he heaped together five-and-twenty thousand talents. And thus stood the affairs of Antigonus at that time.

Since we have treated of the affairs of Asia, we shall now pass over into Europe, and relate what was done there concurring and cotemporary with the former. Cassander having shut up Olympias in Pydna in Macedonia, could not assault the walls by reason of the winter season; but he blocked up the city with his forces on every side, and drew a mud-wall from sea to sea; and, to prevent all relief by sea as well as by land, he guarded the mouth of the harbour with his own shipping: insomuch that their provisions being almost spent, the besieged were reduced to that extremity of want, that they were nearly starved; for they were brought to that strait, that every soldier was allowed but five chœnices* of bread-corn every month, and the elephants were fed with saw-dust. At last they killed the draught-beasts and horses for meat.

* About seven quarts and half a pint.

While the city was in this state, and Olympias earnestly expecting foreign aid, the elephants pined away for want of food. And the horsemen that were foreigners almost all died, having no proportion of bread allotted them, and many of the other soldiers fared no better. Some of the barbarians, (hunger overcoming what nature would have otherwise dreaded and abhorred), fed upon the carcasses of the dead.

The town being now filled with dead bodies, the colonels and captains of the king's guard buried some, and threw others over the walls; insomuch, as not only the queens, (who were bred up delicately all their days), but even the soldiers, who were always inured to hardships, could not endure the sight nor stink of the carcasses.

And now the spring came on, and the famine increased every day, whereupon most of the soldiers came up in a body, and entreated Olympias to suffer them to leave the place because of the scarcity, who (not being able to supply them with bread, nor in a condition to raise the siege), let them go; and they were all kindly received by Cassander, and disposed of into several towns and cities round about. For he hoped that the Macedonians coming to understand by them how weak Olympias was, would conclude her affairs desperate and without remedy. And he did not miss the mark in his conjecture; for they who were just now sending relief to the besieged, presently altered their purpose, and sided with Cassander. Only Aristonus and Monimus, of all the Macedonians continued firm and faithful to Olympias, of whom Aristonus was governor of Amphipolis, and the other of Pella. At length Olympias perceiving that many went over to Cassander, and those who were her friends were not able to help her; without further delay got ready a galley of five oars on a bank, with a design to rescue herself and all her kindred out of the present danger: but being discovered to the enemy by some of the deserters, Cassander sailed to the place and seized the vessel. Whereupon Olympias looking upon herself in a desperate condition, sent an herald to Cassander to treat upon terms of pacification; but he insisting upon the delivering up of herself to his mercy, with much ado she at length prevailed only for the preservation of her person. Being therefore now possessed of the city, he sent some away to summon Pella and Amphipolis.

Monimus the governor of Pella hearing how things went with Olympias, presently surrendered; but Aristonus at first resolved to hold out and maintain the cause of the kings, in regard he had a strong garrison, and had been then lately prosperous and successful. For a few days before he had fought with Cratevas, one of Cassander's captains, and cut off many of the enemy, and drove Cratevas himself,

with two thousand of his men, into the city Bedys in Bisaltia, and there besieged him, took him, and disarmed him, and then, upon mutual pledges of faith given and taken, discharged him. Being encouraged upon this account, and not knowing but that Eumenes was still living, and concluding that he should be sure of aid and relief from Alexander and Polyperchon, he refused to surrender Amphipolis.

But as soon as he received letters from Olympias, (whereby she commanded him, upon the faith of his former engagement, to restore the city), he observed her commands, and delivered it up, upon assurance of his own preservation. But Cassander, perceiving that he was a man of great interest, by reason of the honours conferred upon him by Alexander, and determining to take all such out of the way as might be in a capacity to make any disturbance, by the help of Crateväs's kindred, he put him also to death. Then he incited the relations of such as were put to death by Olympias to prosecute her in the general assembly of the Macedonians, who thereupon very readily complied with what they were desired to do; and, though she herself was not then present, nor had any person there to plead her cause, yet the Macedonians condemned her to die. Cassander thereupon sent some of his friends to Olympias, and advised her to get out of the way, and promised to procure for her a ship, and to cause her to be conveyed safe to Athens. And this he did not for her preservation, but that, as one conscious of her own guilt by her flight, it might be judged a just vengeance upon her if she was cut off as she was on her voyage: for he was afraid as well of the fickle disposition of the Macedonians, as of the dignity of her person. But Olympias refused to fly, and said—She was ready to defend her cause before all the Macedonians.

Cassander therefore, fearing lest the people, calling to mind the worthy acts and kindnesses of Philip and Alexander towards the whole nation, should change their minds, and so take upon them to defend the queen, sent to her a band of two hundred soldiers well armed and accoutred, with orders to despatch her forthwith; who rushing on a sudden into the palace, as soon as they saw her, (in reverence to her person), drew back, without executing what they were commanded. But the kindred of those she had put to death, both to ingratiate themselves with Cassander, and likewise to gratify their own revenge for the death of their relations, cut her throat, she not in the least crying out in any womanish terror or fear to spare her. In this manner died Olympias, the greatest and most honourable woman in the age wherein she lived, daughter of Neoptolemus, king of Epirus;

sister of Alexander*, who made the expedition into Italy; wife of Philip, the greatest and most victorious prince of all that ever were before in Europe; and lastly, the mother of Alexander, who never was exceeded by any for the many great and wonderful things that were done by him.

Cassander now seeing all things go on according to his heart's desire, in his hopes and expectations was already possessed of the kingdom of Macedon: he therefore now married Thessalonica, daughter of Philip, and sister of Alexander by the same father, ambitious to be related in affinity, and esteemed as one of the royal family. He built likewise Cassandria, (calling it after his own name), in Pellene, and peopled it with inhabitants drawn out of the cities of the Chersonesus†, and out of Potidæa, and many other neighbouring cities, and placed there likewise those Olynthians that were left, of whom there were still a considerable number. To this city he joined a large and rich territory, and made it his earnest care to advance the glory and splendour of this place; so that it grew up in a short time to that degree of power, as to excel all the cities of Macedonia.

Cassander likewise, resolving to cut off all the posterity of Alexander, (that there might be none of his line left to succeed in the kingdom), purposed to kill the son of Alexander, and Roxana his mother. But for the present, being willing first to observe what people's discourses were concerning the cutting off of Olympias, and having as yet no certain account how things went with Antigonus, he committed Roxana and her son close prisoners to the castle at Amphipolis, under the charge of Glaucias, then by him made governor, and one of his friends, in whom he placed great confidence. He likewise took away from the young king those children that were bred up with him as his companions, and ordered that he should be no longer attended as a king, nor regarded otherwise than as a private person.

And now ruling the kingdom in all things as king, he royally and sumptuously interred Eurydice and Philip, the late king and queen, at Ægis; and Cinna, whom Alcetas had put to death, gracing the dead with the solemnity of funeral sports and plays.

Then he raised soldiers out of Macedonia for the expedition resolved upon into Peloponnesus. While he was employed in these affairs, Polyperchon, who was then besieged in Naxos, in Perrhœbia, when he heard of the death of Olympias, in despair of retrieving his

* Sister of Alexander, that is, Pyrrhus.

† The Chersonesus of Pellene in Thrace.

affairs in Macedonia, with a few in his company, broke out of the city, and passed through Thessaly, together with Æacidas, and came into Ætolia, where he judged he might safely abide, and observe how things went, because there was a good understanding between him and that nation.

But Cassander having now raised a considerable army, marched out of Macedonia with an intent to drive Alexander the son of Polyperchon out of Peloponnesus: for he with his army was the only enemy left, and had possessed himself of many convenient posts and towns there. Through Thessaly he marched without any opposition; but found the pass at Pylæ guarded by the Ætolians, whom having with much difficulty beaten off, he came into Bœotia, where, getting all the Thebans together that were remaining from all parts, he set about re-peopling of Thebes, conceiving that now he had a fair opportunity put into his hands for the rebuilding of that city, famous both for its renowned actions, and the antient stories concerning it. And by so good a work he concluded he should reap the fruit of an immortal fame and glory.

This city had felt very many changes and turns of fortune, and those to the utmost extremity, being sometimes in danger of being razed to the ground. Of which to say something briefly will not be any foreign digression.

After Deucalion's flood, when Cadmus had built the citadel, called Cadmea after his own name, the people called Spartans, or Sparsans, flocked thither in droves, called so by some because they flocked together from all places; others called them Thebigens*, because the natives of Thebes were forced away by the flood, and dispersed here and there up and down in the country. When these were again returned, they were afterwards expelled by force of arms by the Enchelensians, and then even Cadmus himself was forced to fly to the Illyrians. After this, when Amphion and Zethus ruled, and there first built the city, (as the poet† says),

Who first Thebes' walls with seven gates did raise.

The inhabitants were again expelled when Polydorus, the son of Cadmus, returned into the kingdom, where all things were then carelessly managed, by reason of the sad condition of Amphion‡ for the loss of all his children.

Then again in the time of the reign of his posterity§, (when all the country was called Bœotia, from one Bœotus, the son of Mela-

* Born at Thebes. † Homer.

‡ His seven sons and seven daughters by Niobe were killed by Jupiter and Diana with arrows.—Pans. in Boeot. Diod. lib. 4.

§ The posterity of Polydorus.

nippe and Neptune, who reigned there), the Thebans were expelled the third time by the Epigoni* of Argos, when they took the city by force. Those that escaped of them who were expelled fled to Alalcomenæ and the mountain Tilfossius; but, after the death of these Argives, they returned into their own country.

In the time of the Trojan war, when the Thebans were in Asia, those who stayed at home, together with other Bœotians, were expelled by the Pelasgians: and after they had endured many and various calamities in the course of near four generations, (according to the oracle relating to the crows†) they returned, and inhabited Thebes.

From this time this city continued in a state of prosperity nearly eight hundred years. And the Thebans at the beginning had the chief command over all the rest of their country.

Afterwards when they attempted to be sovereign lords of all Greece, Alexander the son of Philip took it by storm, and razed it to the ground. In the twentieth year next after, Cassander, to make himself famous, and advance his own reputation, so far prevailed with the Bœotians for their concurrence, as that he rebuilt the city, and restored it to those Thebans that were then remaining of the old stock. Many of the Greek cities afforded their assistance to the rebuilding of this place, out of compassion to the distressed condition of the Thebans, and the antient fame and glory of the city. The Athenians built the greatest part of the walls, and others assisted according to their several abilities; and contributions were sent not only from all parts of Greece, but from some both in Sicily and Italy. And thus the Thebans came to be restored to the antient seat of their ancestors. Then Cassander moved with his army towards Peloponnesus; and when he found that Alexander the son of Polyperchon had fortified the isthmus with strong guards, he turned aside to Megara; and there he fitted out some boats, and in them transported his elephants to Epidaurus, and the rest of his army in other ships. Thence coming to Argos, he forced them to quit their confederacy with Alexander, and join with him. Afterwards he brought over to him all the cities and towns, with the territories, of Messenia, except Ithome; and Hermonides he took in upon articles of agreement: but upon Alexander's marching down to fight, he left two thousand men at Gerania‡, near the isthmus, under the command of Molycus, and returned into Macedonia.

* The posterity of the seven captains who besieged Thebes.

† This story of the crows is—That the oracle said, the Bœotians should be expelled when they saw white crows: which happened afterwards by playful boys painting crows white, and then letting them go. A little while after, the Bœotians were ejected by the Æolians. See the Annot. upon Erasm. Adag. (Ad Corvos.) p. 374.

‡ Gerania, a hill near the isthmus, in Megara.

CHAP. IV.

Antigonus's army feasted by Seleucus in Babylon. Quarrels with Seleucus, who flies to Ptolemy, and is kindly received. Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, join against Antigonus. They send ambassadors to him, who winters in Cilicia. He goes into Phœnicia, and there builds ships; besieges Tyre. The praise of Phylla, wife of Demetrius. Aristodemus raises forces for Antigonus in Peloponnesus. The acts of Ptolemy, one of Antigonus's captains. Antigonus's policy. Tyre delivered. The agreement of Ptolemy's captains, and the rest at Cyprus. The acts of Seleucus. A fleet comes to Antigonus from the Hellespont and Rhodes. Things done in Peloponnesus. Cassander's acts there and in Greece. The great victory by sea and land obtained by Polyclitus, Seleucus's lieutenant: he is rewarded by Ptolemy. The acts of Agathocles in Sicily. The Romans make war against the Samnites.

AT the end of the former year, Praxibulus was created chief magistrate at Athens, and Spurius Nautius and Marcus Popilius bore the office of consuls at Rome; at which time Antigonus left one Aspisa, a native, governor of Susiana. He himself resolving to carry away with him all the money, prepared carriages and camels for that purpose to bring it down to the sea-side; and so having it along with him, marched with his army towards Babylon, which he reached in two-and-twenty days march; where Seleucus, the governor of the provinces, received him with royal presents, and feasted the whole army. But when Antigonus demanded an account of the revenue, he told him—He was not bound to give any account of that province which the Macedonians had bestowed upon him as a reward of his service in Alexander's life-time. The difference growing wider and wider every day, Seleucus, remembering Python's fall, was thereupon the more afraid, lest Antigonus should catch an opportunity to put him also to death. For he seemed to have a design to cut off (as soon as he possibly could) all men in power, and such as were in a capacity to struggle for the chief command: whereupon, for fear of the worst, he forthwith made away with fifty horse only in his company, intending to go into Egypt, to Ptolemy: for his kindness and courteous behaviour towards all that came to him for protection and shelter

was praised in every place. When Antigonus came to understand this, he rejoiced exceedingly, in that he was not forced to destroy his friend and potent confederate, but that Seleucus, by his own voluntary banishment had seemed to deliver up the province of his own accord, without a stroke struck.

Afterwards the Chaldeans came to him, and foretold that if Seleucus got absolutely away, he should be lord of all Asia, and that in a battle between them Antigonus himself should be killed. Whereupon being sorry that he had let him go, he sent some away to pursue him; but having followed him some little way, they returned as they went. Antigonus was wont to slight these kind of divinations in other men, but at this time he was so amazed and affrighted with the high esteem and reputation of these men, that he was very much disturbed in his thoughts: for they were judged to be men very expert and skilful, through their exact and diligent observation of the stars: and they affirm that they and their predecessors have studied this art of astrology for above twenty thousand years. And what they had foretold concerning Alexander's death, if he entered into Babylon, was found true by late experience. And in truth, as those predictions concerning Alexander came afterwards to pass, so what they now said relating to Seleucus was likewise in due time accomplished. Of which we shall treat particularly when we come to the times proper for that purpose.

Seleucus, when he was got safe into Egypt, was entertained by Ptolemy with all the expressions of kindness and affection that might be; where he bitterly complained against Antigonus, affirming that his design was to expel all persons of eminent quality out of their provinces; and especially such as were in service under Alexander; which he supported with arguments from Python's being put to death, and Peucestes being deprived of the government of Persis, and from the usage he himself had lately met with; and all these though they had never done any thing to deserve it, but rather upon all occasions performed all the acts of kindness and service to him that was in their power, and this was the reward they obtained for their services. He reckoned up, likewise, the strength of his forces, his great treasure, and his late successes, which so puffed him up, that he was in hopes to gain the sovereign command over all the Macedonians.

Having by these arguments stirred up Ptolemy to make war against him, he sent some of his friends over into Europe, to prevail with Cassander and Lysimachus, with the like arguments, to appear in arms against Antigonus; which orders being forthwith

executed, foundations were laid for a mighty war, which afterwards took place.

Antigonus, upon many probable conjectures, conceiving what was Seleucus's design, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, to desire them that the antient friendship might be preserved and maintained amongst them. And then, having made Python, who came out of India, lord-lieutenant of the province of Babylon, he broke up his camp, and marched towards Cilicia. As soon as he came to Mallos*, he distributed his army into winter-quarters, about the month of November†: and he received out of the treasury in the city of Quinda, ten thousand talents, and eleven thousand talents out of the yearly revenues of that province: so that he was very formidable both in respect of his great forces and the vastness of his treasure. And now being removed into the Upper Syria, ambassadors came to him from Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, who being introduced as he sat in council, demanded all Cappadocia and Lycia to be delivered up to Cassander: Phrygia, bordering upon the Hellespont, to Lysimachus; all Syria to Ptolemy; and the province of Babylon to Seleucus; and all the common stock of money which he had incroached upon since the battle with Eumenes, to be shared equally amongst them; which if he refused, then they were to let him know, that their masters intended, with their joint forces, to make war upon him. Whereunto he answered roughly—That he was now making a war upon Ptolemy; and thereupon the ambassadors returned, without any effect of their embassy: and upon this answer, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, entered into a league amongst themselves, and gathered their forces together, and made it their business to provide arms, and all other things necessary for the war.

And now Antigonus perceiving how many great and potent adversaries had confederated against him, and what a storm was ready to fall upon him, sought the alliance and confederacy of other cities, nations, and princes; and to this purpose despatched Agesilaus to the king of Cyprus, Idomineus and Moschion to Rhodes, and one Ptolemy, his own brother's son, with an army, to raise the siege of Amisus, in Cappadocia, and to drive out those that were sent thither by Cassander. He commanded him likewise to go to the Hellespont, and fall upon Cassander, if he attempted to pass over out of Europe into Asia. He also sent away Aristodemus the Milesian, with a thousand talents, with orders to enter into a league of amity with Alexander and Polyperchon, and to hire soldiers and make war upon Cassander:

* In Cilicia. † After the setting of Orion.

and he himself disposed beacons and couriers throughout all Asia, which was entirely at his command, hereby to give and get knowledge of all things that passed, and to manage his affairs the more expeditiously.

Having taken this order, he marches into Phœnicia to provide a fleet; for at that time the enemy had the command of the sea, being possessed of abundance of shipping, when he himself had not one. Encamping near to Tyre, designing to besiege it, he sent for the petty kings of Phœnicia, and governors of Syria, and treated with them to join him in the building of ships, because all the ships that belonged to Phœnicia were then with Ptolemy in Egypt. He also gave them orders to bring him, with all speed, four millions and five hundred thousand bushels of wheat; for to so much came the yearly expense of his army. Then he got together hewers of timber, sawyers, and ship carpenters from all parts, and caused timber to be brought down from Mount Libanus to the sea side, employing therein eight thousand men to work, and a thousand beasts for carriage. This mount runs through Tripolis, Byblia, and Sidonis, and abounds in most beautiful tall cedars and cypress trees. He appointed three arsenals in Phœnicia, one at Tripolis, another at Byblia, and the third at Sidon; a fourth he had in Cilicia, whither timber was brought from mount Taurus; and a fifth in Rhodes, where the inhabitants suffered him to build ships of timber, conveyed thither at his own charge.

While Antigonus was thus employed, and lay encamped by the sea-side, Seleucus came with a fleet of a hundred sail out of Egypt, quick sailers, and royally furnished, and in a scornful manner skirred under the noses of them, which not a little troubled the minds of his new associates, and those that joined with him in the carrying on of the work. For it was very apparent, that the enemy now being masters at sea, would be sure to waste and spoil those who, out of kindness to Antigonus, had joined with their adversaries.

But Antigonus bid them be of good cheer, for before the end of summer, he said, he would be at sea with a fleet of five hundred sail.

Agesilaus, in the mean time returned from his embassy out of Cyprus, and brought intelligence that Nicocreon, and the most potent kings of that island, had already joined Ptolemy; nevertheless, that Citticus, Lapithius, Marius, and Cyreuites, would side with him: whereupon he left three thousand men, under the command of Andronicus, to maintain the siege against Tyre, and he himself

marched with the rest of the army against Gaza and Joppa, which stood out against him, and took them by force; and such of Ptolemy's men whom he found there, he took and distributed among his own regiments, and placed garrisons in both those cities, to keep them in obedience. Which done, he returned to his standing camp about Tyre, and prepared all necessaries for a siege against it. At the same time Aristo, who was intrusted by Eumenes to carry Craterus's bones, delivered them to Phila to be buried, who was married first to Craterus, and at that time to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was a woman of excellent parts and prudence; for by her prudent behaviour and carriage towards every soldier in the army, she was able to qualify and moderate those that were most turbulent, and she put forth the daughters and sisters of those that were poor, at her own charge, and prevented the ruin of many that were falsely accused. It is reported, that Antipater her father (who was the most prudent prince that governed in his age) was used to consult with Phila his daughter in the most weighty affairs, while she was yet but a girl. But the prudence of this woman will more fully appear in the following narration, and when things tended to a revolution, and the fatal period of Demetrius's kingdom. And thus stood the affairs of Antigonus and Phila at this time.

Amongst the captains sent away by Antigonus, Aristodemus passed over to Laconia, and, having got leave of the Spartans to raise soldiers, got together eight thousand out of Peloponnesus; and, upon conference with Polyperchon and Alexander, joined them both in a firm league of amity with Antigonus, and made Polyperchon general over the forces in Peloponnesus, but prevailed with Alexander to pass over into Asia to Antigonus.

Ptolemæus, another of his captains, going into Cappadocia with an army, and there finding the city of Amisus besieged by Asclepiodorus, a captain of Cassander's, raised the siege, and secured the place; and so, having sent away Asclepiodorus, packing up certain conditions, recovered that whole province to Antigonus; and, marching thence through Bithynia, came upon the back of Zibytes, king of the Bithynians, whilst he was busy in besieging two cities at once, that of the Assarenians, and the other of the Chalcedonians, and forced him to raise his siege from both; and then, falling to capitulations both with him and the cities that were besieged, after hostages received, removed thence towards Ionia and Lydia, because Antigonus had written to him to secure that coast with all possible speed, having intelligence that Seleucus was going into those parts with his fleet; whither indeed he came, and besieged Erythræ; but, hearing of the enemy's approach, left it, and went away as he came. Mean-

while Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, came to Antigonus, who made a league with him; and then, calling a general council of the army and the strangers resident there, declared unto them how Cassander had murdered Olympias, and how villainously he had dealt with Roxana and the young king, and that he had forced Thessalonica to marry him, and that it was very clear and evident that he aspired to the kingdom of Macedonia. Moreover, that he had planted the Olynthians, the most bitter enemies of the Macedonians, in the city called after his own name—That he had rebuilt Thebes, which was razed by the Macedonians. Having thus incensed the army, he made and wrote an edict—That Cassander should be considered as an open enemy, unless he razed the two cities, released the king and Roxana his mother, and returned them safe to the Macedonians; and lastly, unless he submitted to Antigonus, as general and sole protector of the kingdom, and freed all the Greek cities, and withdrew all the garrisons out of them.

When the army had approved of this edict by their suffrages, he sent couriers away to publish it in all places: for he hoped that by this means all the Grecians, in expectation of having their liberties restored, would be his confederates, and readily assist him in the war, and that all the governors of the higher provinces, who before suspected him, as if he designed to deprive the posterity of Alexander of the kingdom, (now that it clearly appeared that he took up arms in their behalf), would observe all his commands of their own accord.

Having despatched all these matters, he sent back Alexander with five hundred talents into Peloponnesus, with his hopes raised, in expectation of mighty concerns: and he himself, with shipping from Rhodes, and others he had lately built, set sail for Tyre; where, being now master at sea, he so blocked it up for thirteen months together, that no supply of victuals could be brought thither, and thereby reduced the inhabitants into such great distress, that at length (upon suffering the soldiers to march away with some small things that were their own) the city was surrendered to him upon terms, and he placed a garrison in it for its defence.

In the mean time Ptolemy, hearing what a declaration Antigonus with the Macedonians had made concerning the liberty of the Grecians, made the like himself, as desirous that all the world should take notice that he was no less zealous for the liberty of Greece than Antigonus was: for both of them, well considering of what great moment it was to their affairs to gain the good will of the Grecians, strove one with another which should oblige them most by acts of grace. Then he joined to his party the governor of Caria, who was

a man of great power, and had many great cities under his command. And, though he had before sent three thousand soldiers to the kings in Cyprus, yet he hastened away many more, to reduce those who had there sided against him. Those sent were ten thousand, under the command of Myrmidon, an Athenian born, and an hundred sail of ships, commanded by Polyclitus; and the general over all he made his brother Menelaus.

These coming into Cyprus, joined then with Seleucus and his fleet, and in a council of war advised what course was fit to be taken. The result of which was, that Polyclitus with fifty sail should pass into Peloponnesus, and there should make war upon Aristodemus, Polyperchon, and his son Alexander: that Myrmidon should go with an army of foreigners into Caria, there to help Cassander against Ptolemy, a captain of Antigonus, who pressed hard upon him; and that Seleucus and Menelaus, staying in Cyprus, should bear up Nicocreon the king, and the rest of their confederates, against their enemies.

Having thus therefore divided their forces, Seleucus went and took Cyrinia and Lapithus; and, having drawn over Stasiecus, king of the Malenses, to his party, he forced the prince of the Amathusians to give him hostages for his fealty for the time to come. As for the city Citium, (seeing that it would come to no agreement with him), he set about besieging it with his whole army.

About the same time came forty ships out of the Hellespont and Rhodes, under the command of one Themison, their admiral, to Antigonus; and after them came Dioscorides, with fourscore more; and besides these, Antigonus had a navy of his own newly built in Phœnicia, to the number of an hundred and twenty ships, with those that he left at Tyre; so that he had in the whole two hundred and forty men of war, of which there were ninety of four tier of oars, ten of five, three of nine, ten of ten, and thirty open gallies.

Antigonus dividing this navy into squadrons, sent fifty of them into Peloponnesus, and the rest he committed to Dioscorides, his own brother's son, with this charge—That he should guard the seas, and help his friends as their occasion required, and that he should gain unto his party such of the islands as hitherto stood out against him. And in this posture stood the affairs of Antigonus.

And now, having related the things done throughout all Asia, we shall give a particular account of the affairs of Europe.

Apollonides, being made commander of the Argives by Cassander, in the night broke into Arcadia, and surprised the city* of the Stymphalians. And, while he was absent, some of the Argives (enemies

* Stymphalus, near the Stymphalian Lake.

to Cassander) corresponded with Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, and promised to deliver up the city* into his hands: but Alexander being too slow, Apollonides came to Argos before him, and surprised five hundred of the conspirators that were in a senate in the Prytaneum†, and kept them in, and burnt them there alive; most of the rest he banished, and some few more he took and put to death.

Cassander, having intelligence that Aristodemus was arrived in Peloponnesus, and that he had listed there great numbers of soldiers, in the first place sought to draw off Polyperchon from Antigonus; but not being able to prevail, he marched with an army through Thessaly, and came into Bœotia; where, having assisted the Thebans in raising of their walls, he passed into Peloponnesus, and, having first taken Cenchræa, he spoiled and harassed all the territory of Corinth. Then he took two castles by storm, and, upon condition of future faith and allegiance, dismissed all the garrison soldiers that were placed there by Alexander. Afterwards he besieged Orchomenus, and, being let into the town by Alexander's enemies, he put a garrison into the city: those that sided with Alexander took sanctuary in Diana's temple, whom he gave up to the citizens, to do with them as they thought fit; whereupon the Orchomenians drew them all out of the temple by force, and, against the common laws of Greece, put them all to death.

Cassander went thence into Messenia, but, finding the city strongly garrisoned by Polyperchon, he did not think fit for the present to besiege it, but marched into Arcadia, where he left Damides governor of the city‡, and returned to Argolides§, and there celebrated the Nemæan games, and returned into Macedonia. When he was gone, Alexander with Aristodemus lay before the cities in Peloponnesus, to expel the garrisons of Cassander, and endeavoured all he could to restore the cities to their liberties: which coming to the ears of Cassander, he sent to him Prepelaus, to work upon him to desert Antigonus, and enter into a league of friendship and amity with himself, promising, that if he would do so, he would give him the sovereign command of all Peloponnesus, and create him general of the army, and would advance him to high places of honour and preferment. Alexander, seeing that he was now likely to attain that for which from the beginning he made war upon Cassander, entered into a league with him, and so was made general of all the forces in Peloponnesus.

* Argos.

† A public place where the great men used to sacrifice, or a place where a court was held belonging to the senate.

‡ Stymphalus. § Argia.

In the mean time Polychitus, Seleucus's lieutenant, sailing from Cyprus, came to Cenchrea, where, hearing of the defection of Alexander, and finding no enemy there to encounter, he changed his course, and set sail for Pamphylia; and from thence arriving at Aphrodisiades in Cilicia, he there understood that Theodotus, admiral of Antigonus's navy, would pass by from Patara, a port in Lycia, with the Rhodian fleet, furnished with mariners out of Caria; and that Perilaus with a land-army coasted along by the shore, for the defence of the fleet, if necessary: in this case he outwitted them both; for he landed his men in a place out of view, where the land-army must of necessity pass, and himself with the fleet went and lay behind a foreland, waiting for the coming of the enemy; there the enemy's foot fell into an ambush, and Perilaus himself was taken prisoner, and all his men either killed or taken. The fleet at sea, seeing the land-army engaged, hastened to their relief; but then Polyclitus coming upon them in this confusion, with his ships drawn up in a line of battle, put them easily to flight; so that Polyclitus took all their ships, and most part of the men in them, and amongst the rest Theodotus himself, their admiral, sorely martyred with wounds, of which he shortly after died.

Polyclitus, having succeeded so well on all hands, sailed back first to Cyprus, and then to Pelusium*, where Ptolemy richly rewarded him for so great a service, and promoted him to a far higher dignity and place of honour than he was in before, as the author of so great a victory; but released Perilaus and some other prisoners, whom Antigonus desired by a messenger sent to him for that purpose. And then himself, going to a place called Ecregma, came to a parley with Antigonus; but Antigonus refusing to grant him what he demanded, he left him and returned.

Having now given an account of the affairs of the European Greeks, both in Greece and Macedonia, we shall pass over to the parts lying towards the west.

Agathocles, prince of Syracuse, having possessed himself of a castle belonging to the Messenians, promised to restore it upon receiving of thirty talents of silver; which when the Messenians had paid, he not only broke his faith, but endeavoured to have seized upon Messina itself: for, being informed that part of the walls were fallen down, he sent a party of horse by land from Syracuse, and he himself in some ships called Hemioliast, went by sea, and arrived in the night close under the walls of the city; but the Messenians, coming to understand his design beforehand, wholly defeated him in what he had contrived: however, he came to Mylas, and, upon laying siege

* In Egypt. † Barks or frigates.

to the castle, had it delivered up to him, and then returned to Syracuse. In harvest-time he made a second attempt upon Messina, and, encamping near the city, made continual assaults, but was not able to effect any thing considerable: for many exiles had flocked into this place from Syracuse, who, both for the sake of their own preservation, and out of hatred to the tyrant, fought most courageously.

About this time came ambassadors from Carthage, arguing the case with Agathocles, and complaining of the breach of articles; and, making peace with the Messenians, they forced the tyrant to restore the castle*, and then sailed back into Africa.

After which Agathocles went to Abecenus, one of his confederate cities, and there he put to death forty, whom he looked upon to be his enemies.

In these times the Romans were at war with the Samnites, and took Ferentum by storm; and the inhabitants of Nuceria (called Alfaterna) were, by the persuasions of some persons, prevailed with to desert the Romans, and join in league with the Samnites.

CHAP. V.

The acts of Aristodemus, Antigonus's general in Peloponnesus. The Dimeans in Achaia seek to free themselves from Cassander's garrison: they take the citadel. Alexander, son of Polyperchon, assassinated: the praise of Cratesipolis, his wife. The acts of Cassander in Ætolia, and other parts of Greece. The cruelty of the Ætolians. Cassander sends an army into Caria, and Aristotle with a fleet to Lemnos. The acts of Cassander's army in Caria. Antigonus leaves his son Demetrius in Syria, to watch Ptolemy. His troublesome march into Asia. The affairs of Sicily. Acrotatus's misgovernment and cruelties in Sicily. The acts of Agathocles. The affairs of Italy.

WHEN the former year was ended, Nicodorus was created archon at Athens, and Lucius Papirius chosen the fourth, and Quintus Publius the second time consul at Rome. At that time Aristodemus, made general by Antigonus, hearing of the defection of Alexander,

* Mylæ.

the son of Polyperchon, after he had opened the justice of the cause before the senate of the Ætolians, solicited them to be assistant to the affairs of Antigonus. Then passing into Peloponnesus with the mercenaries, found Alexander with the Elians besieging Cyllene, and, just arriving in time, raised the siege; and then, leaving a garrison to defend the place, he moved towards Actria, and freed Patræ from the garrison of Cassander; but Ægææ he took by force, and, being possessed of the place, was ready to restore the Ægæans to their liberty, according to the former decree, but was prevented by this accident. The soldiers began to plunder; and upon that occasion many of the citizens were killed, and the greatest part of the town was burnt to the ground.

After which he sailed back into Ætolia. The Dymæi, who were awed by a garrison of Cassander's in the castle, separated their city from the citadel by a wall drawn round it, and, encouraging one another to stand up for their liberties, besieged the castle, and infested it with continual assaults: of which Alexander receiving intelligence, he came upon them with his army on a sudden, and drove them within their walls, and entered pell mell with them into the city, and took it. Some of the Dymæans he put to the sword, others he imprisoned, and many of them he banished. After Alexander went away, the rest of them were quiet for a little while, being both terrified with the greatness of the late calamity, and likewise wanting the assistance of their confederates. But some time after, they made application to Aristodemus's mercenaries, who marched to them from Ægææ: whereupon they again assaulted the citadel, and took it, and freed the city, and put many of the garrison to the sword, and put to death such of their own citizens as favoured Alexander's party.

Amongst these turns and changes of fortune, while Alexander with his army was marching from Sicyon, he was killed by Alexion, a Sicyonian, and some others, who pretended to be his friends. His wife Cratesipolis after his death took upon her the management of affairs, and kept the army in due obedience. Her obliging carriage and bounty was such, that she was greatly beloved by the soldiers; for she was continually affording all the help she could to them that were in distress, and relieving and supporting many that were in want: besides, she was a woman of admirable prudence in managing affairs, and of courage beyond the natural temper of her sex. For when the Sicyonians, in contempt of her, (after the death of her husband), rose up in arms for the recovery of their liberty, she executed her revenge by cutting off multitudes of them in a field-battle, and crucified thirty of those she had taken prisoners: and so, having

settled the affairs of the city, she reigned over the Sicyonians, having under her command multitudes of soldiers ready upon all occasions for any undertaking, though ever so hazardous. And this was then the state and condition of Peloponnesus.

Cassander, perceiving that the Ætolians assisted Antigonus, and were then likewise engaged in a war with their neighbours the Acarnanians, judged that the most probable way to bring down the Ætolians was for him to join with the Acarnanians. To this end, he marched out of Macedonia with a great army, and came into Ætolia, and encamped near the river Camphylus. Here he invited the Acarnanians to a common consultation, where he set forth how they had been vexed for many generations past by war from their unruly and troublesome neighbours; and therefore he advised them, that they should leave their little forts and castles, (though they were fortified), and betake themselves to a few cities, lest, being so dispersed and scattered in their habitations, they should not be able to get together to assist one another when the enemy at any time should suddenly and unexpectedly break in upon them. The Acarnanians followed his advice, and the most of them removed to Stratopolis, which was the strongest and largest of their cities. The Œniadæ, and some others, went to Saurion; the Dorians, with the rest, to Agrinium.

Cassander hereupon left Lyciscus his general in those parts with a considerable body of men, with orders to assist the Acarnanians; and he himself marched with his army to the city Leucades, and by treaty gained them for confederates. Then with a swift march he came suddenly into Adria, and took in Apollonia upon his first approach. Thence marching into Illyria, he passed over the river Hebrus, and fought with Glaucias, the Illyrian king, and routed his army; after which he made peace with him, upon condition that he should not make war upon any of his confederates. Then he took Epidamnus*, and, placing there a garrison, returned into Macedonia.

After Cassander had left Ætolia, the Ætolians joining together, to the number of three thousand, besieged Agrinium, girting it round with a trench and a breast-work. But the inhabitants that came before out of the country treated and agreed with the enemy—That upon delivery up of the city, their persons should be secure, and they should have liberty to depart and leave the place. Whereupon, after faith given for their security, they went out; but, when they were on their way, the Ætolians falsely and treacherously, when the others never suspected any thing, pursued them, and killed them almost every man.

* Epidamnum, bordering upon the Adriatic sea. Now called Durazzo, called also Dyrrachium.

Cassander being returned into Macedonia, as soon as he heard how the cities in Caria (that had confederated with Ptolemy and Seleucus) were infested by the war, sent over an army into Caria, both to help the confederates, and also in time to divert Antigonus, that he might have no leisure to come into Europe. He commanded also by his letters Demetrius, Phalerius, and Dionysius, governor of the fort of Munychia, to fit out forthwith twenty ships for Lemnos: who thereupon presently despatched away the ships, under the command of Aristotle, their admiral; and he, arriving at Lemnos, and being there joined by Seleucus and his fleet, prevailed with the inhabitants to desert Antigonus. But they afterwards retracted what they had before engaged to, and thereupon he wasted and harassed the country, and drew a trench round the city, and besieged it.

About this time Seleucus arrived at Coos; whose coming there being noised abroad, Dioscorides, admiral of Antigonus's fleet, sailed to Lemnos, and drove Aristotle out of the island, and took many of his ships, together with all their men on board.

One Cassander and Prepelaus were commanders of the forces sent into Caria by Cassander; who, hearing that Ptolemy, Antigonus's general in those parts, had distributed his army into their winter-quarters, and that he himself was busied in burying his father, sent away Eupolemus, with eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, to a place called Caprima, in Caria, to lie in ambuscade for him there: but Ptolemy getting notice thereof by some that fled over to him, got together out of the next winter-quarters eight thousand three hundred foot, and six hundred horse, and, falling about midnight into the enemy's trenches, and finding them nearly all fast asleep, took Eupolemus prisoner, and forced all his men to surrender at discretion. And this was then the condition of those sent by Cassander into Asia.

But Antigonus, perceiving that Cassander aimed at the sovereignty of Asia, left his son Demetrius in Syria, with instructions to intercept Ptolemy's men, whom he suspected were then coming with an army further up into Syria; and for that purpose left with him ten thousand foot of other nations, two thousand Macedonians, five hundred out of Lycia and Pamphylia, four hundred Persian archers and slingers, five thousand horse, and above forty elephants; and four men for his counsellors, Nearchon, Python, son of Agenor, who came lately from Babylon, Andronicus of Olynthus, and Philippus, all men of mature age and judgment, and such as had attended upon Alexander in all his wars: for Demetrius himself was but a young man, not above two-and-twenty years of age. Upon Antigonus himself, while he passed with the rest of his army over Mount Taurus,

there fell a mighty snow, wherein he lost many of his men. Whereupon he returned back into Cilicia, where he found out a better way to pass that mountain, and with little damage to his army; and so, coming to Celæne in Phrygia, he there put his army into winter-quarters. Then he sent for the fleet out of Phœnicia, of which Medius was admiral, who by mere chance in his way met with a fleet of thirty-six sail belonging to the city of Pydna, and defeated them, and brought the ships, with all their men, under his subjection. In this posture stood the affairs both of Greece and Asia at this time.

In the mean time, in Sicily, the exiles of Syracuse, who were then in Agrigentum, stirred up the great men of the city not to suffer Agathocles in that manner to make a prey of the cities, alleging, that it was better to fall upon the tyrant before he grew too strong, than to wait till he was in greater power, and then to be forced to contend with him, when it was more hazardous. Whereupon the Agrigentines, approving of this advice, decreed by their suffrages war against Agathocles; and, joining in confederacy with the Geloans and Messenians, they sent some of the exiles to the Lacedæmonians, with orders to procure a general to be sent to them from thence: for they suspected that some of their own citizens were too much inclined to tyranny themselves; but judged that foreigners, if they remembered the government of Timoleon the Corinthian, would better manage the public affairs. When they arrived, therefore, in Laconia, they found Acrotatus, the son of King Cleomenes, much hated by many of the young noblemen at home, and therefore very desirous to be employed abroad: for when the Lacedæmonians, after the fight with Antipater, had acquitted those that escaped out of that battle from all censures of disgrace, he only opposed the decree; so that many were offended at him, especially those that were liable to the penalty of the laws. And upon that account they had lain in wait for him, and beaten him, and were constantly seeking to entrap him: being therefore for this reason desirous of a foreign command, he very freely complied with the Agrigentines; and thereupon, without the order of the ephori, (resolving upon the voyage), he set sail with a few ships for Agrigentum: but, being driven back by a storm into Adria, he arrived in the territory of the Apolloniates; where, finding the city besieged by Glaucias, king of the Illyrians, he persuaded the king to raise the siege, and enter into a league of friendship with the Apolloniates. Then he sailed to Tarentum, and there solicited the people to join with him in procuring the restoration of the Syracusans to their antient liberties, and so far prevailed, that they decreed to assist them with twenty ships: for, on account of his kindred, and the nobleness of his family, his words were of great

weight and credit. While the Tarentines were making preparations, he himself sailed to Agrigentum, and there took upon him the command of the army; whereupon the people were in high expectations, all concluding that an end would presently be put to the tyranny: but, in a short time, it plainly appeared that he did nothing worthy either the nobility of his birth or the reputation of his country, but on the contrary became more cruel than the very tyrants themselves, and so fell into the hatred of the people; he degenerated likewise from the custom of his country in his manner of living, and so indulged himself in voluptuousness, that he seemed more like a Persian than a Spartan. After he had lavished away the greatest part of the public revenues, partly by his misgovernment, and partly by robbing of the treasury, in the conclusion he invited Sosistratus (the most eminent person among the exiles) and one who had been a general of armies) to supper, and treacherously killed him, not having any thing in the least to lay to his charge, but only that he might take out of the way a stout and valiant man, and one that was able to discern and discover his miscarriages: which wicked act being presently noised abroad, the exiles in a body came upon him, and every body else forsook him, and in the first place they deposed him, and presently after attempted to stone him to death; to avoid therefore the rage of the people, he stole away in the night, and landed privately in Laconia. After his departure, the Tarentines recalled the fleet they had before sent into Sicily.

Hereupon the Agrigentines, Geloans, and Messenians, by the mediation of Amilcar, the Carthaginian general, made peace with Agathocles, the conditions of which were—That Heraclea, Selinus, and Himera, part of the Greek cities, should belong to the Carthaginians, as they did before; all the rest, under the power of the Syracusans, should be free to be governed by their own laws. But afterwards Agathocles, when he saw the coast clear, and Sicily free from all appearance of an enemy, fell upon the cities, and without any difficulty brought them under his subjection; and, gaining many in a very short time, strongly fixed himself in the principality. For, in the multitude of his confederates, the greatness of his yearly revenues, and the power of a mighty army, he grew very strong: for, besides his confederates, and those raised from among the Syracusans, he had of mercenaries ten thousand foot, and three thousand and fifty horse; he furnished himself likewise with all sorts of arms, foreseeing that the Carthaginians (who had smartly rebuked Amilcar for making the peace) would in a short time make war upon him. And such was the state of Sicily at this time.

In Italy, the Samnites, having now been at war with the Romans

for many years last past, took Philista, wherein was a strong Roman garrison, and prevailed with the Soranions to massacre all the Romans that were there, and to confederate with the Samnites.

Afterwards, while the Romans were besieging Saticula, they came upon them with a strong army, resolving to raise the siege; upon which followed a sharp engagement, and, after many killed on both sides, the Romans carried the day; and then presently after they took the town, and gained several other neighbouring towns and castles. And now the war was brought over amongst the cities of Apulia; whereupon the Samnites listed all that were of age to bear arms, and marched out, and encamped close to the enemy, being now resolved to win or lose all. The people of Rome therefore, to prevent the worst, sent thither a great number of soldiers; and, because they were accustomed in perilous times to choose one of the most noble and eminent persons to be their general, with full and absolute power and authority, they therefore pitched upon Quintus Fabius and Quintus Aulius, master of the horse, for that honourable employment. These generals afterwards fought the Samnites at Lautulus, where they sustained great loss of their men, and the whole army fled outright, only Aulus (being ashamed of the dishonour) opposed the whole body of the enemy, not out of any hopes or expectation of gaining the victory, but to have it manifest and apparent to all, from his own valour, that his country was unconquerable. Not sharing therefore with the rest of the citizens in the dishonour of the flight, he died there a glorious and honourable death.

The Romans now, fearing lest they should lose all Apulia, sent colonies into Luceria*, the most famous city of all those parts; and this proved of great advantage to them, by the frequent eruptions made upon the Samnites: for, by the help and advantage of this city, they became conquerors not only in this war, but several times afterwards; and even to our present age they have constantly made use of this city as a strong fort and citadel of war against all the neighbouring nations.

* Luceria, now Nocera.

CHAP. VI.

Several cities revolt; Lysimachus comes against them. Philip, Cassander's general, routs the Epirots and Ætolians. Cassander agrees with Antigonus. Antigonus gains the cities in Caria. Cassander's acts in Greece. The Samnites routed by the Romans. Polemon sent by Antigonus into Greece to set the cities at liberty. The acts of Antigonus and Cassander. Polemon's acts in Greece for Antigonus. Ptolemy goes against Cyrene and Cyprus; and then against Demetrius. The battle with Demetrius at Gaza. Ptolemy takes Tyre. The acts of Antigonus's commanders in Greece. The Epirots make Alcetas king, who is beaten by Lyciscus, Cassander's general; and is beaten again by the other. Cassander goes against the Apolloniates. Seleucus recovers Babylon with a small army. Demetrius routs Cilles, Ptolemy's general. Ptolemy returns to Egypt, after wasting Samaria, Gaza, Joppa, &c. Athenæus sent against the Nabathæans by Antigonus. The customs of the Arabians. Description of the Asphaltites, or Lake of Sodom. Demetrius sent against Seleucus in Babylon. The Wars between the Romans and Samnites in Italy. The conduct of Agathocles in Sicily.

THE affairs of this year being brought to this conclusion, Theophrastus became chief magistrate of Athens, and Marcus Petilius and Caius Sulpitius were invested with the consular dignity at Rome.—The Callantinians, the inhabitants of those parts on the left of the Pontus, cast out the garrison put upon them by Lysimachus, and recovered their liberty. In the same manner the Istrians freed their city, and confederated with the neighbouring inhabitants to join together in a war against their prince. The Thracians and Scythians likewise joined with their neighbours; so that all the forces together were of that strength, that they were able to cope with the most potent army.

Lysimachus hearing what was done, marched with his army against the rebels, and passing through Thrace, when he had got over mount Hæmus, encamped near Odessus, which, upon blocking it up, the inhabitants in a great consternation delivered up to him. Reducing likewise the Istrians in the same manner, he marched thence against the Callantinians; about which time the Thracians and Scythians came in with a great army to the assistance of their confederates. Upon

which Lysimachus advancing, faced them, and forthwith lifting up his ensigns for battle, the Thracians were so terrified, that they marched off and went their way. But he engaged the Scythians and routed them, killing a great number, and driving the rest out of the country. Then he laid close siege to the city of the Callantinians, setting all his wits at work, and making it his principal and only business how he might be revenged on the authors of the defection. While he was engaged in this project, news was brought him that Antigonus had sent two armies to the assistance of the Callantinians, one by land and another by sea; and that Lycon the admiral was with the fleet in Pontus, and that Pausanias was encamped with a great land army at Hieron. At this news Lysimachus was much concerned, and thereupon, leaving a considerable body of troops to maintain the siege, he speedily marched off with the main strength of his army to engage the enemy; and being ready to repass mount Hæmus, he found Seuthes king of Thrace, who had revolted to Antigonus, obstructing his passage with a great body of men: upon which he engaged, and forced his way through the barbarians, with the loss of a great number of his own men, but many more of the enemy.

Then he fell upon the Pausanians, finding them in the straits, whither they had fled. These he gained by force; and having killed Pausanias, he discharged some of the soldiers upon ransom, and others, who took up arms with him, he distributed amongst his own troops. And thus stood the affairs of Lysimachus. But when this enterprise failed, Antigonus sent Telesphorus into Peloponnesus with a fleet of fifty sail, and a considerable number of soldiers, with orders to set free all the cities, that they might live according to their own ancient laws. This he did, hoping by this means to gain credit amongst the Grecians, as one that really intended the procurement and preservation of their liberties and by this plan he concluded he should find out how matters stood with Cassander.

Telesphorus therefore, as soon as he arrived in Peloponnesus, went to Alexander's garrisons, and set them all free, except Sicyon and Corinth. For in these Polyperchon had placed great numbers of soldiers, trusting to them and the strength of the places.

In the mean time Philip, being sent by Cassander as general to make war upon the Ætolians, as soon as he came with his army into Acarnania, the first thing he did was to harass and spoil Ætolia: but not long after, hearing that Æacidas king of Epirus (who was restored to his kingdom) had raised a strong army, he made against him with all speed; for he endeavoured all he could to fight him before the Ætolians had joined him. And finding the Epirots ready prepared to fight, he forthwith engaged, and killed multitudes of

them, and took many prisoners; amongst whom it happened that there were about fifty of the faction who were the instruments of restoring Æacidas, whom he sent away bound to Cassander. Afterwards, the broken troops of Æacidas rallying again, joined with the Ætolians; and Philip set upon them and routed them a second time, with the slaughter of many, amongst whom was Æacidas himself.

Having effected such great matters in so short a time, the Ætolians were so terrified, that they forsook their unfortified cities, and fled with their wives and children to the fastnesses of the mountains, where it was very difficult to come at them. And this conclusion had the affairs of Greece at that time.

As for Asia, Cassander, though he was chief governor there, yet, overpressed with the weight of the war, agreed with Antigonus upon these terms—That he should deliver all the soldiers into the hands of Antigonus, and should grant liberty to all the Greek cities there, to govern according to their own laws; and that he should keep the province he formerly possessed as by grant from him, and should be ever after Antigonus's firm friend.

And for the true performance of these conditions, he delivered to him his brother Agathonas as hostage: but in a short time after he repented of what he had done, and got his brother out of the clutches of those who had him in custody, and sent an ambassador to Ptolemy and Seleucus, to desire them to send him aid with all speed: at which Antigonus was highly incensed, and sent off forces both by sea and land, with orders to set free all the cities, and created Medius admiral of the fleet, and Docimus general of the land forces.

These commanders coming to Miletus, persuaded the inhabitants to stand up for their liberties; and took the citadel with the garrison therein, and restored the ancient laws to the cities.

In the mean time Antigonus took Tralles; and then lay before the city of Caunus, and sending his fleet, took that likewise, except only the castle; about which he cast a trench, and made continual assaults upon it, in those parts where there was any hope of entry. He had sent Ptolemy to the city of Iasus, with a considerable army; but he was glad to return again to Antigonus; and so all those cities in Caria came at that time into his hands.

Within a few days after, came ambassadors from the Ætolians and Bœotians, with whom Antigonus entered into a league of confederacy; but, going to Cassander to the Hellespont to treat with him for a peace, he returned without effecting any thing, for they could not agree upon any terms. Whereupon Cassander, casting aside all hopes of an accommodation, resolved again to pursue the settlement of his affairs in Greece. To that end he went with a fleet of thirty

sail, to the city of Oreum*, which he so fiercely assaulted, that he took it by storm; presently upon this came in Telesphorus from Peloponnesus, with twenty ships and a thousand soldiers, and Medius out of Asia, with a hundred sail, to the relief of Oreum, who, spying Cassander's ships then at anchor in the harbour, burnt four of them, and disabled almost all the rest. But the Athenians coming in to their relief, Cassander, in scorn and contempt of the enemy, fell upon them afresh, and in the engagement sunk one, and took three, together with all their men. And thus were affairs then managed in Greece.

In Italy, the Samnites wasted and spoiled the towns and country round about that sided with their enemies: but the Roman consuls marched into those parts with an army, in order to succour their confederates; and there encamping near Cinna, in the face of the enemy, they allayed the fears of the city. A few days after, the armies on both sides drew up in battalia, and fought a bloody battle, wherein multitudes fell on both sides; but at length the Romans, breaking through the main body of their enemies, totally routed them, and pursued them a long way, and killed above ten thousand.

In the mean time the Campanians, (not knowing of this battle), in contempt of the Romans, rebelled: whereupon the people of Rome forthwith sent out a strong army against them, under the command of Caius Menius, as general, with absolute and unlimited power, with whom was joined, according to the custom of the Romans, Marcus Follius, master of the horse. These consuls sitting down with their army near Capua, the Campanians at first resolved to fight them; but afterwards, hearing of the rout and slaughter of the Samnites, and thinking that the Romans would fall upon them with their whole army, made peace with them: for they gave up the ringleaders of the defection, who, after they were examined, prevented the sentence of condemnation by murdering themselves. But the cities were pardoned, and so returned to their former allegiance.

The former year being ended, Polemus executed the place of the chief magistrate at Athens, and Lucius Papirius the fifth, and Caius Junius the second consulate at Rome, in which year was celebrated the hundred and seventeenth Olympiad, in which Parmenio of Mitylene carried away the prize. At this time Antigonus sent Polemon into Greece, to set at liberty all the Grecian cities, and with him a hundred and fifty long ships, under the command of Medius, his admiral, on board of which vessels were five thousand foot and five hundred horse. Having made a league with the Rhodians, he re-

* In Eubœa, now Negropont.

ceived likewise ten ships of war more from them, to help forward the restoring of the Greek cities to their liberties. About the same time Ptolemy* arrived in the harbour of Bœotia (called the Deep) with the whole fleet, and received from the Bœotians two thousand two hundred foot, and thirteen hundred horse. He sent likewise for shipping from Oreum, and walled Salganea†, and there rendezvoused his whole army; for he was in good hopes that the Chalcidians would confederate with him, who were the only Eubœans that were garrisoned by the enemy. But Cassander was jealous of Chalcis‡, and therefore raised his siege before Oreum, and sent for his forces thither.

Antigonus, being informed that the armies lay encamped one over against another in Eubœa, recalled Medius with the fleet into Asia, and forthwith got his forces together, and with a swift march made for the Hellespont, with a design to pass over into Macedonia, that he might either seize upon it while Cassander was busy in Eubœa, and the country void of sufficient defence; or that, by forcing him to come in with aid for the defence of the kingdom, he might thereby divert him from prosecuting the war in Greece, and necessitate him to endeavour for the preservation of his concerns nearer at home.

But Cassander coming to understand what he designed, left Plistarchus to guard Chalcis, and he himself marched away with the whole army, and took Oropus by assault, and brought over the Thebans to be his confederates, and entered into a truce with the rest of the Bœotians; and having so done, he left Eupolemus to defend Greece, and returned into Macedonia with his head full of care concerning the enemy's march into that country.

When Antigonus came to the Propontis, he solicited the Byzantines by his ambassadors to join with him as confederates; but it proved that there were there at the same time agents from Lysimachus, treating with them not to engage in any thing either against him or Cassander. Whereupon the Byzantines resolved to remain quiet at home, and stand upon equal terms of peace and amity with both sides.

This unlucky accident giving a stop to Antigonus's further progress in this affair, together with the approach of the winter, he distributed his soldiers in the towns round about into their winter-quarters.

In the mean time, the Corcyreans assisted the Apolloniates and them of Epidamnus, and, upon terms of agreement, sent away Cas-

* Antigonus's general. † Salganeus in Bœotia, near Chalcis. ‡ In Bœotia.

sander's soldiers, and thereupon restored them of Apollonia to their antient liberties, and Epidamnus they delivered up to Glaucias, king of the Illyrians.

But Ptolemy, Antigonus's general, upon Cassander's return into Macedonia, and the consternation Chalcis was in, had the city delivered up to him, and so freed the Chaleidians from receiving any further garrison, to the end that every one might take notice that Antigonus was sincere, and did really design to restore all the Greek cities to their liberties; for it was a city of very great moment and concern to such as were ambitious of gaining the sovereignty of Greece, and valued a place of strength for that purpose.

Polemon likewise took Oropus, and delivered it up to the Boeotians, and made all Cassander's soldiers prisoners of war; and, after he had brought in the Eretrians and Carystians to join as confederates, he led his army into Attica, Demetrius Phalerius being then chief magistrate of the city: for those Athenians that desired to be restored to their antient laws had not long before sent privately to Antigonus, to treat with him upon that account; and now, being more resolved and encouraged upon Ptolemy's drawing near to the city, they forced Demetrius to make a truce, and send an agent to Antigonus, in order to treat of a league with him.

Out of Attica, Ptolemy marched into Boeotia, and took the citadel Cadmea, and freed the Thebans from that garrison. Thence he went forward into Phocis, and, reducing several cities there, he cast out the garrisons of Cassander in every place wherever he came. Then he invaded Locris; and, because the Opuntians joined with Cassander, he besieged them, and pressed upon the place with continual assaults.

About the same time, the Cyrenians revolted from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and besieged the castle there so fiercely, as if they would presently have taken it; and when messengers came from Alexandria, persuading them to desist, they struck off their heads, and fell to work against the castle more fiercely than before. Ptolemy being exceedingly moved hereat, sent one Agis, a captain of his, thither with an army, and withal a navy to assist him by sea, under the command of Epenetus. Agis vigorously pursuing the war against those rebels, took Cyrene by storm, and committed the authors of this sedition to prison, and then sent them bound to Alexandria, and disarmed the rest: and so, having set things in order there, (as he saw cause), returned into Egypt.

Ptolemy having had this good success at Cyrene, took shipping, and with his fleet passed over out of Egypt into Cyprus, against those who rebelled against their kings; and, having seized Pygmalion,

(whom he found corresponding with Antigonus), he put him to death. Then he took Praxippus, king of the Lapithæ*, and prince of Cerynea†, who was suspected of a revolt, and laid them fast: he took likewise Stasiecus, a petty king of the Malieans‡, and, destroying their city, removed the inhabitants from thence to Paphos; which done, he made Nicocreon commander over all Cyprus, and gave him the cities, together with the revenues of all the kings whom he had cast out of their dominions, and then went with his army into the Upper Syria, and saked the cities Posideum and Potamos, of the Carians. That done, he went with a flying army into Cilicia, and took Mallos, and sold all the inhabitants for slaves, and wasted all the region thereabout; and, having stored all his army with rich plunder, sailed back again to Cyprus. He so shared with his soldiers in all hazards and dangers, that he stirred them up, by his example, cheerfully and readily to undergo all manner of difficulties.

Meanwhile Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, kept in Cœlosyria, expecting the coming of the Egyptians; but when he heard of the taking of so many cities, he left Python to command in those parts, leaving his corsleteers and elephants with him, and he, with his horse and companies of light-armed soldiers, hastened away with all speed to Cilicia, to aid them that were in distress there; but coming too late, and finding the enemies all gone, he returned speedily to his camp again, spoiling many of his horse by the way; for in six days time he made away from Mallos, four-and-twenty days journey, by their ordinary stages; so that, through their immoderate speed in travelling, none of their servants or horse-boys were able to keep them company.

Ptolemy therefore, seeing all go every where as he would have it, for the present returned into Egypt. But not long after, being prevailed upon by Seleucus, (for the hatred that he bore to Antigonus), he resolved to march into Cœlosyria, and there to try it out with Demetrius: wherefore, gathering all his army together, he marched from Alexandria to Pelusium, having with him eighteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse, whereof some were Macedonians, and some hired soldiers: as for the Egyptians, some served to carry their darts and weapons, and other luggage of the army, and some for soldiers; and, having passed the desert from Pelusium, he encamped near the old city of Gaza, in Syria, not far from the enemy.

Demetrius, on the other side, called all his army out of their winter-quarters, and appointed them to rendezvous at Gaza, there to attend the enemy's approach. His friends indeed advised him not to fight with so great a general, who had the advantage of a far more

* In Thessaly. † In Arcadia. ‡ Malieans, in Thessaly.

numerous army; but he rejected their counsel, and confidently prepared himself for battle, though he was then but a mere boy, and was to undertake so hazardous an engagement without his father. Calling now, therefore, the soldiers as they stood at their arms, he mounted an ascent raised by earth, and there stood as if he were in amaze and astonishment: upon which, all the soldiers cried out with one voice—"Be courageous;" and presently there was a deep silence before the herald could command it: for, because that he had but newly taken upon him the sovereign command, none took any offence at his deportment, in relation either to civil or military affairs, which is frequently the lot of old captains, who have many times all their faults exposed at one time:—For the common people are not long pleased with the same things; and whatever grows stale in the use, has a pleasant gust in the change and alteration. And besides, the expectation of his coming to the kingdom (his father being now old) conjoined in his succession both the supreme command and the good will of the people together. Moreover, he was a very proper and comely person, and, being clad in royal armour, appeared in that majesty as possessed the beholders with awe and reverence, and raised up the spirits of the army with high expectations of great things to come. He was likewise of a mild disposition, becoming a new prince and general, by which he won the love of all, insomuch that even those who were not as yet reduced into regular regiments flocked to him to receive his commands, being much concerned upon account of his youth, and the hazardous battle that was presently to be fought: for he was not only to try the fortune of war against a greater number of men, but against the most eminent and expert commanders of the age, Ptolemy and Seleucus, who had been captains under Alexander in all his wars, and had been often generals of their own armies, never conquered to that day.

Demetrius therefore, after he had with winning and obliging expressions courted the soldiers, and promised rewards suitable to every man's merit, drew up the army in battalia. In the left wing (where he himself intended to be) he placed first two hundred choice horse, amongst whom, with other of the nobility, was Python, who had served under Alexander, and had been made general of all the forces by Antigonus, and fellow-partner with him in all his concerns. In the front he placed three regiments of horse, and as many flankers to support them: at a distance out from the wing were three other regiments of Tarentines, to the end that five hundred horsemen with lances, and a hundred Tarentines, might be ready at hand as the king's life-guard. Next he placed eight hundred horse, which were called Associates; and after them fifteen hundred out of several na-

tions; and before the whole wing stood as a guard thirty elephants, lined with light-armed men, of whom a thousand were darters and archers, and five hundred Persian slingers. And in this manner was the left wing drawn up, with which he intended to make the onset: then was ranged the main body, consisting of eleven thousand foot, of whom two thousand were Macedonians, and a thousand Lycians and Pamphylians, and eight thousand hired soldiers.

In the right wing he drew up the rest of the horse, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of Andronicus, who had orders to keep in an oblique line, and make a running fight of it, still observing how it went with Demetrius. The rest of the elephants, to the number of thirteen, he placed before the main body of the foot, lining them with as many light-armed men as were sufficient. And in this manner Demetrius drew up his army.

As for Ptolemy and Seleucus, at the first they made it their business to place their greatest strength in their left wing, not knowing what the enemy designed: but being afterwards informed by their scouts what was done, they forthwith so drew up, as that the greatest strength being in their right wing, they might be the better able to engage with Demetrius in the left; and therefore in that wing were drawn up three thousand of the best horse, amongst whom they themselves intended to charge. Before these were placed those who bore an artificial palisado before them, sharp-pointed with iron, and fastened together with chains, prepared against the shock of the elephants; for this being drawn out in length, it was an easy matter by this means to put a stop to their further career. In the front of this wing were placed light-armed soldiers, who were commanded to ply the elephants and their riders with darts and arrows as they came on. The right wing being thus drawn up, and the rest of the army so disposed as the present occasion at that time most required, they led forth the army with a great shout towards the enemy; who, on the other side, drawing down upon them, the fight was begun by the horse in the fronts of both wings, where the Demetrians had much the better; but within a little time after, the Ptolemians and Seleucians (having surrounded the wing) made a fierce charge with their whole body, upon which (through the resolution of both parties) there followed a very sharp engagement. Upon the first onset they fought with their lances, when many were killed, and as many wounded, on both sides. Then they fell to it with their swords, and there, thronging together, thrust one another through, and fell in heaps together.

The generals, exposing themselves to the utmost hazard, led on their men, and encouraged their troops to stick to it like valiant sol-

diers. The horse, which were placed to guard the wings, were all brave and gallant men; and having their commanders, who fought together with them, eye-witnesses of their valour, strove to outvie each other. And now, when the fight between the horse had been a long time doubtful, the elephants, forced on by the Indians, made so terrible an onset, that it appeared impossible for any force to have stood against them. But when they came up to the palisado, the darters and archers sorely galled both the beasts and their riders; and being still forced on, and whipt by the Indians, some of them stuck upon the sharp points of the palisado, with which, besides the multitude of the darts and arrows that galled them, they were in such pain and torment, that they caused a horrible tumult and confusion: for these creatures, in plain and level places, bear down all before them; but in those which are rough and craggy, they are of no use or service, because of the tenderness of their feet. Ptolemy therefore, wisely foreseeing of what advantage this palisado would be, by that means frustrated the rage and fury of the beasts. At length, most of the Indians that rode them being killed, all the elephants were taken; upon which the greatest part of Demetrius's horse were in such a consternation, that they forthwith fled; and he himself was left with a very few that attended him; but not being able, with all the arguments he could make, to persuade his men to stand their ground, and not forsake him, he was forced likewise to retreat. A great part of the horse that followed the other, retired in good order, and kept themselves unbroken till they came to Gaza, so as that none of the pursuers durst hastily fall upon them. For the field being a large open plain, they had the more liberty to draw off in order and retreat in a formed body. Some of the foot also, thinking it the best course to forfake their colours and look to themselves, cast away their arms, and followed the horse.

About sun-setting Demetrius passed by Gaza*; but some of the horse left him and entered the city, for the purpose of bringing out some luggage. The gates therefore being open, and the streets filled with baggage horses, and all being engaged in leading and carrying out their goods, there was such disorder and thronging at the gates, that, upon the approach of Ptolemy's troops, it was impossible to shut them to prevent their entry; so that the enemy breaking in, the city thus fell into the hands of Ptolemy. And such was the issue of this battle.

Demetrius, without stop or delay, about midnight arrived at Azotus†, having ridden about thirty miles from the place of battle‡.—

* Gaza, in Judæa, where Sampson carried away the gates.

† Asdod, in Judæa, now a small village called Alsote.

‡ Two hundred and seventy furlongs.

Thence he sent to the dead bodies of the dead, being very desirous of performing the last office of right due to them that were slain. Many of his nobility were there killed; amongst whom, the most eminent were Python, joined in equal commission with himself, and Beotus, who had long lived with Antigonus his father, and was ever privy to all his designs, and partaker of all his councils. There were slain in this battle, on Demetrius's side, above five hundred,* the greatest part of whom was horse, and the chief of his nobility; and more than eight thousand were taken prisoners.

Ptolemy and Seleucus not only granted him the dead bodies, but sent him back his own pavilion with all the furniture belonging to it, and all such prisoners as were of his household, free and without ransom; moreover letting him know, that they fought not with Antigonus for these things, but because he had not restored to the governors those provinces that were conquered by their joint arms in the war first against Perdiccas, and then against Eumenes; also because, after that he had renewed his league of friendship with Seleucus, he had most unjustly, and against all right, deprived him of the province of Babylon. Other prisoners Ptolemy sent into Egypt, with orders to distribute them amongst the several regiments in his fleet.

After Ptolemy had with great pomp and solemnity buried those that were slain in the battle, he marched with his army against the cities of Phœnicia, besieging some and persuading others to yield. Demetrius in the mean time (being no longer able to hold out) despatched away a messenger with letters to his father, to pray him to come speedily to his assistance: and he himself going to Tripoli in Phœnicia, sent for the soldiers that were in Cilicia and elsewhere in garrisons remote and far distant from the enemies' quarters to come to him. But Ptolemy, still keeping with his army in the open field, marched unto the coasts of Sidon, and encamping near Tyre, sent to Andronicus, governor of the garrison there, to surrender the city to him, making him large promises both of wealth and honour. But he not only answered—That he would never betray the trust which Antigonus and Demetrius had put in him, but also used many reviling speeches against Ptolemy: but a little while after he was surprised by a mutiny of his own soldiers, and fell into his hands; and thereupon expected nothing but death for his refusal to deliver up the city, and for his reviling language. But Ptolemy not only forgot the injury but highly rewarded him, and took him into the number of his friends, and honourably preferred him. For this prince was of a most affable and gentle disposition, and very kind and generous,

* Five thousand, according to Plutarch.

which much contributed to the increase of his power, and to the advancement of his honour and reputation, and induced many upon that account to join with him, as his allies and confederates. For he honourably received Seleucus when he was cast out of Babylon, and made him and the rest of his friends partners with him in that plenty and state of prosperity which he himself enjoyed: and therefore, when Seleucus desired some forces from him to go along with him to Babylon, he very readily granted them, and besides promised that he would assist him in every thing to his power, till he had recovered his former government. In this condition stood the affairs of Asia at that time.

In Europe, Telesphorus, Antigonus's admiral, who then lay with the fleet at Corinth, seeing how Ptolemy was preferred before him, and that all the concerns of Greece were entrusted to his hands, accused Antigonus upon this account, and delivered up to him those ships he had with him. Then picking out so many of his soldiers as were willing to join with him in his designs, he began to put them in execution. And pretending to be in amity with Antigonus, he entered Elis, fortified the citadel, and enslaved the city. He likewise robbed the temple at Olympus, and took thence above fifty talents of silver, wherewith he raised and hired foreign soldiers. And thus Telesphorus, out of envy to the advancement of Ptolemy, became a traitor to Antigonus.

But Ptolemy, Antigonus's general in Greece, as soon as he heard of the defection of Telesphorus, and that he had seized upon the city of the Elians, and robbed the temple at Olympus, marched with an army into Peloponnesus: and coming to Elis, razed the citadel to the ground, restored the Elians to their liberty, and the money to the temple.

Afterwards, he so far wrought upon Telesphorus, that he regained Cylene, wherein Telesphorus had put a garrison, and restored it to the Elians.

In the mean time, while these things were acting, the Epirots, Æacidas their king being dead, delivered up the kingdom to Alcetas, who had before been banished by his father Arybilus. This Alcetas was an inveterate enemy to Cassander, and therefore Lyciscus, Cassander's general in Acarnania, marched with an army into Epirus, hoping he should easily depose him, the affairs of the kingdom being then scarcely well settled.

Lyciscus for this purpose encamping at Cassopia, Alcetas sent his sons Alexander and Teucrus, to all the cities, to raise as many soldiers as they possibly could; and he himself marched forward with what forces he had, and when he came near the enemy made a halt, waiting the approach of his sons.

But Lyciscus, who far exceeded him in number, pressing upon him, the Epirots in a great terror, ran over to the enemy: whereupon Alcetas being thus forsaken, fled to Eurymenas, a city in Epirus.—While he was closely besieged in this place, Alexander arrived with assistance to the relief of his father; upon which followed a sharp engagement, wherein many of Lyciscus's men were cut off, among whom, besides other persons of great account, were Micythus, an expert captain, and Lysander the Athenian, Cassander's lord-lieutenant in Leucadia.

Afterwards, Dinias arriving to the assistance of those thus worsted, a second engagement took place, in which Alexander and Teucrus being routed, they, together with their father, fled to a strong castle in that neighbourhood for shelter. Lyciscus presently took Eurymenas, plundered it, and razed it to the ground.

Cassander at this time hearing of the defeat of his forces, but having no intelligence of the success which followed, hastened away to Epirus to succour Lyciscus. But when he came to understand how well matters had succeeded with him, he made peace, and entered into a league of friendship with Alcetas. Then with part of his army he went to Adria*, in order to besiege the Apolloniates †, who had cast out his garrison, and joined with the Illyrians. But the inhabitants were not at all alarmed, and having sent for help from their confederates, they drew up in battalia before their walls: upon which there ensued a sharp and long contested action; but the Apolloniates, overpowering the others with numbers, put their enemies to flight. Cassander therefore, having lost many of his men, being in want of sufficient forces, and perceiving winter to draw on, returned to Macedonia.

After his departure, the Leucadians ‡, assisted by the Corcyrians, drove out the garrison of Cassander. As for the Epirots, they were quite under the royal government of Alcetas for a time; but when he grew more severe and tyrannical, they murdered both him and his two sons, Hesioneas and Nisus, who were but then young children.

In Asia, Seleucus after the routing of Demetrius at Gaza in Syria, (receiving from Ptolemy no more than eight hundred foot, and two hundred horse) marched towards Babylon with that confidence as to believe, that though he had no forces at all with him, yet he should be able to go up into the higher provinces with only his own particu-

* A city and country upon the coast of the Adriatic sea.

† The inhabitants of Apollonia, a city of Thrace.

‡ The people of Leucas, a peninsula near to the Ambracian gulf, bordering on Epirus, called also Neritis.

lar friends and servants; being verily persuaded, that the Babylonians (for the former love and affection they bore him) would readily come in and side with him; and that now he had a fair opportunity to accomplish his design, Antigonus being with his army at a great distance from the place.

However, though he went on with such confidence of mind, yet his friends that were with him, (seeing the inconsiderable number of his soldiers, and on the other hand the great strength of his enemies against whom he was marching, and the abundance of provision, and number of the confederates wherewith they were supplied and furnished) were greatly discouraged: which Seleucus observing, addressed them to this effect.—It becomes not the captains and fellow soldiers of Alexander, in the expeditions of war, to confide only in the strength of arms and confluence of wealth, but in their military art and prudence through which he accomplished great and wonderful things, by all for ever to be admired: but it is our duty rather to believe the gods who have assured us that this expedition shall be successful. For he told them—That in consulting the oracle of the Branchidæ*, some considerable time before the god called him king; and that Alexander stood by him in his sleep, and clearly discovered to him the royal dignity to which in due time he should be advanced: and further declared—That whatever was great and glorious amongst men was always to be attained by hazards and toil. And withal carrying himself fairly and amicably to all his soldiers he was honoured by every body, and all were willing to run with him the hazard of this desperate enterprise.

On then he marched, and coming with them into Mesopotamia he there dealt with such Macedonians as he found dwelling in Carræ, and some of them by persuasion, and some of them by plain force, he drew to go along with him in this expedition. As soon as he entered into Babylon, the inhabitants came in flocking to him, and offered him their service; for he had before carried himself in the most obliging manner to all, for the space of four years together, when he was governor of the province, thereby to gain the good will of the people, and to secure an interest for himself, if at any time afterwards he should have an occasion to contend for the sovereign command. Polyarchus also came in to him, who bore some kind of office among them, with above a thousand men completely armed. But they who stood for Antigonus, when they perceived the general and irresistible inclination of the multitude towards him, fled all to the castle, which was commanded by Diphilus; and Seleucus fell

* The temple of Apollo Didymæus in Ionia, where the priests and inhabitants were called Branchidæ.

presently to besiege it, and having taken it by force, delivered such of his children and friends as Antigonus (when Seleucus for fear fled away from Babylon into Egypt) had there committed to prison. This done, he began to raise soldiers in the country, and, having bought horses, distributed them among such as were fit to ride them. And withal, carrying himself with all fairness and affability towards all sorts, made them all ready to run any hazard with him, and so in a short time recovered all his government of Babylon. But afterwards, Nicanor, whom Antigonus had made governor of Media, marched against him with ten thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; and Seleucus without delay went out to meet him, having with him in all a little above three thousand foot and four hundred horse: and passing the river Tigris, when he heard that the enemy was not far off, he hid his men in the fens there near at hand, purposing to set on him unawares; who, when he came to the bank of the Tigris, and found no enemy there, went and encamped near to a post-house of the king's, little thinking the enemy had been so near. But the night following (through a careless regard and contempt of the enemy, not keeping a due watch) Seleucus fell upon him, and raised a great tumult in his army; for the Persians putting themselves forward, Evager, their general, with several others of their commanders were slain. After which encounter, the greater part of Nicanor's army, as well on account of the present danger they were in, as for the disgust they had to Antigonus's government, left him and came over to the service of Seleucus. Whereupon Nicanor, fearing lest at the next rencounter his soldiers should deliver him up to Seleucus, absolutely stole away with some of his friends, and fled through the desert. Seleucus having by this means got a potent army about him, and continued his fair carriage to all men as before, easily procured the provinces of Media and Susa, and other countries bordering thereupon, to come under his subjection; and sent Ptolemy word how he had succeeded, having now got the full royal power and majesty into his hands.

Ptolemy continued still in Cœlosyria after the great victory gained over Demetrius, whom he heard was returned out of Cilicia, and lay encamped in the upper Syria; whereupon he sent one of his nobility about him, called Celles, (a Macedonian born) with a great army, commanding him either to drive him out of every part of Syria, or to coop him up and tread him to dirt where he lay. While he was upon his march, Demetrius understanding by his scouts that Celles lay carelessly with his army at Myus, leaving his carriages behind him, marched away with a company of light infantry, who travelled all night, and a little before day fell in upon Celles's camp,

took it without striking a blow, and Celles himself prisoner; by which victory (it was judged) that he was quit with them for the former loss he had sustained. Yet because he thought Ptolemy himself was coming after with all his army, he therefore pitched his camp in a place where he had a bog on the one hand, and a lough on the other. Demetrius wrote letters of this his good success to his father Antigonus wishing him either to send an army speedily, or to come himself in person into Syria. Antigonus was then at Celænæ in Phrygia, and having read the letter was wonderfully pleased with the news, both because the victory was obtained by his own son's conduct (who was so young), and for that he had shewn himself to be a man worthy to wear a crown hereafter. Upon this news he himself with his army marched out of Phrygia, and having passed over mount Taurus in a few days time he joined with Demetrius.

Ptolemy, hearing of the coming of Antigonus, called a council of war to advise whether it were better to stay where he was, and there to try it out with him in Syria, or to return into Egypt and fight with him from thence, as he had done before with Perdiccas? The result of the council was—That he should not hazard himself by engaging with an army far more numerous than his own, and where there were such multitudes of elephants, and all under the command of a general never yet conquered; and that it was much safer for him to fight in Egypt where he would be better supplied with provision than the enemy could be, and had places of strength wherein he might confide. Determining therefore to leave Syria, before he went he laid waste and destroyed the principal cities he held there at that time in his possession, as Achon in Syrophœnicia, Joppa, and Samaria; and Gaza in Syria. Then taking along with him out of the country, whatever he could drive or carry (loaded with wealth) he returned into Egypt.

Antigonus, when he had recovered all Syria and Phœnicia without striking a blow, took a journey into the country of the Arabians, called the Nabathæans*; for, thinking that they never much favoured his proceedings, he appointed one of his nobility, called Athenæus with four thousand foot, and six hundred horse to fall in upon them and to bring away what spoil he could out of their country.

It is worth our pains here to relate the manners and customs of these Arabians, for the information of those that are ignorant; by the use of which customs they have hitherto secured themselves and preserved their liberty. They live in the plain and open fields, calling that desert their country, wherein are neither inhabitants, rivers, nor springs, whereby any enemy's army can be relieved. It is a law a

* Nabath, of the seed of Ishmael.

mongst them neither to sow, plant, build houses, nor drink any wine; and he that is discovered to do any of these is sure to die for it. And the reason of this law is, because they conceive that those who are possessed of such things are easily (for fear of losing what they have, or in hopes of gaining more) forced to comply with the will and humour of those that are more powerful. Some of them breed up camels, others employ themselves in feeding sheep, roving to and fro in the wilderness for that purpose. There are no few, indeed, of the Arabians, that though they give themselves to the pasturage of cattle in the deserts, yet are far richer than the rest, but exceed not in number above ten thousand. For many of them use to carry frankincense, myrrh, and other rich perfumes down to the sea-side, which they traffic for, and receive from those who bring them from Arabia the Happy. They highly prize and value their liberty, and when any strong armies invade them, they presently fly into the wilderness, as to a strong fort and castle, for refuge; for no water being there to be had, none can follow them through these deserts: but as to themselves, they have a sure and safe retreat by the help of earthen pots and vessels hid in the ground prepared before hand. For the soil is a fat clay, under which lies a soft stone, in which they dig great caves very narrow at the entrance, but enlarging by degrees as they increase in depth, till they come at length to that bigness as to be a hundred feet square; these caves they fill up to the mouths with these vessels filled with rain-water; then they lay all even with the rest of the ground and leave certain marks where to find the place, known to none but themselves. For the cattle (driven away along with them) take so much water as may serve them for three days, lest while they are in their flight in dry and parched places, they should ever be put to a stop by the continual watering of their cattle.

Their food is flesh, milk, and roots. For drink, having abundance of wild honey, and a sort of pepper, they mix them together for that purpose.

There are likewise other kinds of Arabians, some of whom employ themselves in husbandry, selling of corn, and other sorts of provisions, and agree with the Syrians in all other things, except dwelling in houses. And such were then the customs of these Arabians.

Near at hand there was a public meeting of these Arabians*, whither all bordering nations used to come, as to a common mart, to sell off to them their commodities, and to buy from them the merchandize of their country. To this mart the Nabathæans now went,

* The Nabathæans.

leaving their wealth and old men, with their wives and children, upon the top of a rock. The place was very strong, but unwalled, and distant two days journey from the country that was inhabited. Athenæus, watching his opportunity, marched speedily to this rock; and, having marched out of the province of Edom the space of two thousand two hundred furlongs in three days and three nights, late at midnight (the Arabians knowing nothing of his coming) possessed himself of the place: of the soldiers there found, some he put to the sword, and others he made prisoners, and such as were wounded, he there left behind him; and he carried away the greatest part of their myrrh and frankincense, with five hundred talents of silver, and, staying there not above three hours, for fear of the country's coming in upon him, presently returned again. And now he and his soldiers, having gone two hundred furlongs, could go no farther for extreme weariness, and therefore rested there, keeping neither watch nor ward, presuming that the country people could not reach thither in less than two or three days time. But the Arabians, receiving intelligence by some that saw the army, presently got together, left the fair, and returned to the rock, where, being more fully informed by the wounded men of what was done, they immediately pursued the Greeks with all possible speed; and, because Athenæus's men kept no watch, and, after their long journey, lay weary and fast asleep, some of the prisoners stole away from them; from whom, when their countrymen (whom they met) had learnt how the enemy's camp lay, they hastened to the place, and, coming upon them at three of the clock in the morning, fell into their trenches, to the number of eight thousand of them, and cut the throats of some sleeping in their cabins, and others, who made resistance, they slew. In short, they utterly destroyed all the foot, and only fifty of their horse got away, and those too, for the most part, wounded. And thus Athenæus, though he began well, yet, through his own imprudence, lost all in the close. And therefore some, not without cause, are of opinion, that it is easier to improve misfortunes to the best advantage, than to act with prudence under extraordinary successes: for the first, through fear of what further mischief may follow, puts a man on to a more exact and careful management of his concerns; but, by prosperous adventures, men are many times flattered into gross negligence and security.

The Nabathæans, having thus revenged themselves of their enemies, and recovered their goods again, returned to the rock; and, by a letter of theirs, written to Antigonus in Syriac characters, complained of Athenæus, and the wrong he had done them, and excused themselves. To whom Antigonus wrote back again, cunningly telling

them, that Ath was well enough served by them, blaming him for what he had done, and assuring them that he had given him no such orders. This he did to cover what he was really designing against them, and to make them the less cautious, that thereby he might with more ease effectually accomplish what he was now contriving: for, without some stratagem, it was no easy matter to overcome men that wandered up and down continually here and there, and had the wilderness for an inaccessible shelter and refuge at the last extremity.

The Arabians, upon the receipt of the letter, rejoiced that they seemed at present to be freed from their great fears; but yet they did not wholly rely upon his letter; but, being between hope and fear, placed spies upon watch-towers and other high places, whence they might easily see afar off, when any enemy made an incursion into Arabia; and they themselves put all things in readiness, waiting for the issue and event.

But Antigonus, having for a time carried himself as a friend towards these barbarians, now judged that he had a fair opportunity to fall upon them, having brought them, as it were, to his bait. To this end, therefore, he chose out of all his army four thousand light-armed foot, and the swiftest he could find, and added to them four thousand horse, desiring them to take with them as many day's victuals as they could well carry, and such as needed no cooking; and, assigning Demetrius his son to command them, he sent them away about the first watch of the night, with this charge, that he should by all means be revenged on them. He therefore travelled three days journey through the desert, hastening to fall upon them at unawares. But their scouts, perceiving the first approach of the enemy towards their borders, immediately gave notice of their coming to the country: whereupon they presently betook themselves to their rock, where there was but one way up, and that made by art, and there laid all their baggage, and left a sufficient guard to keep it; and the rest went and drove away their cattle, some to one place, and some to another, in the desert. Demetrius, when he came to the rock, and saw all the cattle driven away, presently began to besiege it; but they that were within manfully defending it, by the advantage of the place, had all the day long the better of it, so that Demetrius was forced at last to draw off. The next day, when he approached again with his forces to the rock, one of the barbarians cried out—"What wouldest thou have, O king, Demetrius? or what has provoked thee to make war upon us, who inhabit the wilderness, and in places where there is neither water, corn, nor wine, nor any thing else which you want? But as for us, who can upon no terms endure to be slaves,

we betake ourselves to a country destitute of all things that are of absolute necessity to all other men; and we choose to live a solitary life altogether, like the beasts of the field, without doing the least harm to any of you. Therefore we intreat you Demetrius, and your father, that you injure not us, but that you would accept of some presents, and march away with the army from us, and receive the Nabathæans into the number of your friends for the time to come. Neither can you possibly stay here many days, (though you had ever so great a mind to do it), for want of water, and all other necessaries; neither can you ever force us to change our course of life, though perhaps you may take some poor dispirited prisoners, who will never endure to be brought under the power of other laws and rules of living."

After this was said, Demetrius drew off his army, and wished them to send ambassadors to him to treat of these matters. Hereupon the Arabians sent their oldest men, who (using the same arguments with those before related) persuaded Demetrius to accept of such gifts as were of greatest esteem and value among them, and so put an end to the war. Upon hostages therefore given him, and such gifts as were agreed upon between them, he drew off from the rock, and so, removing with his army three hundred furlongs off, he encamped near to the Lake Asphaltites*, the nature of which it is not fit to pass over without giving some account of it.

It lies in the midst of the province of Edom, and stretches forth in length five hundred furlongs; but in breadth it is but threescore. The water is very bitter and stinking, so that neither fish, nor any other thing used to the water, can live in it; and, though many remarkable rivers of very sweet water empty themselves into it, yet it remains as corrupt and unsavory, both as to taste and smell, as ever it did before. Every year there rises out of the middle of it great massy pieces of bitumen and pitch, sometimes bigger than three plethras†, and sometimes a little less than one. And upon that account the barbarous inhabitants call the larger pieces bulls, and the lesser calves. These pieces of pitch and brimstone, floating upon the water, appear at a distance like so many islands. There are evident signs that forego and give notice of the casting up of this bituminous matter, at least twenty days before: for a horrid smell of brimstone and pitch infects the air round about the lake at many furlongs distance, and all metals, whether of gold, silver, or copper, near the place, change their natural colour, which presently returns again as soon as the brimstone is exhaled. The places bordering

* Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea. The Lake of Sodom

† Every plethra is one hundred feet.

it are so burning hot, (by reason of the sulphur and brimstone r ground), and cast forth such a horrible stench, that the in- ants are very unhealthy and short-lived: yet the country there- ts, being watered with many pleasant rivers and refreshing gs, bears abundance of palm-trees; and in a certain vale near is place grows what they call Balm*, from which they raise a revenue, inasmuch as this plant grows in no other part of the l besides, and is of great use amongst physicians, for the healing curing of wounds, and other distempers. The inhabitants on sides of this lake are so earnest to carry away this brimstone, they fight one with another; and they bring it off in a strange ner, without shipping: for they cast in huge bundles of bul- s fastened close together, upon which three or more of them themselves, two of whom ply the oars that are fastened to the shes, and the third carries a bow and arrows to defend themselves st such as attempt to make up to them from the opposite shore, offer them any violence. As soon as they come to the brim- , they get upon it, and hew it in pieces with axes, as pieces of out of a soft rock; and so, loading the bulrush boat, they row . If any fall into the water, through the deficiency of the boat, ver sinks, as in other waters, though he knows not how to swim, ies upon the water as if he were the best swimmer in the world: his lake naturally bears up any thing that has either a vegetative animal life; and even such things as are solid, and seem to be out pores, as silver, gold, lead, or the like, are also much longer slower in sinking than when they are cast into other waters. this profit and advantage the barbarians reap from it: they port this pitch into Egypt, and there sell it, for the use of em- ing the dead; for, if they do not mix this with other aromatic s, the bodies cannot be preserved long from putrefaction.

ntigonus, at the return of Demetrius, having heard the relation s voyage, blamed him for making peace with the Nabathæans, g that those barbarous people, having so escaped, would there- grow more insolent than before, concluding that they were not ured out of love or compassion of the conqueror, but in despair e conquest; but he commended him for discovering the Lake haltites, seeing that from thence he might raise some yearly re- e to himself, and made Hieronymus Cardianus, the historian, his surer for that revenue, and commanded him to build ships, and er together all the bitumen, or liquid brimstone, that could be out of that lake: but Antigonus in the event was frustrated of opes; for the Arabians, coming together to the number of six

* The Balm of Gilead.

thousand men, fell upon them as they were in their ships, gathering this brimstone, and shot them almost all to death with their arrows; whereby Antigonus lost all hopes of making any standing revenue that way, and forbore all further prosecution of that design, both upon account of the miscarriage already experienced, and likewise because that he had matters of greater weight and concern then in his head.

For about that time a courier came, and brought letters to him from Nicanor, governor of Media, and others, that Seleucus was returned, and prospered in those parts: whereupon Antigonus, being much concerned for the upper provinces, sent his son Demetrius, with five thousand Macedonian foot, and ten thousand mercenaries, and four thousand horse, with charge that he should march to the very walls of Babylon, and, having recovered that province, should from thence march down to the sea. Demetrius hereupon departed from Damascus in Syria, and went vigorously on to fulfil his father's command. But Patrocles, whom Seleucus had made president of Babylon, as soon as he heard that Demetrius was marching into Mesopotamia, not daring to stay his coming, (because he had but a small power about him), commanded the rest to leave the city, and that, passing the Euphrates, they should fly some into the desert, others over the Tigris into the province of Susa, and to the Persian* Sea; and he himself, with a company which he had about him, trusting in the bars of the rivers and dykes of the country thereabouts, instead of so many fortresses and bulwarks for his defence, kept himself still within the bounds of his own government, and studied how to entrap his enemy, sending ever and anon tidings to Seleucus in Media how things went with him, and desiring aid to be speedily sent to him.

Demetrius, when he came to Babylon, and found the city itself void of inhabitants, began presently to besiege the forts and castles that were therein; and, having taken one of them, gave the spoil thereof to his soldiers: but, having besieged the other for some days together, he departed in haste, leaving Archelaus, one of his trusty friends, to maintain the siege, with five thousand foot and a thousand horse; and he himself, seeing the time run out which his father had appointed him to finish his work in, returned with the rest of the army into the Lesser Asia.

While those things were acting, the wars between the Romans and the Samnites continued still in Italy, wherein there were daily excursions into one another's territories, besieging of cities, and encamping of armies, on both sides: for the contest between the most warlike

* The Red Sea in the Greek, but mistook.

nations of Italy was, which should gain the empire and sovereign command of the whole, upon which account many great battles were fought.

At length the consuls of Rome, with a part of their forces, encamped in the face of the enemy, watching for a fit opportunity to fall upon them, by which means they preserved their confederate cities from annoyance and disturbance by the enemy. With the rest of the army Quintus Fabius the dictator took Fretomanum, and carried away the persons of greatest quality that were enemies to the Romans, to the number of upwards of two hundred, and brought them to Rome, and exposed them as a public spectacle in the forum; and when he had scourged them, according to the Roman custom, he cut off their heads. He made likewise an inroad into the enemy's territories, and took Celia, and the citadel of Nota*, with abundance of spoil, and divided a great part of the country by lot amongst the soldiers. The Romans hereupon, encouraged with these successes, which happened according to their hearts desire, sent a colony into the island called Pontia†.

As for Sicily, after that Agathocles had made peace with the Sicilians, except the Messanians, the refugees of Syracuse all flocked to Messana, because they perceived that to be the only city which stood out against him. Agathocles therefore with all speed made it his business to break their confederacy, and to that end sent away Pasiphilus, his general, with an army to Messana, with private instructions to do what he thought fit, and most agreeable to the circumstances of affairs as he should find them; hereupon he entered the country on a sudden, and, after he had taken many prisoners, and got much spoil, he solicited the Messanians to peace and amity, and that they would not suffer themselves so to be led aside as to join with the implacable enemies of Agathocles.

Upon which the Messanians, hoping to extricate themselves out of the war without fighting, cast out all the Syracusan fugitives, and received Agathocles with his army into the city; who at the first carried himself very courteously and obligingly towards all, and courted them to admit those exiles that were in his army (and had been by them, according to law, formerly banished) into the freedom and liberties of the city.

But afterwards he sent for such out of Taurominium and Messana as formerly had opposed his government, and put them all to death, to the number of six hundred; for, intending to make war upon the

* A city in Campania, in Italy.

† Pontiæ Insulæ, in the Tuscan Sea.—Plin. lib. 3, c. 6. Porcia, an island in the same sea, commonly called Porce.

Carthaginians, he resolved to rid himself of every thing that looked like an enemy in Sicily. The Messanians therefore, seeing their chief citizens cut off that opposed the tyrant, and that they themselves had driven those strangers out of the city that wished them so well, and who would have been their main strength against him, and had been compelled to receive those who had formerly been condemned for their notorious crimes, much repented themselves of what they had done; but, out of fear of the power of the conqueror, they were forced to stoop.

Thence he moved in the first place towards Agrigentum, designing to make a prey also of this city; but because the Carthaginians were there lately arrived with a fleet of sixty sail, he desisted and left off that project, but wasted and harassed the territories of the Carthaginians, and took some of their forts and castles by storm, and gained others by capitulation.

Among these turmoils Dinocrates, captain of the Syracusan exiles, sent to desire aid of the Carthaginians before Agathocles had brought all Sicily under his sovereign command; he himself received all those exiles which the Messanians had banished the city, and having now a very great army, sent Nymphodorus, one of his principal friends, with part of the army to the city of the Centuripians; for this place being a garrison of Agathocles, some of the citizens had undertaken to betray it, upon condition they should be suffered to govern according to their own laws. Upon this encouragement, therefore, breaking into the city in the night, the chief commanders of the garrison presently took the alarm, and killed both Nymphodorus and all the rest that had entered within the walls. Agathocles made use of this as an occasion and ground to accuse the Centuripians of contrivances against his government, and cut the throats of all those whom he supposed to be the ringleaders of the defection.

While he was thus employed the Carthaginians entered the port at Syracuse with a fleet of fifty sail, but all that they did there was the sinking of two transport ships (one of which belonged to the Athenians) and cutting off the hands of all those that were on board: which was looked upon as a piece of extreme cruelty towards those who never offered them the least injury; and God made this presently to appear: for soon after some ships that were forced from the rest of the fleet about Brutia fell into the hands of Agathocles, where those Carthaginians that were taken received the same punishment as they had inflicted on their prisoners.

But Dinocrates, commander of the exiles, having with him above three thousand foot and two thousand horse, seized upon Galata, (as it is called), invited thither by the inhabitants, and cast out those

that sided with Agathocles, and then encamped before the walls of the city.

Agathocles presently sent against him Pasiphilus and Demophilus, with five thousand men, who fought with the refugees; whose captains were Denocrates and Philonides, who commanded separately in the two wings. The battle was doubtful for a long time, while both armies exerted themselves to the utmost. But Philonides being slain, that wing fled, and Dinocrates was thereupon forced likewise to give ground, and Pasiphilus killed many of them in the pursuit, and recovered Galata, and put the authors of the defection to death.

Agathocles receiving intelligence of what was done, resolved to fall upon the Carthaginians with his whole army, who had then possessed themselves of the hill at Gela, called Ecnomos*. To that end, without any further delay he made up to them, and as soon as he came near, offered them battle, being puffed up with the success of his late victory. But the barbarians durst not engage, and thereupon, supposing he was absolute master of the field without fighting, he returned to Syracuse, and adorned the chiefest temples there with the spoils. And these were the actions of this year as far forth as is needful for us to give an account.

CHAP. VII.

Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, make peace with Antigonus, Cassander murders Roxana and her son. The governors take the title of kings upon them. The Carthaginians raise forces against Agathocles. Four thousand Gelans murdered by Agathocles. The battle between Agathocles and Amilcar the Carthaginian, at Himera. Agathocles routed. Several cities revolt from Agathocles.

WHEN Simonides was lord-chancellor of Athens, and the Romans had created Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius consuls, Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus made peace with Antigonus, the form of which was put into writing, and contained the terms following:—

* That is, wicked.

That Cassander should be the sovereign lord of all in Europe, until Alexander, the son of Roxana, came to full age; that Lysimachus should have the chief command in Thrace; Ptolemy should enjoy the sovereign power in Egypt, and the bordering cities in Arabia and Africa; that Antigonus should be lord of all Asia; and the Greeks should govern according to their own laws. But these conditions they observed not long; but every one took one occasion or another to encroach upon more than he was justly entitled to.

Cassander seeing that Alexander, the son of Roxana, now grew up towards man's estate, and hearing how it was the discourse of some throughout all Macedonia, that it was now fit the young man should be freed from his prison, and assume the government of his father's kingdom into his own hands; out of fear of being supplanted commanded Glaucias, the keeper, to murder both Roxana and the king, and to hide their bodies when he had done, and by all means possible to conceal their deaths. This he effectually executed, and so by this means Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Antigonus himself, were freed from all grounds of fear upon the account of the king. For now all the seed royal being extinct, and no successor remaining, every one of the captains who had possessed themselves of provinces or cities took upon themselves the titles and stiles of kings; and every one claimed the province, of which he was governor, as a conquered kingdom. And thus stood the affairs in Europe, Asia, Greece, and Macedonia.

In Italy, the Romans marched with a great body of horse and foot against Pollitium, a city of the Marucci; where they removed part of the citizens and made them a new colony, giving them Iteramna (as it is called) to inhabit.

In Sicily, the power of Agathocles increased every day, his forces growing stronger and stronger. Whereupon the Carthaginians being informed that he had gained almost all the towns and cities through the island, and that their captains and commanders there were not able to cope with him, they resolved to pursue the war with more vigour. To this end they forthwith provided a fleet of a hundred and thirty sail of men of war, and made Amilcar (a person of eminent quality) general, and delivered to him two thousand soldiers raised out of the city, amongst whom many were men of note; out of Africa, ten thousand; from Tyrrhenia a thousand mercenaries, and two hundred charioteers; and a thousand slingers from the Baleares*. They provided likewise a great treasure, all sorts of weapons, store of corn, and all other things necessary for carrying on the

* Three islands in the Mediterranean, modernly called Majorca, Minorca, and Yvica.

war, as they had occasion to use. And now when the whole fleet had hoisted sail and were come to the open sea, on a sudden a violent storm arose, which sunk sixty of the gallies, and broke in pieces two hundred of the ships laden with corn and provisions. The rest of the fleet, after much hardship at sea, with great difficulty got into Sicily. Many of the most eminent men of Carthage were lost at this time, which occasioned a public lamentation in that city. For when any misfortune happens to that place greater than ordinary, their custom is to cover the walls with black cassocks or cloaks.

Amilcar the general, after he had landed, mustered those that were saved from the storm; and, to supply those that were lost, inlisted foreign mercenaries, and raised others from among the confederates throughout Sicily, whom he incorporated with the rest of the forces that were there before; and, carefully providing every thing that was necessary for the war, he kept the army in the field, having under his command about forty thousand foot, and nearly five thousand horse. Therefore, having in a short time recruited himself, and being accounted a man of great reputation for honesty and integrity, he not only revived the courage of the confederates, but in no small degree struck a terror into the hearts of his enemies.

On the other hand, Agathocles perceiving that he was greatly overpowered by the Carthaginians in number of their forces, concluded, that many of the forts and castles, and those cities and towns that bore him a grudge, would revolt to the enemy; he especially suspected the city of Gela, because he understood that all the forces of the enemy were encamped in their territories. And besides, no small detriment befel him at this time in his fleet, for about twenty sail, which then happened to be at sea, with all their men, fell into the hands of the Carthaginians. However, he conceived it fit to put a garrison into the place for its security, but durst not bring any forces openly into the city, lest the inhabitants should prevent him, who had not then at any time before any occasion offered them to rebel, and so by that means he might come to lose a town which had been very useful and serviceable to him. Therefore, to prevent suspicion, he sent soldiers into the city by degrees, a few at a time, (as if they had come there for other purposes), till he had got so many into the town as far exceeded the citizens in number. And then a while after he came thither himself, and charged the Gelans with a traiterous design to revolt; however, whether this were true or not, or that they were falsely accused by the exiles, or that his design was to scrape and get together what money he could, he put to death about four thousand of the Gelans, and confiscated all their estates; and threatened with death all the rest who did not bring forth all

their money, whether gold or silver, coined or uncoined. Whereupon all (out of fear of this thundering edict) forthwith obeyed his command; whereby he heaped together a vast treasure, and became a terror to all his subjects. And though he was judged to act with too much cruelty and severity towards the Gelans, yet he ordered them to be decently buried without the walls; and then leaving the city with a strong garrison, encamped over against the enemy. The Carthaginians possessed the hill Ecnomos, where formerly stood the castle of Phaleris, as is reported, where they say the tyrant had the brazen bull contrived to torment offenders, by putting fire under it, thereby causing it to grow scorching hot by degrees. And therefore, by reason of this horrid cruelty executed upon poor miserable creatures, the hill was called Ecnomos*. Agathocles possessed himself of another castle of Phaleris over against them, which he called Phalereus; between both armies lay a river, which was a defence and bulwark on both sides. There was an ancient prophecy that a great battle should be fought, and multitudes of men destroyed about this place; and it being uncertain on which side the slaughter should mainly fall, out of a superstitious awe of the gods, the armies were more backward and slow to engage; and therefore neither party, for a long time, durst pass the river with their whole forces, till a sudden and unexpected occasion forced them to fight. For the Africans making a sudden incursion upon the enemy, stirred up Agathocles to do the same: For when the Greeks were driving away their cattle, and some carriage-horses and other beasts out of the camp, some sallied out from among the Carthaginians to pursue them. But Agathocles, perceiving what the enemy would do, had before laid an ambuscade of stout and resolute men near the river, who, as soon as the Carthaginians had passed the river, and were in pursuit of those that were driving away the cattle, rose out of the ambush, and fell on them as they were in disorder, and easily routed them and put them to flight. While the barbarians were thus hewed down, and flying to their camp, Agathocles, looking upon it now as a fit time to engage, led forth his army against the enemy; and, falling upon them on a sudden, presently filled up a part of their trench and cut through their breast-work, and so forced their camp. The Carthaginians, amazed at this sudden attack, having no time to put themselves in order of battle, fell in as fortune led them, and engaged the enemy in the best manner they could: and in regard the hottest work was near the trench, the ground all thereabout was strewed with dead bodies; for the chiefest of the Carthaginians made to the defence of that place where they saw the camp entered.

* Signifying the wicked place.

On the other hand, the Agathocleans encouraged by the happy success of their attempt, and supposing they should put an end to the war by this one battle, pressed resolutely upon the barbarians: Amilcar, therefore, perceiving that his men were too weak, and that the Grecians were continually pouring in more men into the camp, brings up a thousand slingers of the islands Baleares who wounded many by the multitude of great stones thrown out of their slings, and killed many that were forcing into the camp, and broke in pieces the shields and armour of many of their assailants. For these men being used to cast stones of three pounds weight, were always very serviceable, and contributed much in several battles to the gaining of the victory, as being those that were diligently taught and well exercised in the art of slinging from their very childhood. And now at this time they gained the point, driving the Grecians back again beyond the out-works of the camp. But Agathocles broke into it in other places; and, just as the camp was forced, unexpectedly succours arrived from Carthage, which again revived the spirits of the Carthaginians, and those in the camp fought the enemy in the front, and the new supplies hemmed in the Greeks in the rear, and hewed them down; thus the fortune of the day turned suddenly and unexpectedly. For the Grecians fled outright, some to the river Himera, and others to their own camp, which was forty furlongs distant; and being a plain and champain country, they were pursued with no fewer than five thousand of the barbarian horse, so that the plain all along was covered with dead bodies, the river contributing much to the destruction of the Greeks. For the pursuit being about noon, and in the dog-days, many of them that fled were so parched with thirst, by the heat of the weather and the fatigue of the flight, that they greedily filled themselves with salt-water, insomuch that as many (who had not the least hurt) were found dead near the river as were killed by the sword in the pursuit. There were killed of the barbarians in this battle about five hundred, but no fewer than seven thousand of the Greeks.

Agathocles being thus grievosuly defeated, after he had received all those that had escaped, burnt his camp and went to Gela. But he had caused it to be rumoured abroad, that he was gone away for Syracuse. It happened that three hundred African horse, then in the country, fell in among some of Agathocles's soldiers, who told them that Agathocles was gone back to Syracuse, and thereupon the horsemen entered Gela as friends; but, being thus deluded, they were all killed by darts. Yet Agathocles shut not himself up in Gela, because he could not get safe to Syracuse, but that he might divert the Carthaginians from Syracuse to the besieging of Gela, that so by

that means the Syracusans might have leisure enough to get in their harvest, while he protracted the time at Gela. Amilcar indeed at the first intended to have besieged Gela, but hearing that there was there a strong body of men to oppose him, and that Agathocles was furnished with plenty of all things necessary, he laid aside that design, and made his approaches to the forts and castles, and had them all surrendered to him; and, to gain the good opinion of the Sicilians, he carried himself courteously and obligingly towards all. The Camareans, Leontines, Cataneans, and Taurominians sent continually ambassadors, and made their applications to the Carthaginians. And, a little time after, the Messanians and Abacenians, and many other cities who before were at variance amongst themselves, all went over to Amilcar; such was the zeal of the common people after the late defeat, through the hatred they bore against the tyrant.

But Agathocles led away all the forces that were yet left him to Syracuse, and there repaired the ruinous parts of the walls, and got in all the corn and fruits out of the fields; and now contrived to leave a strong garrison for the defence of the city, and to transport the power and strength of the army into Africa, with an intent to draw the war out of the island into the continent. We shall therefore, as we at first designed, begin the following book with the passing of Agathocles into Africa.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK XX.

PREFACE.

THOSE who stuff their histories with long and tedious harangues, or are constantly setting forth their works in rhetorical expressions, are, not without just cause, to be blamed. For besides that it interrupts and cuts off the natural course of the history by an unseasonable introduction of set and contrived speeches, it likewise gives an unpleasant check to the earnest expectation of such as are eager to know the issue of the matters of fact. Yet it is no ways to be disapproved for such as desire to be cried up for eloquent orators, to compose public orations and speeches made by ambassadors, and panegyrics of praise and dispraise, and such like. For they that manage both parts well and distinctly in a modest stile are justly to be praised and commended in both kinds of the discourse. But there are some who so over-abound in rhetorical flourishes, that they make their whole history but as an appendix as it were to the other. For such a tedious manner of writing is not only troublesome, but, in this respect likewise, is to be condemned. That although the writer seem in other things to have hit the mark, yet by this kind of writing he seems to straggle and wander from the due course both of time and place; and therefore they who read such sort of writings, partly pass over such artificial and framed discourses, though they be ever so apt and fit to the purpose; and partly tired out with the tedious and unseasonable digression of the author, leave off reading altogether. For the nature of history is simple, and in every part agreeable to itself, like to the body of a living creature, where the cutting off of one member is the deformity of the whole. On the other side, that which is duly and orderly composed keeps within its proper

bounds, and the coherence of the whole affords a clear and pleasant view and understanding of the matter in the reading.

However, we do not abandon altogether rhetoric and oratorical flourishes out of history: for, because that it ought to be adorned with variety, it is absolutely necessary in some places to insert these speeches and orations. And I myself would not be deprived making use of them upon such occasions; and, therefore, when the circumstances of the matter related are such as that the speech of an ambassador, or the harangue of a senator, or the like, fall in naturally and easily, he that does not then put himself forth to the utmost in this kind deserves justly to be censured and condemned.

A man may be able to give many reasons why rhetorical adornments are often to be made use of. For amongst quaint and eloquent discourses, such as are worthy remark, and bring profit and advantage along with them together with the history, are by no means to be passed over: or when the subject treated of is high and lofty, of things famous and remarkable, then it is very unbecoming, and not in the least to be endured, that the manner of expression should sink meanly below the greatness of the acts related. It may be likewise necessary when some extraordinary event happens, so as that we are forced to make use of words adapted to the occasion, in order to clear up and make plain the dark and intricate grounds and reasons of such an accident. But what we have said of these things shall suffice, and we will now proceed to the relation of those affairs we before designed, first observing the time where we are now fallen in the course of our history. In the former books we have treated of the affairs both of the Greeks and barbarians from the most antient times till the year next preceding the expedition of Agathocles into Africa: from the sacking of Troy to which time are run up eight hundred and eighty-three years, and something more. In this book we shall go on with things next in course, and coherent with the former relation, and begin with the descent of Agathocles into Africa, and end with that year wherein the kings agreed to join together in a common war against Antigonus, the son of Philip, comprehending the transactions of nine years.

CHAP. I.

Agathocles designs to invade Africa. His cruelty pursued in his voyage. An eclipse of the Sun very great. Lands in Africa. Burns his ships. His successes in Africa. Hanno and Bomilcar made generals in Africa. Battle between them and Agathocles, who routs them; kills Hanno. His stratagem by owls The cruel superstition of the Carthaginians in sacrificing their children. The actions at Syracuse. Actions of Agathocles in Africa. The acts of Cassander in Macedonia. Polyperchon endeavours to restore Hercules, the son of Alexander. The miserable destruction of Nicocles and his family at Cyprus. The wars of Parisades's sons, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. The valour of Satyrus, one of the sons; his death. The sad death of Eumelus, another of the sons.

IN the chancellorship of Hieromnemones at Athens, and the consulship of Caius Julius and Quintus Æmilius at Rome; Agathocles, being routed at Himera in Sicily by the Carthaginians, and having lost the greatest and best part of his army, fled to Syracuse; where perceiving that he was forsaken by all his confederates, and that the barbarians had got into their hands almost all Sicily (except Syracuse), and that they far overpowered him by their forces both by sea and land, undertook a very rash and desperate adventure. For when all were of opinion that it was not advisable for him in the least to endeavour to contend with the Carthaginians, he even then resolved to leave a strong garrison in the city, and with the choicest of the rest of his forces to make a descent into Africa; and by that means he hoped, by his old and experienced soldiers, easily to vanquish the Carthaginians, who (through a long peace) were grown soft and delicate, and unexpert in their arms; and besides hereby he thought that their confederates, who had been for a long time very uneasy under the yoke of their government, would take an occasion to revolt. And what most induced him was, that by this sudden and unexpected invasion he should load himself with the spoils of a country that was never before harassed, and that abounded in the confluence of all sorts of worldly blessings. And to sum up all, that he should by this course draw the barbarians, not only out of his own

country, but out of all Sicily, and transfer the war entirely over into Africa, which happened accordingly.

For, without advising with any of his friends, he made Antander, his brother, governor of the city, leaving with him a considerable garrison; he himself listed what soldiers he thought fit for his purpose, ordering his foot to be ready with arms at the first call, and commanded the horsemen, that besides arms, they should every one carry along with him a saddle and bridle, that whenever he could get horses he might have those ready to mount them who were furnished with all things necessary for that purpose.

For in the late battle most of his foot were cut off, but most of his horse escaped; but their horses he could not transport into Africa.

And to prevent all stirs and commotions (in order to a defection) in Syracuse in his absence, he divided kindred and relations one from another, especially brothers from brothers, and parents from children, taking some along with him and leaving others behind: and he acted in this very wisely; for, certain it was, that those who remained in Syracuse, although they hated the tyrant, yet would attempt nothing to his prejudice, by reason of their natural love and affection to their children, and near relations, and kindred. And because he was in great want of money, he took the estates of infants out of the hands of their guardians; declaring, that he would have a far greater care of them than they had, and be more faithful in giving them an account, and making restitution when they came to full age. He borrowed likewise much from the merchants, and converted to his own use some of the sacred treasures of the temples; and took the jewels and ornaments from the women's backs.

Whereupon, discerning that the richer sort were highly displeased and incensed at this usage, and for that reason hated him, he called a general assembly, in which he greatly lamented the late overthrow, and the dreadful calamities that from thence seemed to hang over their heads. He told them, that he indeed was inured to hardships, could easily endure the miseries of a siege; but that he should greatly pity the citizens if they should be blocked up and forced to undergo the like. Therefore he ordered those that were not willing to suffer what might be their fortune and lot, to provide for the safety of themselves and their estates. Upon which, the most wealthy citizens (who bore a most implacable hatred against him) forthwith left the city: but he presently sent out some of his mercenaries after them, and cut all their throats, and confiscated their estates. And thus, when by one and the same act he had both enriched himself, and likewise purged the city of those that were his enemies, he manumitted all the slaves and servants that were fit to bear arms:

and now, having all things in readiness, and being furnished with a fleet of sixty sail, he only waited for a fair wind. His design being not commonly known, some reported that he intended an expedition into Italy, others that he purposed to waste and destroy that part of Sicily which belonged to the Carthaginians; to conclude, every body gave them (who were ready to sail) all up for lost men, and condemned the folly and madness of the prince. The enemy at that time had a fleet far exceeding him in number in the harbour, therefore he was forced for some days at the first to lie still with his men on board, because he had not an opportunity to set sail. Afterwards some transport-ships laden with corn making with full sail towards the city, the Carthaginians pursued them with their whole fleet: whereupon Agathocles, (before almost in despair of accomplishing his design), as soon as he saw the mouth of the harbour open, causing the rowers to ply their oars with all the quickness imaginable, broke out of the harbour.

The Carthaginians being now come up near to the transport-ships, and seeing a fleet of their enemy's ships sailing out of the harbour, thought at first that they came to secure and defend the corn-ships; whereupon they tacked about, and prepared to fight: but when they saw that they directed their course straight forward, and were far before them, they pursued them with all the sail they could; and, while these were striving to outsail each other, the transport-ships unexpectedly escaped the danger, and plentifully supplied the city, which was before in great straits for want of corn and provisions. Agathocles also, though closely pursued by the enemy, by the advantage of the night, (beyond all hope), got safe off from them*. The next day, there was such an eclipse of the sun, that the stars appeared every where in the firmament, and the day was turned into night: upon which Agathocles's soldiers (conceiving that God thereby did foretel their destruction) fell into great perplexities and discontents concerning what was likely to befal them. Having therefore sailed six days and six nights, early in the morning they suddenly espied the Carthaginian fleet making up close upon them: upon which all set themselves to it with might and main to ply their oars: the Carthaginians concluding, that together with the ships they should not only take all the Syracusans prisoners, but should deliver their country from the present imminent danger: the Grecians, on the other hand, saw apparent destruction to themselves before their eyes, and intolerable bondage and slavery to all their kindred and relations they had left at home, if they did not recover the shore before the enemy. And now Africa was in view, when all

* This was on the 15th of August.—Ush. Ann. p. 323.

the sailors and rowers called out earnestly one to another to exert themselves, so that the strife and pains to get to land was incredible. The barbarians indeed were more swift sailers, because they were more accustomed to the sea than the others; but the Grecian ships kept still a considerable distance before them: making therefore away with all the expedition imaginable, when they came near the shore, they leaped out of their ships in throngs upon the strand, as if they had been contending for the mastership at the Gymnastic games: for the first squadron of the Carthaginian fleet was come up within a dart's cast of those in the rear of the Grecian fleet. After, therefore, some contest for a while with their bows and slings, (a few only of the barbarians' ships being come up), Agathocles (overpowering the other by number) gained the advantage; whereupon the Carthaginians tacked about, and stood off a little above the cast of a dart. Hereupon Agathocles presently landed his men at a place called the Quarries, and drew a breast-work for the security of his shipping all along from sea to sea; and, after he had effected this bold and daring attempt, he set about another far more dangerous: for, calling together such of his captains and commanders as were wholly devoted to him, he first sacrificed to Ceres and Proserpina, and then called a council of war; where, coming into the assembly to make his harangue, splendidly clothed in royal robes, and with his crown upon his head, (after a few things premised, to make an introduction to what he had further to say), he told them—That at the time they were pursued by the Carthaginians he had made a vow to the goddesses Ceres and Proserpina, the protectresses of Sicily, that he would consecrate all the ships in the fleet to them, by burning them all into so many burning lamps; and therefore, since they were now safe, and were delivered, it was just and fit that they should pay their vows; and he promised, that if they fought courageously, he would return them far more than those ships they then had: for the gods by the sacrifices did foretel, that they should be conquerors throughout the whole war. While he was speaking, one of his servants brought him a lighted firebrand, which catching hold of, and commanding the like to be delivered to the rest of the captains, he invoked the goddesses, and was the first that made to the admiral's vessel, and, standing upon the stern, commanded the rest to follow his example: whereupon all the captains of the vessels set fire to their ships, and forthwith the flame mounted aloft, the trumpets sounded a charge, and the whole army set up a shout, and all as one man offered up their joint prayers to the gods for their safe return to their own country. And all this was done by Agathocles, that he might necessitate his soldiers to fight, without ever thinking of turn-

ing their backs: for it was plain that, having no shipping left for their last refuge, they could not have the least hope of safety in any thing but by being absolute conquerors. Then he considered, that, having but a small army, if he would guard his fleet he must be forced to divide it, and so should not be strong enough to venture a battle; and, if he left the ships without any guard, they would all fall into the hands of the Carthaginians. However, while the whole navy was on fire, and the flame spread itself round at a great distance, the hearts of the Sicilians quaked: for at first, being deluded by the juggling tricks of Agathocles, and the quickness of execution giving them no time to consider, they all consented to what was done: but when they had leisure distinctly to weigh every particular, they repented themselves of what they had done; and, pondering in their minds the vastness of the sea by which they were separated from their own country, they utterly despaired of their safety and preservation. Agathocles therefore, designing as soon as possibly he could to cure this pusilanimity in his soldiers, led his army to the great city* (as it is called) within the dominions of the Carthaginians. The whole country through which they marched was beautified with gardens planted with all sorts of fruit-trees, and sluices and canals were cut all along for the convenience of water, by which that whole tract was every where abundantly watered. This part of the country was likewise full of towns and villages, adorned with stately houses, the roofs of which were curiously wrought, all setting forth the wealth and riches of their owners. The houses were full of all manner of provision of every thing that was needful; for the inhabitants (through a long peace) had stored up their treasures in great abundance. The country is planted partly with vines, and partly with olive-trees, and furnished likewise with many other fruit-trees: in another part, the fields are pastured with flocks of sheep, and herds of cows and oxen; and in the neighbouring fens run great numbers of breeding mares. And what shall I say more? Those places abounded with plenty of all things for the use of man, and the rather so, because they were the possessions of the nobility of Carthage, who laid out much of their estates and wealth with more than ordinary curiosity to improve them for their delight and pleasure; so that the fertility and sweetness of the country was the admiration of the Sicilians, and rouzed up their drooping spirits in the view they had of those rewards and rich returns, which they judged were well worthy the hazards to be run by the conquerors to obtain them. Agathocles therefore, perceiving that his soldiers were now recovered from their

* Samatho in the Punic language, White.

despair and former melancholy apprehensions, made a sudden assault upon the walls of the city; which being so surprising and unexpected, and the citizens unskilful in their arms, after a short resistance he took the city by storm, and gave the plunder of the town to the soldiers, which both encouraged and enriched them at once. Thence he forthwith moved with his army to Tunis*, and gained that city, which is two thousand furlongs from Carthage. The soldiers would willingly have garrisoned these two cities, having stored and laid up in them the plunder they had got: but Agathocles weighing what was most expedient in his present circumstances, after he had convinced the soldiers, that it was by no means convenient to leave any place to fly to for shelter, till they had conquered the enemy by downright fighting, he razed the cities to the ground, and encamped in the open field. In the mean time, the Carthaginians that lay near to the Sicilian fleet at first greatly rejoiced when they saw their ships all in a flame, supposing that they were constrained to burn their navy, out of fear of their enemies: but after they perceived them to march forward up into the country with their whole army, and imagining what they intended to do, they then concluded that the burning of the ships was a designed mischief to them: whereupon they spread leathern hides upon the forecastles of all their ships, which is their constant custom whenever any misfortune seems to threaten the Carthaginian commonwealth. Moreover, they took into their own gallies the iron beaks out of Agathocles's ships, and sent expresses to Carthage, to give them a particular account of every thing that had happened. But before these messengers reached the city, some out of the country, who had discerned Agathocles's fleet to be near at hand, presently ran to Carthage, to give them an account: whereupon the citizens were so amazed at the surprising news of such an unexpected accident, that they forthwith concluded that their armies in Sicily were utterly cut off and destroyed; for that it was not probable that Agathocles, unless he were victorious, would dare to leave Syracuse naked, without any garrison, or pass over his army when at the same time his enemy was master at sea. The city therefore was in a great terror and confusion, and the people thronged into the market-place, and the senate met together to consult what was fit to be done in the present exigency: for they had no army at hand wherewith to fight the enemy; besides, the common citizens being raw and ignorant in matters of war, were altogether heartless, and every body thought that the enemy was then just at their walls. Some therefore were for sending ambassadors to Agathocles, to pro-

* White Tunis.

pose terms of peace, who might likewise at the same time discover the posture of the enemy; others were for waiting till they should have perfect intelligence of every thing that was done.

While the city was in this hurry and perplexity arrived those that were sent from the admiral of the fleet, and declared to them all that was done: whereupon their courage revived; and the senate blamed all the officers of the fleet, that, being masters at sea, they should be so careless as to suffer the enemy's forces to make a descent upon Africa; and they created Hanno and Bomilcar generals of their army, notwithstanding they were at private feuds between themselves, and that antient grudges had been in their families one towards another. For they thought that these private quarrels would tend much to the common advantage of the city. But they were very much mistaken: for Bomilcar had for a long time been ambitious of the monarchy, but never yet had an opportunity fitted for his purpose to put his designs in execution, and therefore he greedily embraced the offer of such a command as was exactly agreeable to what he was aiming at. And the chief cause of these plots and contrivances of his was the severity and cruelty of the Carthaginians: for they advance the most eminent persons to be generals in their wars, because they conclude that they will fight with more resolution than others, when all lies at stake; but after the wars are ended, and peace concluded, then they bring false accusations against them, and most unjustly, through envy, put them to death: and therefore some generals, out of fear of those unjust sentences, either give up their commissions, or seek to become absolute monarchs, as Bomilcar, one of the Carthaginian generals, then did; of whom we shall speak hereafter.

The Carthaginian generals therefore, seeing now that delays were dangerous, waited not for soldiers to be raised out of the country, and from the cities of their confederates, but led out the citizens themselves into the field, having under their command no less than forty thousand foot, a thousand horse, and two thousand chariots; and, possessing themselves of a hill not far from the enemy, drew up in battalia. Hanno commanded the right wing, supported by those of the sacred brigade: Bomilcar the left, making his phalanx very deep, because the nature of the place would not allow him to extend his wing further in front; the chariots and horsemen he placed in the van, to the end that with these, at the first charge, they might try the courage of the Greeks. Agathocles, on the other side, viewing how the barbarians had drawn up their army, committed the right wing to Archagathus, his son, delivering to him two thousand five hundred foot. Then he drew up about three thousand five hundred

Syracusans: next to them three thousand mercenaries out of Greece; and lastly, three thousand Samnites, Tyrrhenians, and Celtæ. He himself, with the troops of the household, and a thousand heavy-armed men, commanded in the left wing, opposite to the Carthaginian Sacred Brigade. The archers and slingers, to the number of five hundred, he mixed here and there in the two wings. The truth was, his soldiers were scarcely all armed; and therefore, when he saw some of those that were naked, and without arms, he took the covers and cases of the shields, and stretched them out upon sticks in the round shape of a shield, and so delivered them to the unarmed; however in truth useless, yet so contrived by him, to the end that those who were at a distance (and knew nothing of the stratagem) should look upon them to be armed men.

Perceiving likewise that the spirits of his soldiers were very low, and much discouraged, by reason of the great numbers of their enemies, he let out several owls (which he had before prepared for that purpose) into divers parts of the camp, here and there, to deliver them from their fears; which birds flying up and down through the army, and alighting ever and anon upon their shields and bucklers, cheered up the spirits of the soldiers, all taking it for a very happy omen, because that creature is sacred to Minerva. These sorts of tricks and devices, although they may seem to some to be foolish and vain, yet they have many times been the causes of extraordinary success, as it happened likewise at this time; for the soldiers by this means growing more bold and courageous, and it being generally noised abroad that the goddess plainly foretold that they should be victorious, they more resolutely underwent all dangers and difficulties: for, when the chariots charged fiercely upon them, some they pierced through with their darts and arrows, others they avoided and suffered to pass by, and most of them they drove back into the midst of their own foot. In the same manner they received the charge of their horse, wounding many, and putting them all at last to flight.

When they had thus gallantly behaved themselves in the first charge, the barbarians began to fall upon them with their whole body of foot at once; upon which there was a very sharp engagement, wherein Hanno, with that body of men called the Sacred Brigade, (striving to win the day by his own valour), made a fierce charge upon the Grecians, and hewed down many of them: and, though he was even overwhelmed with showers of darts and arrows, yet he fell not; but, receiving one wound after another, he still went on, till, being overpressed and altogether tired out, he fell down, and gave up his last breath. On the other hand, Agathocles's soldiers were so lifted up with expectations of victory, that they were still more and more

courageous; which when the other general Bomilcar came to understand, conceiving that the gods had put an opportunity into his hands to gain the tyranny, he reasoned with himself, that if the army of Agathocles were destroyed, he could not mount the throne, because the city would be too strong for him: but if Agathocles were conqueror, and by that means broke the spirits of the Carthaginians, then, when they were brought low, he should be able to lead them which way he would; and as for Agathocles, he concluded he should be able to subdue him whenever he pleased. Revolving these things in his mind, he began to face about and retreat, wishing the enemy should take notice of what they were about to do: then telling his soldiers that Hanno was slain, ordered them to keep their ranks and get to a rising ground there near at hand, for that was now the last course for them to take. But the retreat looking like a complete flight, the enemy pressed so close upon them, that the Africans who were in the rear, supposing that those who were in the front of the battle were routed, likewise fled.

In the mean time, those in the sacred brigade fought bravely for a while after the death of Hanno, and resolutely pressed forward upon the enemy over the carcasses of their fellow soldiers; but when they perceived that most of their army was fled, and that the enemy was surrounding them at their backs, they were forced likewise to give way and begone.

The whole Carthaginian army being thus put to flight, the barbarians made towards Carthage; whom Agathocles pursued but a little way, and then returned, and took the pillage of the field. In this battle were slain two hundred Grecians, and not above a thousand Carthaginians, though some have written above six thousand: among other rich spoils there were found many chariots in the Carthaginian camp, in which were carried above twenty thousand pair of fetters and manacles. For, concluding that they should easily overcome the Greeks, they agreed to make as many prisoners as they could, to throw them into the dungeons, fettered hand and foot; but God (I conceive) purposely sets himself by contrary events to cross the expectations of such, who proudly before hand resolve what shall absolutely be done.

Agathocles having now routed the Carthaginians both beyond their, and even his own expectation, blocked them up within their walls; and thus we see fortune, whose common course it is to make chequer-work of good and bad success, of defeats and victories in their several turns, now humbled the conquerors as well as those that before were conquered. For the Carthaginians, after they had beaten

Agathocles in Sicily in a great battle, besieged Syracuse; and now Agathocles having routed them in Africa, besieges Carthage: and that which was most to be admired was, that this prince was beaten by the barbarians in the island, when all his forces were with him whole and entire; but now is victorious in the continent over the conquerors with a piece of a broken and shattered army. The Carthaginians therefore concluding that this miserable misfortune was brought upon them by the gods, they all betook themselves to prayers and supplications to the deity; especially thinking that Hercules, the tutelar god of their country, was angry at them, they sent a vast sum of money, and many other rich gifts, to Tyre. For, in as much as they were a colony which originated from them, they used in former ages to send the tenth part of all their revenues as an offering to that god. But afterwards, when they had grown wealthy, and their revenues had greatly increased, they began to slack in their devotion, and sent thither but a small pittance to their god. Being therefore brought to repentance by this remarkable slaughter, they remembered all the gods in Tyre. They sent likewise out of their temples, to the images, golden shrines, supposing they should prevail the more in averting the anger of the god, by sending sacred gifts to pacify him. They gave just cause, likewise, to their god Saturn, to be their enemy; for in former times they used to sacrifice to this god the sons of the most eminent persons; but of later times they secretly bought and bred up children for that purpose: and upon strict search being made, there were found amongst them, that were to be sacrificed, some children that had been changed, and put in the place of others. Weighing these things in their minds, and now seeing that the enemy lay before their walls, they were seized with such a pang of superstition, as if they had utterly forsaken the religion of their fathers. That they might therefore, without delay, reform what was amiss, they offered as a public sacrifice two hundred of the sons of the nobility; and no fewer than three hundred more (who were liable to censure) voluntarily offered themselves up: for among the Carthaginians there was a brazen statue of Saturn putting forth the palms of his hands bending in such a manner towards the earth, as that the boy who was laid upon them, in order to be sacrificed, should slip off, and so fall down headlong into a deep fiery furnace. Hence it is probable that Euripides took what he fabulously relates concerning the sacrifice in Taurus, where he introduces Iphigenia asking Orestes this question—

> But what sepulchre will me dead receive,
> Shall the gulf of sacred fire then me have:

The antient fable likewise that is common among all the Grecians, that Saturn devoured his own children, seems to be confirmed by this law among the Carthaginians.

But after this change of affairs in Africa, the Carthaginians sent to Amilcar into Sicily to hasten over to their assistance with all speed, and ordered that all the beaks of Agathocles's ships should be carried to him. When the messengers arrived, he commanded them not to say any thing about the routing of their forces, but to spread it abroad among the soldiers, that the fleet and land army of Agathocles were both utterly destroyed. And he himself sent away some (who were lately come from Carthage) to Syracuse, together with the iron beaks, to demand the surrender of the city, and to tell them that all their forces were cut off by the Carthaginians, and their whole navy burnt; and that, if they would not believe them, the beaks of their vessels (there shewed) were a sufficient evidence of the truth of what they related. When they that were in the city heard of this overthrow of Agathocles, many believed it: but the leading men of the city, wishing to keep private a matter that was yet uncertain, and to prevent tumults, forthwith dismissed the messengers, and sent them away. They cast out of the city likewise the kindred and friends of the exiles, and eight thousand at least of others who seemed to be uneasy under the government; whereupon, when so great a number on a sudden were forced to leave the place of their birth, the city was full of confusion, lamentation, and crying of women running up and down in the streets; neither was there any house at this time which had not its share of weeping and mourning. For they who favoured the tyrant bewailed the ruin of Agathocles, and the loss of their sons; others wept for those of their friends whom they supposed were all cut off in Africa; others grieved and mourned for them that were compelled to forsake their houses, and the gods of their forefathers, and who were neither suffered to stay nor could get well out of the city by reason of the siege. And besides these most grievous and bitter sufferings which they laboured under, they were compelled to fly with their wives, and drag along with them their little young children; but Amilcar courteously received and secured the exiles, and marched to Syracuse with his army, as if he should forthwith possess himself of the city, upon account of the place being destitute of inhabitants, and of the misery those were in (as he heard) who were left behind: however, he sent messengers before, and promised pardon to Antander, and to all those who sided with him, if he would deliver up the city into his hands. Upon which there was a council of war called of those captains that were in the greatest authority; where, after much debate on both sides of the question,

Antander (who was naturally a poor spirited man, and of a weak head, and much inferior in courage and resolution to his brother) was in favour of delivering up the town: but Eurymnon, the Ætolian, (whom Agathocles had left to assist his brother in advice and council) was of another opinion, and prevailed with them all to hold out till they had certain intelligence of the truth. Whereupon Amilcar, coming to understand the resolution of the townsmen, prepared all his engines with a full resolution to batter down the walls.

Agathocles, after the late battle, built two ships, each of thirty oars; and in one of them put on board the best of his rowers, with Nearchus, one of the most faithful friends he then had with him, and sent them away to Syracuse, to give an account of his victory. Having therefore a fair wind, on the fifth day (in the night) they arrived in the harbour of Syracuse, and at break of day, crowned with garlands, and singing the Pæan as they sailed along, they made for the city; which being perceived by the Carthaginian guard-ships, they pursued them with all their might, and the other not being far before them, there was a great contest between the rowers on both sides. While the seamen were thus contending, both the besiegers and besieged understanding the matter, ran down to the port; and each, fearful of the event, called out and encouraged every one their own men. And now the ship was upon the point of falling into the hands of the pursuers, upon which the barbarians gave a shout; but the citizens not being able otherwise to assist, prayed to their gods for the preservation of their men on board. The pursuers being now ready to board her not far from land, she got within a dart's cast of the shore, and by the help of the Syracusans, who came in to her relief, narrowly escaped the danger. Amilcar perceiving that the citizens (upon the account of the late contest, and the sudden arrival of the intelligence expected) were all flocked down to the port; and thereupon conceiving that part of the walls were left undefended, ordered the stoutest of his soldiers to rear up scaling ladders; who, finding there no guards, mounted the walls without being discerned; and had almost possessed themselves of an entire part lying between two towers, when they that used to go the round came just then to the place and discovered them. Upon which they attacked them before any relief could be brought to the assailants, so that some were killed, and others were thrown down headlong over the walls. At which Amilcar was so mortified, that he drew off his forces from the city, and sent away five thousand men to the relief of Carthage.

While these things were in action in Sicily, Agathocles, being now master of the field, took some forts and castles near to Carthage by storm; and other cities, some out of fear, and some through

hatred of the Carthaginians, voluntarily surrendered themselves. Having fortified his camp near Tunis, he left there a sufficient guard, and moved towards the towns lying upon the sea-coast; and first he took by storm the new city, but acted very favourably towards the inhabitants; thence he marched to Adrimetum, and besieged it, and confederated with Elymus, king of Libya. News whereof being brought to the Carthaginians, they bent all their arms against Tunis; and possessed themselves of Agathocles's camp, and with their battering rams pressed upon the city with continual assaults. Agathocles, receiving intelligence of the slaughter of his men, leaving the greatest part of his army to carry on the siege, and taking with him his life-guard and a small body of men, secretly marched up to the top of a mountain, whence he might view the country of the Adrimetines, and likewise the Carthaginians who were besieging Tunis. In the night he commanded his soldiers to kindle fires, and with them to occupy a large tract of ground, to the end that the Carthaginians might think he was making towards them with a strong army, and that the besieged might conclude, that fresh forces in vast numbers were come up to him to his assistance; both being deceived by this stratagem, were caught in the snare; for they who besieged Tunis fled, and left their engines behind them; and the Adrimetines, surprised with fear, delivered up the city, which was gained, upon certain terms agreed upon, but Thapsus he afterwards took by storm; and he took several other cities in this quarter, some by force, and others upon capitulation. Having at length gained in the whole above two hundred towns and cities, he resolved upon an expedition into the higher Libya: to that end he raised his camp, and marched on many days journey.

Then the Carthaginians marched out with those forces, besides others which were sent out of Sicily, and besieged Tunis a second time, and recovered a great part of the country that was then in the hands of the enemy. When couriers came from Tunis, and gave an account of what the Carthaginians had done, Agathocles immediately returned. Being come within two hundred furlongs of the enemy he encamped, and commanded his soldiers not to light any fires: then making a sudden march in the night, about day-break he fell upon those who were wasting and harassing the country, and disorderly roving up and down, and killed above two thousand of them, and took many prisoners, which was a great step to his many successes afterwards: for the Carthaginians being reinforced by their aids from Sicily, and strengthened by their confederates in Africa, thought they had been too strong for Agathocles: but after this mis-

fortune the barbarians became quite dispirited; for he had overcome Elymus, the king of Libya, (who had deserted him), and killed likewise the general, with a great number of the barbarians. And thus stood affairs in Sicily and Africa at this time.

In Macedonia, Cassander came in to the assistance of Autoleontes, king of the Pæonians, who was then at war with the Autariats*, and rescued him from the straits and dangers he was in at that time, and transplanted the Autariats, together with their wives and children that were then with them, to the number of twenty thousand, and placed them near the mountain Orbitaus†.

While he was thus employed, Ptolemy, Antigonus's general in Peloponnesus, who was intrusted by him with an army in these parts, (took a pique against Antigonus, thinking he was not rewarded according to what he might justly expect), revolted and joined with Cassander. He had left one Phœnix, one of his confederates, president of the province adjoining to the Hellespont, and sent over some soldiers to him, wishing him to take care of the castles and cities there, and henceforth not regard any orders that came from Antigonus.

It was generally agreed by Alexander's captains, as part of their articles among themselves, that the Greek cities should be all restored to their antient liberties. Therefore Ptolemy, king of Egypt, (accusing Antigonus of having placed garrisons in several Greek cities), prepared to make war upon him; and sent Leonides, a captain of his own, into Cilicia Aspera, and there possessed himself of certain cities and places belonging to Antigonus; and, moreover, sent his agent to some cities appertaining to Cassander and Lysimachus, that they would follow his advice, and not suffer Antigonus to grow too fast in power.

And as for Antigonus, he sent his younger son Philip to make war upon Phœnix, and others who had revolted from him in the Hellespont; but he sent his son Demetrius into Cilicia, who putting in execution what he had in command, routed the captains of Ptolemy that were there, and recovered the cities.

While these things were doing, Polyperchon (then residing in Peloponnesus) still affecting the government of Macedon, cried out against Cassander, and sent for Hercules, a son of Alexander‡ by Barsine, out of Pergamus, (now seventeen years of age), and sent about to those who were his own friends, and enemies to Cassander, to assist in placing this young man in his father's kingdom. He solicited the Ætolians likewise by his letters to assist him in his pre-

* A people of Dalmatia. † Orbelus, a Mountain in Macedonia.

‡ The Great.

sent design; promising that they should find more grace and favour from him than at any time before, if they would help him to restore the young lad to his father's throne.

All things going on to his wish, and the Ætolians complying with his request, many others came flocking in to restore the new king, so that there were collected together above twenty thousand foot, and not less than a thousand horse. And thus diligently exerting himself in the undertaking, he raised what money he could, and sent some to solicit his friends in Macedonia to assist him.

In the mean time, Ptolemy of Egypt having all Cyprus under his command, and finding that Nicocles, the king of Paphos, held correspondence under-hand with Antigonus, sent two confidents of his own, Argaus and Callicrates, with instructions to destroy Nicocles; for he was much afraid lest some others also should fall off, as he had perceived many others had done before. Wherefore, passing into Cyprus, and taking with them a certain number of soldiers from Menelaus, who commanded the army there, they beset the house of Nicocles; and then telling him what the king's pleasure was, advised him to dispose of himself for another world. He first began to clear himself of what was laid to his charge, but when he saw that no man hearkened to what he said, he drew his sword and slew himself. Axiothea, his wife, hearing of her husband's death, took her daughters, who were all young and virgins, and cut their throats, that they might not fall into any of the enemy's hands, and was earnest with the wives of Nicocles's brothers to accompany her in her own death; whereas Ptolemy had given no order concerning any of them, save only to preserve them. The king's palace therefore thus filled with the sudden and unexpected slaughters and dreadful spectacles, so terrified the brothers of Nicocles, that each of them shut himself in, and set fire to their houses, and slew themselves. Thus the whole race of the kings of Paphos came to a tragical and lamentable end. Having given an account of those affairs we before promised, we shall now proceed to those which follow next in order.

About this time in Pontus*, after the death of Parisades, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, his sons Eumelus, Satyrus, and Prytanis, contended one with another for the kingdom: Satyrus, the eldest, was appointed successor by his father, who reigned eight-and-thirty years.

Eumelus, compacting with some of the natives adjoining, raised an army, and laid claim to the kingdom against his elder brother;

* In the Cimmerian Bosphorus, near the Euxine sea; or in Taurus Chersonesus.

of which Satyrus being informed, went against him with a great army, and, passing the river Thapsus, when he came near his quarters, fortified his camp with his carts and waggons, wherein he had brought an infinite quantity of provisions; and, ranging afterwards his army in the field, (after the manner of the Scythian kings), he led the main body himself. He had not in his army above two* thousand Greeks, and as many Thracians; all the rest were Scythians, which came to assist him, to the number of twenty thousand, and no less than ten thousand horse. Eumelus was assisted by Ariopharnes, king of Thrace, with twenty thousand horse, and two-and-twenty thousand foot. Between these forces a bloody battle was fought, wherein Satyrus (who had with him a choice party of brave horse) encountered first with Ariopharnes in a skirmish of horse, who likewise commanded the middle body opposite to Satyrus, where many fell on both sides; but at length he forced his way through, and put the barbarian king to flight, and, being the first in the pursuit, put every man to the sword that was in his way. But when he heard that his brother Eumelus in the right wing had routed the mercenaries, he left off the pursuit, and made up to the succour of those that fled, and regained the day, and utterly broke and routed the whole army, putting them all to flight; so that he gave a clear testimony that he justly deserved to wear the crown, as well upon account of his valour, as the privilege of his birth.

Ariopharnes and Eumelus thus beaten, fled into the king's palace†, which was environed by the river Thasis, of an exceeding depth, so that the place was of difficult approach: it was surrounded likewise with steep rocks and thick woods, into which there were only two entrances made by art, one leading straight to the palace, defended with high towers and bulwarks: the one on the other side was made in the fens, guarded with forts and towers of timber, raised upon pillars over the water. The place being very strong, Satyrus first wasted the enemy's country, and burnt their towns, whence he carried a vast number of prisoners, and abundance of spoil. Afterwards he attempted to force his way through the passes; but, losing many of his men at the bulwarks and towers, he was forced to retreat. But making an attack upon that side towards the fens, he took the timber forts, which he demolished, and then passed the river. Upon which he began to fell a wood, through which he must necessarily pass to the palace; and, while these attempts were carrying on in great earnestness, king Ariopharnes, fearing lest the castle should be taken by storm, valiantly fell upon them, perceiving that there was no hopes of safety remaining but in an absolute victory. He placed

* One thousand in the margin. † Ariopharnes's palace.

likewise archers on both sides the passage, by whom he sorely galled the fellers of the wood, because they could neither see the arrows before they pierced them, nor come at the archers, nor return the like upon them, by reason of the thick and close standing of the trees. However, Satyrus's soldiers continued felling the wood, and opening a way to the palace, for three days together, though with great toil and hazard. The fourth day they came under the wall; but, being worsted through showers of arrows, and straightness of the places, they sustained very great loss: for Meniscus (who led the mercenary companies) having got in at a passage, (though he fought very manfully), was nevertheless (being overpowered by the multitude within) forced to retreat; whom Satyrus seeing in such imminent danger, came up to him with seasonable relief, and, bearing up against the enemy's charge, was run through the arm with a spear, which was so sore, that it forced him to retire to his camp, and the next night he died of the wound, having reigned scarcely nine months after the death of Parisades, his father. Hereupon Meniscus, captain of the mercenaries, breaking up the siege, drew off the army to a city called Gargaza, and from thence carried the king's body down the river, to a city called Panticapæum, to his brother Prytanis, who, having magnificently buried it, and laid up the relicts in the king's sepulchre, went presently to Gargaza, and there took into his hands the army, together with the kingdom.

Hereupon came the agents of Eumelus to him to treat concerning the parting of the kingdom between them two, which he would not hearken to. Leaving therefore a strong garrison at Gargaza, he returned to Panticapæum, there to settle the affairs of his kingdom. But awhile after, Eumelus, by the help of some barbarians, possessed himself of Gargaza, and sundry other towns and castles: whereupon Prytanis marched with an army against him, but was overthrown in a battle by his brother; and, being shut up within a neck of land near the Palus Mæotis, was forced to surrender himself upon conditions, which were that he should give up all his army, and depart out of the kingdom.

Nevertheless, when Prytanis returned to Panticapæum, which is the place where the kings of Bosphorus keep the standing court, he there endeavoured again to recover his kingdom; but, being foiled there again, he fled to a place called the Gardens, and was there slain.

Eumelus, after the death of his brother, to confirm himself in the kingdom, put to death all the friends, wives, and children of both his brothers, Satyrus and Prytanis; only Parisades, Satyrus's son, being but a youth, escaped his hands: for, by the benefit of a swift horse,

he got away out of the city to Agarus, king of the Scythians. But when Eumelus saw that the people repined at the loss of their friends, whom he had murdered, he called them all together, and there excused himself, and restored to them their antient form of government, and to the citizens of Panticapæum their former immunities, and promised to discharge them of all kind of tributes, sparing no fair words which might reconcile the hearts of the people to him; by which means having gained their good opinions, he held a just and moderate hand over them, and grew afterwards into no small admiration for all kind of virtue among them. For he omitted not to oblige the Byzantines and Sinopians, and the rest of the Grecian inhabitants of Pontus, by all the demonstrations of kindness imaginable: for when the Callantinians were besieged by Lysimachus, and were brought to great distress through want of provisions, he entertained a thousand of them who left the place for want of bread, and not only granted them a safe protection, but allotted to them habitations within the city; and divided likewise a place called Psoa, with the territory thereunto belonging, among them by lot. And for the benefit of the merchants that traded to Pontus, he made war upon the barbarous piratical Heniochians, and them of Taurus, with the Achæans, and scoured and cleansed the seas of them. So that his name was advanced to the skies, (as the fruit of his generosity), not only in his own kingdom, but almost all the world over, while the merchants every where published the greatness and braveness of his spirit. Moreover, he much enlarged his dominion, by the addition of a considerable part of the country of the barbarians bordering upon him, and advanced the fame and reputation of the kingdom above whatever it was before.

In conclusion, he had a design to have brought under all the neighbouring nations, and would certainly have effected in a short time what he thus designed, if he had not been prevented by death: for, after he had reigned five years and as many months, he ended his days by a sudden and unusual accident: for, returning home out of Scythia, with a great desire to be present at a certain sacrifice, and making towards his palace in a chariot with four horses, covered over with a canopy, the horses took a fright at the canopy, and violently ran away with him, the coachman not being able to stop them in their career: upon which Eumelus, fearing lest he should be borne away headlong down some steep rock, threw himself out; but his sword entangling in one of the wheels, he was hurried away by the violent motion of the chariot, and killed forthwith.

It is reported that there were some predictions concerning the death of Eumelus and his brother Satyrus, though something foolish

and vain, yet credited by the inhabitants. For they say, that the oracle warned Satyrus to be aware of one Musculus, lest he should kill him; and that for that reason he would not suffer any of that name, whether bond or free, to abide within his dominions; and that upon that account he was afraid both of house and field-mice*, and continually charged the children to kill them, and stop up their holes. At length, when he had done all that he possibly could to avoid his fate, he was at last killed by a wound in the muscle of his arm. And as for Eumelus, that he was charged by the oracle to take heed of a moving house; and therefore that he durst not go into his house before his servants had made a diligent search to see that both the roof and foundation were sound: but when they came to understand that the canopy placed upon the chariot was the occasion of his death, every one concluded that the prophecy was fulfilled. But this shall suffice concerning the affairs of the Bosphorus.

In Italy, the Roman consuls entered the country of the Samnites† with an army, and routed them in a battle at Talius. But the routed party afterwards possessing themselves of a hill, and the night drawing on, the Romans retreated to their camp; but the next day the fight was renewed, and great numbers of the Samnites were slain, and above two thousand two hundred were taken prisoners. The Romans being thus successful, now quietly enjoyed whatever they had in the open field, and brought under all the revolting cities, and placed garrisons in Cataracta and Ceraunia, places they had taken by assault, and others they reduced upon terms and conditions.

* Musculus is a little mouse.

† In the Greek, Italy is for Samnium, and Italium for Talium.

CHAP. II.

The acts of Ptolemy in Cilicia, and elsewhere. Polyperchon murders Hercules, Alexander's son, by the instigation of Cassander. Amilcar taken, and put to death by the Syracusans. His head sent to Agathocles in Africa. The transactions in Sicily. Archagathus, Agathocles's son, kills Lysiscus: he and his son in great danger by the army. Affairs in Italy. The works of Appius Claudius: the Appian Way. Ptolemy comes to Corinth: his acts there. Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, killed by the governor of Sardis. The further acts of Agathocles in Africa. Ophelas decoyed, and cut off by Agathocles. Ophelas's troublesome march to Agathocles. Lamias's cruelty, and the story of her. Bomilcar seeks to be prince of Carthage, but is put to death by the citizens. Agathocles sends the spoils of the Cyrenians to Syracuse: most of them lost in a storm. Affairs in Italy.

WHEN Demetrius Phalerius was lord-chancellor of Athens, Quintus Fabius (the second time) and Caius Martius were invested with the consular dignity at Rome. At that time Ptolemy, king of Egypt, hearing that his captains had lost all the cities again in Cilicia, put over with his fleet to Phaselis, and took that city by force, and from thence passing into Lycia, took Xanthus by assault, and the garrison of Antigonus that was therein. Then sailing to Caunus, took the city by surrender, and then fell upon the citadels and forts that were in it, and took them by assaults.

As for Heracleum, he utterly destroyed it; and the city Persicum came into his hands by the surrender of the soldiers that were put to keep it. Then sailing to Coos, he sent for Ptolemy the captain, who was Antigonus's brother's son, and had an army committed to him by Antigonus: but now forsaking his uncle, he clave to Ptolemy, and joined with him in all his affairs. Passing therefore from Colchis, and arriving at Coos, Ptolemy the king at first received him very courteously; yet after a while, when he saw the insolence of his carriage, and how he sought to allure the officers by gifts, and held secret cabals with them, for fear of the worst, he clapped him up in prison, and there poisoned him with a draught of hemlock: as for the

soldiers that came with him, he made them his own by large promises, and distributed them by small parcels among his own army. Whilst these things were acting, Polyperchon, having raised a great army, restored Hercules, the son of Alexander, begotten upon Barsine, to his father's kingdom. And while he lay encamped at Stymphalia, Cassander came up with his army, and both encamped near to each other; neither did the Macedonians dislike to see the restoration of their king.

Cassander therefore, fearing lest the Macedonians (who are naturally inconstant) should revolt to Hercules, sent an agent to Polyperchon, chiefly to advise with him concerning the business of the king. If the king was restored, he told him, he must be sure to be under the commands of others; but if he would assist him, and kill the young man, he should enjoy the same privileges and honours in Macedonia that ever he had before. And besides, that he should have the command of an army; that he should be declared generalissimo of Peloponnesus; and that he should share in the principality, and be in equal honour with Cassander. At length he so caught and ensnared Polyperchon with many large promises, that they entered into a secret combination, and Polyperchon undertook to murder the young king, which he accordingly effected; upon which Polyperchon openly joined with Cassander in all his concerns, and was advanced in Macedonia, and received (according to the compact) four thousand Macedonian foot, and five hundred Thessalian horse; and, having listed several other volunteers, he attempted to pass through Bœotia into Peloponnesus: but being opposed by the Bœotians and Peloponnesians, he was forced to retire, and march into Locris, where he took up his winter-quarters.

During these transactions, Lysimachus built a city in Chersonesus, and called it after his own name, Lysimachia. Cleomenes, king of Lacedæmon, now died, when he had reigned threescore years and ten months, and was succeeded by Aretas, his son, who ruled forty-four years.

About this time Amilcar, general of the forces in Sicily, having reduced the rest of that island, marched with his army to Syracuse, as if he would presently gain that city by force of arms: and to that end hindered all provision from coming to the town, having been a long time master at sea; and, having wasted and destroyed all the corn, and other fruits of the field, attempted to possess himself of all the places about Olympias* lying before the town. Then he resolved forthwith to assault the walls, being encouraged thereunto by the au-

* A strong fort near the temple of Jupiter Olympus.

gur, who, by viewing the entrails of the sacrifice, foretold that he should certainly sup the next day in Syracuse. But the townsmen, suspecting the enemy's design, sent out in the night three thousand foot, and about four hundred horse, with orders to possess themselves of Euryclus*, who presently effected what they were commanded to do. The Carthaginians, thinking to surprise the enemy, fell on about midnight. Amilcar commanded the whole body, and led them up, having always a strong party near to support him. Dinocrates, master of the horse, followed him. The army was divided into two battalions, one of barbarians, and the other of Grecian confederates. A rabble likewise of divers other nations followed, to get what plunder they could; which sort of people, as they are of no use in an army, so they are many times the cause of sudden alarms, and vain and needless fears, which often occasion great mischief and prejudice. And at that time, the passes being straight and rough, the drivers of the carriages, and other servants and attendants of the army that were not of any formed companies, quarrelled one with another for the way, and, not being able to move forward, by reason of the throng, some fell to downright blows; so that many on each side coming in to help their several parties, a great tumult, noise, and clamour ran through the whole army. Upon which the Syracusans who were posted at Euryclus, understanding the approach of the barbarians by their tumultuous march, and having the higher ground, fell in upon the enemy. Some from the high places where they were posted galled them as they came on with their darts and arrows, and some prevented them by gaining the necessary passes, and so blocked up their way. Others drove those that fled headlong down the rocks; for, by reason of the darkness of the night, and want of intelligence, they thought the enemy was coming upon them with a mighty army; so that the Carthaginians, by reason of the disturbance and tumult amongst their own men, their ignorance† of the ways, and straightness of the passages, were at a stand, and confounded, and at last fled outright: and because there was no room to give way, great numbers of them were trodden under foot by their own horse; and part of the army fought one with another, as if they had been enemies, led into the error by the darkness of the night. Amilcar indeed at the first received the enemy's charge with great resolution, and called out to the colonels and commanders to stand to it, and valiantly bear the brunt with the rest. But afterwards, being deserted by his soldiers,

* Or Euryalus, a fort upon the highest point of the hill over the city called the Epipolæ.

† For some made away even upon the appearance of the enemy, especially being penned up, and in amaze, through their ignorance of the places.

through the consternation that was amongst them, having much ado to save his life, he fell into the hands of the Syracusans.

Here a man may justly observe the inconstancy of fortune, and the surprising events men are overtaken with, contrary to what they expected. For Agathocles, not inferior to any in valour, and who had the command of a great army in the battle at Himera, was not only beaten by the barbarians, but lost the best and greatest part of his army. But those that were left, and penned up within the walls of Syracuse, with a small handful of men that had been before beaten, not only routed the army of the Carthaginians by whom they were besieged, but took Amilcar the general, one of the noblest of the citizens of Carthage, prisoner: and that most to be admired is, that a small body of men by an ambuscade, and the advantage of the place, should utterly rout an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. So this is very true, which is in every body's mouth—Many things are vain and to no purpose in war.

After this flight, the Carthaginians being scattered and dispersed to a great distance from one another, could scarcely be collected together next day. But the Syracusans, returning to the city with much spoil, delivered Amilcar to those that were resolved to revenge themselves of him. They remembered what was foretold by the augur—That he should sup in Syracuse the next day: the truth of which, the deity now confirmed by the event. The kindred, therefore, of them that were slain, led Amilcar bound through all parts of the city; and after they had most horribly tormented him, killed him with the greatest scorn and contempt imaginable. Then the principal men of the city sent his head to Agathocles, with an express, to give him an account of the late victory.

But the army of the Carthaginians, after this defeat, though they came to understand what was the cause of such great calamities and misfortunes, yet were scarcely after all freed from their fears: and because they wanted a general, quarrels arose between the barbarians and Grecians. The exiles, therefore, and the rest of the Greeks, made Dinocrates general over themselves: and the Carthaginians intrusted the supreme command to those that were next in dignity to the late general. At this time, when the Agrigentines perceived that Sicily was now in that condition as that it might be easily gained, they began to seek after the sovereign command of the island themselves: for they supposed that the Carthaginians were not able to cope with Agathocles in the war; and that Dinocrates, who had only a company of fugitives about him, might be easily vanquished; and that the Syracusans, who were grievously pressed for want of provisions, would not so much as attempt to

gain the sovereign command. And lastly, that which was of the greatest weight was, that inasmuch as they took up arms to free all the Greek cities, they concluded, that all would readily concur, both upon the account of the hatred they mutually bore against the barbarians, and the natural love and regard they all had to the laws of their own country. They therefore created Xenodicus general, and sent him forth to the war with a considerable army, who forthwith makes for Gela, and by some of his friends was let into the city in the night; and thus gained more forces in the town, and a great deal of money, at one and the same time. The Gelans having thus recovered their liberty, joined in the war with the whole strength and power of the city, and most readily applied their helping hands for the restoring all the cities to their antient laws.

This attempt of the Agrigentines being noised abroad throughout the whole island, a sudden desire of liberty spread over all the cities: and first, the Enneans sent agents and delivered up their city to the Agrigentines: who, freeing this city, marched on to Erbessus a garrison of the Carthaginians: here was a sharp engagement, but the citizens coming in to the assistance of the Agrigentines, the garrison was expulsed, and many of the barbarians were killed, and five hundred laid down their arms and surrendered.

While the Agrigentines were employed in these affairs, some of Agathocles's soldiers in Syracuse, having taken Echelta, wasted and harassed the country of the Leontines and Camareans. This calamity grievously afflicted the cities, because the country was laid waste, and all the corn and fruits destroyed: whereupon Xenodicus, the general, marched into those parts, and drove the enemy out of the country of the Leontines and Camarenians, and then retaking Echelta, which was a very strong fort, he restored the democratical government to the city, and struck a terror into the Syracusans. To conclude, he marched up and down to the several garrisons and cities, and freed them from the Carthaginian government.

In the mean time, the Syracusans, being in great straits and perplexity for want of provisions, when they understood that some ships were coming with corn, fitted out twenty gallies; and, understanding that the barbarians kept but a slight guard where they lay, they slipt by undiscerned, and got as far as the Megareans, and there waited for the merchants. But thirty Carthaginian gallies making up to them, they prepared themselves at first to fight: but being presently driven on shore, they left their ships and swam out, and so escaped to a certain temple of Juno, upon which there was a sharp dispute about the ships; the Carthaginians threw in grappling irons, and hauled them off by force from the land, and so took ten of them;

the rest were saved by some help that came in out of the city. And this was the condition of Sicily at that time.

In Africa, after that they who brought the head of Amilcar were arrived, Agathocles, as soon as he had received it, rode up so near to the enemy's camp as that his voice might be heard; and shewing them the head, told them how all their forces in Sicily were destroyed, which presently caused most bitter mourning and lamentation among the Carthaginians, who bowed down themselves in adoration to the head of their king, (as is the custom of their country), and looking upon his death to be their own calamity, had no courage to prosecute the war further. Agathocles on the other side, lifted up with his successes in Africa, and with such confluence of prosperity, carried himself high in mighty hopes and expectations for the future, as if he had been now out of the reach of all dangers. But fortune did not think it fit to suffer things to run on in the same course of prosperity, but brought him under the most imminent hazards and difficulties from his own soldiers. For one Lyciscus, one of his colonels, being invited by Agathocles to supper, when he was heated with wine, and in his cups, began to rail against him with most bitter imprecations. But Agathocles, because he had a great esteem for the man on account of his valour, passed by all with a jest: but Archagathus, his son, on the contrary being enraged at him, retorted upon him with bitter reproaches and threats. When supper was ended, and every one was returned to his tent, Lyciscus contemptuously charged Archagathus as an incestuous adulterer with his own step-mother; for he was judged to be too familiar with Alcia, his father's wife. Whereupon Archagathus, stirred up to a degree of madness and rage, snatched a lance out of the hands of one of the guards and ran him through the side, who, falling down dead, was carried into his tent by those that attended him. As soon as it was day, the friends of him that was slain, and many others of the soldiers, ran up and down, and (enraged at the deed which was committed) filled the camp with tumult and confusion. Many likewise of the captains, who were subject to be called in question for their crimes, fearing what might ensue, made use of the present occasion, and stirred up the soldiers to a terrible mutiny; so that the whole army, inflamed with the hatred of his cruelty, ran to their arms to execute condign punishment upon the murderer. At length they resolved to put Archagathas to death; and that, if Agathocles did not deliver up his son, he should die in his room: besides, they demanded of him their arrears, and chose new officers and captains to command the army. At length they possessed themselves of the walls of Tunis, and inclosed the princes with their guards. This mutiny com-

ing to the ears of the enemy, the Carthaginians sent some of their own men to persuade the soldiers to a revolt, promising them larger pay and ample rewards: whereupon many of the captains promised to bring over the army to them. But Agathocles, when he saw he was in the utmost extremity of danger, and fearing lest if he were given up to the enemy he should end his days with disgrace and dishonour, concluded that it was much better if he must suffer to be killed by the soldiers: whereupon he laid aside his purple robe, and put on a poor country-fellow's habit, and came into the midst of them; at which strange sight there was a deep silence, and many came in from every quarter flocking about him, where he made a speech to them adapted to the present occasion, wherein he set forth the acts he had done to that time, and told them he was now ready to die, if they (his fellow-soldiers) thought fit it should be so. For he was resolved never (like a coward) to make exchange of his honour for his life, of which, he said, they should be then eye-witnesses; and thereupon drew out his sword as if he would run himself through: and just as he was ready to thrust it into his body, the whole army cried aloud to him to forbear, and all gave their voices generally— That he should be acquitted and discharged from all further accusation. The soldiers then wishing him to put on his royal robes, he returned them many thanks, shedding many tears, and then cloathed himself again as became his state and dignity, and the people with cheerful countenances congratulated the reassumption of his former power. In the mean time, the Carthaginians expected every hour that the Greeks would come over to them.

But Agathocles, that he might not lose the advantage of the present occasion, led the army out against them; for the Carthaginians expecting continually a revolt and a desertion from the enemy's camp, never in the least dreamed of what was really in agitation. But Agathocles, as soon as he approached the enemy's camp, presently commanded his men to sound a charge, and so forthwith fell in upon them, and cut them down before him. The Carthaginians being surprised by this sudden attack, after the loss of many of their men, fled to their camp. And thus Agathocles, who was near losing his life through the rashness of his son, by his own valour not only extricated himself out of the snare, but completely routed his enemies: but they who were the heads and ring-leaders of the mutiny, and as many others as bore a grudge to the prince, to the number of two hundred and upwards, vilely deserted, and went over to the Carthaginians.

Having now gone through the affairs of Africa and Sicily, we shall next take notice of what was done in Italy. For there the E-

truscans came with a great army against Sutrium, a Roman colony: to whose defence the consuls marched out with great forces, and fought and routed the Etruscans, and pursued them to their very camp. About the same time the Samnites (when the Roman army was abroad at a great distance, without the least fear of an enemy) besieged the Iapyges, allies to the Romans: therefore the consuls were forced to divide their forces. Fabius continued in Etruria; but Marcius marched against the Samnites, and took the city of Alifa by storm, and freed their allies from the siege of Iapyges. But Fabius, while the Etrurians flocked in great numbers to besiege Sutrium, slipt secretly by the enemy through the bordering country, and made an incursion into the higher Etruria, which had for a long time been free from all manner of inroads and invasions; where, breaking in on a sudden, he wasted and harassed the country up and down, and routed those of the inhabitants that made head against him, and killed many of them, and took a great number of prisoners. Afterwards he overcame and killed many of them in a set battle, at a place called Perusia, and put that people into a great consternation. He was the first of the Romans that ever entered into those parts with an army. But he made peace with the Arretines and Crotoneans, and them of Perusia; and taking the city called Castula, he forced the Etrurians to raise their siege before Sutrium.

This year there were two censors created at Rome; the one of whom was Appius Claudius; who, with the concurrence of his colleague, Caius Plautius, abrogated many of the antient laws: for, to gratify the people, he made no account of the senate. He brought water, which from him was called Appia, into Rome, from places four furlongs distant; and expended a vast sum of money in this work, received out of the treasury by consent of the senate. Then he laid a causeway of hard stones the greatest part of that road, which is from him called Appia, extending from Rome to Capua, a thousand furlongs and upwards; and with great cost and expense levelled all the rising grounds, and filled up all the holes and hollow places, making all even and plain; but hereby drained the treasury of almost all the money that was in it. And by his employing himself in promoting the public good, he left behind him an immortal memorial. He also made up the senate not only of the nobility, as the antient custom was, but likewise of the libertines*, by choosing many of them, and mixing them with the others, which the patricians took very heinously. Moreover, he gave liberty to the citizens to incorporate themselves into what tribe they thought fit, and to be taxed in whatever rank they pleased.

* Such as had been slaves and were set free.

At length, perceiving how greatly he was envied by the nobility, he avoided the storm by insinuating himself into the favour of the common people, and making use of them as a bulwark against the envy of the patricians. In mustering the horse, he never took any man's horse from him, nor removed any person, however mean, out of the senate (when once chosen) when he took an account of the senators, which the censors used to do. But the consuls, both out of envy, and to gratify the nobility, convened a senate out of such as were enrolled by the former censors, and not those that were allowed by him: but the people opposed them, and sided with Appius; and that he might confirm the advancement of such as were of mean and obscure birth, he preferred one Caius Flavius, the son of a libertine, to the office of ædile, and to the highest place in that office. And this was the first Roman born of a libertine, that ever before was advanced to that honourable situation. Appius, at length being removed out of his office, out of fear of the senate's malice, kept his house under pretence of being blind.

Now Charinus was chief governor at Athens, and the Romans created Publius Decius and Quintus Fabius consuls. And at Elis was celebrated the hundred and eighteenth olympiad, in which Apollonides of Tegæa bore away the prize: at which time Ptolemy, sailing from Myndus along the islands which lay in his way, came to Andros; and, putting out the garrison that was there, restored it to its former liberty: thence he sailed to the Isthmus, and received Sicyon and Corinth from Cratesipolis. But for what reasons, and upon what account he took these eminent cities into his hands, we have related in the former books, and therefore we shall forbear repetition. He designed also to restore the rest of the Greek cities to their liberty, judging that, by gaining the hearts of the Grecians, he should very much promote his own interest. But when the Peloponnesians were ordered to provide money and victuals, but performed nothing of what they agreed to, he was so incensed that he made peace with Cassander upon this condition,—That each of them should retain the cities they had then in their hands. Then having put garrisons into Sicyon and Corinth, he returned into Egypt.

In the mean time, Cleopatra, being incensed against Antigonus, of her own accord inclined to Ptolemy, and left Sardis to go to him: she was the sister of Alexander, the conqueror of the Persians, the daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas, and the wife of Alexander who undertook an expedition into Italy. And therefore upon the account of the nobleness of her birth, Cassander, Lysimachus, Antigonus, and Ptolemy, and even the chiefest of Alexander's captains after his death, were every one ambitious to marry her: for every one hoped

by this marriage to draw all the Macedonians after him; and therefore each coveted to be related to the royal family, looking upon that as the way to gain the sovereign command over all the rest. But the governor of Sardis, whom Antigonus had ordered to retain Cleopatra, stopped her journey; and afterwards, by the order of Antigonus, with the help of some women, privately murdered her. But Antigonus, who would no ways be thought guilty of her death, struck off the heads of some of those women for having a hand in her murder, and buried her with all the magnificence that might be. And such was the end of Cleopatra, before any solemnization of marriage; who was earnestly coveted as a wife by all the most noble captains and generals of the army.

Having now gone through the affairs af Asia and Greece, we shall pass over to other parts of the world.

In Africa, the Carthaginians sent an army against the Numidians, who had revolted from them, in order to reduce them. Upon which, Agathocles left his son Archagathus with part of the army at Tunis; and he himself, with eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse of the most valiant men of his army, and fifty African carriages, made after the enemy with all possible speed. In the mean time, the Carthaginians being come among the Numidians called Suphons, caused many of the inhabitants to join with them; and reduced likewise some of the revolters to their former alliance and confederacy with them; but when they heard of the enemy's approach they encamped upon a high piece of ground lying on the other side of a deep and impassable river, to secure themselves against all sudden attacks and incursions of the enemy; and commanded the most active Numidians to hinder the march of the Grecians by constantly harassing them with continual attacks in the rear; who accordingly executing their commands, Agathocles sent out the archers and slingers against them; and he himself, with the rest of the army, made towards the enemy's camp. But the Carthaginians, understanding his design, drew the army out of the camp, and stood ranged in battle array, ready and prepared for fight: as soon as they saw Agathocles's soldiers pass the river, they fell upon them in a full body, and made a great slaughter at that part of the river where it was so difficult to pass; and in this endeavour to force their way through the river, the Greeks as far excelled the barbarians in valour, as they did them in number and multitude. While both sides stood stoutly to it for a long time, the Numidians in each army left off fighting, expecting the issue of the engagement with a design to rifle the carriages of that party which was routed. At length Agathocles with those brave and valiant men he had about him, broke through

that part of the enemy's battalion which was opposed to him, and put them to flight, and the rest presently followed him; only the Grecian horse that sided with the Carthaginians, under the command of Clino, bore the shock of the Agathocleans, who prest very sore upon them; upon which there was a very sharp engagement, and many fighting courageously died on the spot, the rest by good fortune escaping: then Agathocles, leaving off the pursuit, bent all his strength against them who had fled back into the camp; but, endeavouring to break in at places strongly fortified and of difficult approach, he sustained as much loss as the Carthaginians; however, he remitted nothing of his resolution, but being lifted up with his victory still pressed upon the enemy, confidently concluding he could force the camp. In the mean time the Numidians were very intent in observing how things were like to go, but could not fall upon the baggage of the Carthaginians because both armies were so near the camp. When therefore they saw that Agathocles was at a great distance, and the guards but small in the Grecian camp, they broke in there, and easily killed those that withstood them, and took many prisoners, and possessed themselves of other prey and plunder. Which, as soon as Agathocles came to understand, he hastened thither with his forces, and recovered some of the spoil: but the Numidians carried most away with them, and in the night got a long way off from the place. Then the prince erected a trophy, and divided all the booty amongst the soldiers that none might repine at the losses they had sustained. The Greeks likewise, that sided with the Carthaginians, he committed prisoners to a castle; who, fearing that the prince would revenge himself on them, in the night fell upon the guard in the castle; but being worsted, they got into a fort and sheltered themselves there to the number of a thousand at least, amongst whom were above five hundred Syracusans. As soon as Agathocles came to know what was done, he marched with his army thither, where after terms and articles agreed upon, those complotters came forth from the hold, but he put them all to the sword. Being crowned with this victory, and having done all that he possibly could contrive for the subduing of the Carthaginians, he sent Ortho the Syracusan to Cyrene, as his ambassador to Ophelas, who was one of Alexander's captains during the whole of the late wars, and was then possessed of Cyrene with the neighbouring cities, and had the command of a great army, and was contriving how to enlarge his dominions; and while he was employing his mind on these ambitious projects, the agent of Agathocles just then arrived to solicit him to join with him in affording his assistance to subdue the Carthaginians. In return for which piece of service Agathocles promis-

ed he would yield up to him the sovereign command of all Africa, and that he himself would be content with Sicily, where, being freed from all fear of future dangers and troubles from the Carthaginians, he should be able with ease and safety to reduce the whole island to his obedience. And if he should have a desire to enlarge his dominion, he said that Italy was near at hand, where he might gratify his ambition in that respect. That Africa was far from him, separated by a large sea, and that he came not into it of choice, but was driven there by necessity. This therefore coming in the way so heightened him in his former hopes that he readily hearkened to him, and sent his agent to Athens to pray their aid and association in this war. For he had married from thence Eurydice, the daughter of Miltiades, who was general of the conquerors at the battle of Marathon; and therefore, upon account of this marriage, and other acts of kindness, he was received into the franchises of the city; many of the Athenians readily hearkened to this motion, and not a few likewise of the other Grecians willingly joined in this expedition, hoping thereby to have the sharing of the richest parts of all Africa with all the wealth of Carthage among themselves: for the state of the affairs of Greece, by reason of the continual wars and quarrels of the princes among themselves, was but in a very weak and low condition; therefore they concluded they should not only reap much advantage, but be freed likewise from those pressing evils which at that time lay heavy upon them.

Ophelas at length, when he had made plentiful provision of all things necessary for his expedition in hand, led forth his army, having with him above ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse, and a hundred chariots, and above three hundred men drivers and soldiers to manage them, besides extraordinaries and followers of the camp to the number of ten thousand more; many of whom carried their wives and children with their stuff and baggage along with them, so that they looked like a colony going to be planted. Having therefore marched eighteen days journey, and in them gone three thousand furlongs, they came to a city called Automolus, and there encamped; thence marching forward, they came to a mountain shelving down on both sides with steep and sharp rocks, having a deep valley in the midst, out of which rose a soft stone spiring up like unto a sharp rock, at the foot of which was a wide cave overshadowed with ivy and the leaves of the yew tree, in which it is reported, queen Lamia, a lady of admirable beauty, formerly dwelt; but for her cruelty, they say, her face was afterwards transformed into the shape of a beast; for it is reported that, being bereaved of all her children*,

* All her children, they say, were killed by Juno, because they were got by Jupiter

she took it so grievously, that she envied all other women that had children, and commanded the poor infants to be plucked out of their mothers' arms, and forthwith murdered. And therefore, even to this day, the tale of this woman is fresh among children, and with the name of Lamia they are presently put into a great fright. Moreover, being much given to drunkenness, she let every one do what they pleased, without any enquiry after mens' manners; and because she never seriously minded what was done in her province, it was believed she was blind. And therefore there is a fable told by some that she put her eyes into a little purse, excusing her drunken sottishness by such an invented tale, as if that was the reason she saw nothing. That she was in Africa one brings in Euripides for a witness, for so he says—

> To whom is that most hateful name unknown?
> Or of th' African Lamia the spawn?

But Ophelas, removing again, travelled with great toil and labour through a dry and thirsty country full of wild beasts; for they did not only want water, but bread and other provision, so that the whole army was in danger of perishing. These sandy deserts near the Syrtes were pestered with noisome serpents and all sorts of hurtful beasts, and it being for the most part deadly to be bitten by these venomous creatures, many were brought into a sad condition; out of the reach both of friends' help and remedy from medicines. For some of the serpents were of the same colour with the earth, so that none could see them before they were hurt, so that many treading upon them were stung to death. At last, after two months miserable marching, with much difficulty they came to Agathocles's camp, where they pitched their camps at a small distance one from another; on the other hand the Carthaginians, hearing that they were come up to him, were in a great consternation, seeing the great forces that were making against them.

Agathocles, hearing of his approach, went to meet him, and advised him by all means to have a care of his army after so tedious and hard a journey, and to see them well refreshed. He himself lay quiet a few days, observing every thing that was done in the neighbouring camp. At length, taking his opportunity when the greater part of Ophelas's army were gone a-foraging into the country, and taking notice that Ophelas never suspected any thing of what he was then contriving, he suddenly called his army together, and before them accused Ophelas for that, being called for as an assistant in this war, he went about to betray him; and, having incensed the multitude, drew out his whole army in battalia against him and his Cyrenians. Ophelas, growing amazed at this unexpected alteration,

put nevertheless himself and the men he had with him in a posture of defence: but the enemy being too quick for him, and he too weak for them, he was there slain upon the place. Agathocles persuaded those that were left to lay down their arms; then telling them what great things he would do for them, he got the whole army to himself. And thus Ophelas, by indulging his ambition, and being over credulous, came to this fatal catastrophe. In the mean time Bomilcar at Carthage was waiting for an opportunity to put in execution what he had a long time been hammering in his brain in order to gain the sovereign power and authority. And, although he had several times fit occasions offered him for that purpose, yet always some light and inconsiderable cause or other intervening, put a stop to his design. For some superstitious persons many times are preparing to act great and remarkable pieces of wickedness, and yet always choose rather to delay than act, to put off, than execute the thing; which even then came to pass: for, concluding that he had a fair opportunity offered him, the better to effect his purpose, he sent away the most eminent persons of the citizens that were about him on an expedition against the Numidians, that he might have none of the nobility at hand to oppose him; but then, checked by his own fears, he durst not reveal to any his design of gaining the principality, and so let the matter fall again. At length it fell out that he attempted to set up himself at the very same time that Ophelas was cut off by Agathocles; and neither of them knew what was done in one another's camp. For Agathocles knew nothing of the ambition of the other, or of the tumult and disorder that was in the city, which he might at that time have easily subdued: for if Bomilcar had been surprised, and taken in the very act, he would have chosen rather to have joined with Agathocles, than to have given up himself to be punished by the citizens. Neither did the Carthaginians know any thing of Agathocles's falling upon Ophelas; for they might easily have overcome him, by joining with Ophelas. But I suppose both sides were well enough content to be ignorant, although they were things of great weight and concern, and contrived by them that were near one to another.

For Agathocles, being plotting to cut off a person that was his friend and associate, minded not to inquire after any thing that was doing with the enemy; and Bomilcar, on the other side, contriving how to overturn the liberties of his country, cared not what was in agitation in Agathocles's camp, whose purpose was now not so much to conquer an enemy, as to subdue his own fellow-citizens. Matters being thus, here some may find fault with history, seeing many things of divers natures happening at one and the same time, and that writers

are forced to break in with new matter of another nature, and to divide between things done at the same instant, that the truths related may delight the more. But to answer this, the history that is denied this liberty, although it afterwards represents the things done, yet it postpones the true pleasure of the thing to too great a distance from the first relation.

Bomilcar therefore, picking out a select number of men in the New City*, (as it is called), not far distant from the old Carthage, dismissed all the rest; then, having called together five hundred† of the citizens who were privy to his design, and about a thousand mercenary soldiers, he declared himself sole monarch of the Carthaginians. Then he divided his troops into five bodies, and fell upon the city, killing all that he met in the highways; upon which an incredible terror and amazement possessed the whole city. At first, the Carthaginians suspected that the town was betrayed, and that the enemy had broke in by that means: but when the truth was known, the young men marshalled themselves, and made against the tyrant, who hastened into the forum, killing all he met in the streets, and slaughtering great numbers of naked and unarmed citizens. But the Carthaginians, mounting the tops of the houses that were round about the market-place, cast down showers of darts from thence, so that the conspirators (the place being altogether exposed to the shot) were galled most grievously: whereupon in a full body they forced their way through the narrow passes, and got into the New City, being plyed and wounded with darts and arrows all along as they came under the houses. Then possessing themselves of a hill, (the whole city being now in arms), the Carthaginians drew up their camp in the face of the rebels. At length they sent some of the most antient and gravest of their citizens to them, and remitted what was past, and so all things were peaceably composed. Towards all the rest, indeed, they performed their articles, and (because of the cloud that hung over the city) passed by the crimes committed; but, without any regard to their oaths, they most ignominiously tormented Bomilcar, and put him to death. And thus the Carthaginians, when their commonwealth was near upon the point of expiring, recovered their antient form of government.

In the mean time, Agathocles loaded all his transport-ships with spoils, and such of the Cyrenians as he found not fit and serviceable for the war he put on board, and sent them to Syracuse; but a fierce tempest overtook them, in which some of the ships were lost, and others were cast upon the Pithecusian islands bordering upon Italy, so that very few arrived at Syracuse.

* Neapolis. † Four thousand in the margin.

In Italy, the Roman consuls assisted the Marsilians, (who were sorely oppressed by the Samnites), and were conquerors, killing great numbers of the enemy upon the place. Then they marched through the country of the Umbri, and invaded Etruria, then at war with them, and took a castle called Caprium by storm. But the inhabitants sending their ambassadors to treat upon terms of peace, they made peace with the Tarquinians for forty years; but with the rest of the Etrurians only for one year.

CHAP. III.

Demetrius frees all the Grecian cities: takes the Piræus at Athens. Demetrius Phalerius flies to Ptolemy. Honours given to Demetrius in Athens. He sails to Cyprus: his acts there: besieges Salamis. His great engines. Ptolemy sails to Cyprus. Sea-fight between Ptolemy and Demetrius, wherein Ptolemy is routed. Antigonus takes the title of king, as likewise do several other captains. Agathocles's acts at Utica in Africa. Ties his prisoners to a great engine. The sorts of people in Africa. Xenodochus routed in Sicily by Agathocles's captains. The acts of Agathocles in Sicily. What was done by Archagathus in Africa. Maschala inhabited by some Grecks that came from Troy. Apes, their custom among the Pithecusæ. The Carthaginians draw thirty thousand men out of Carthage. Misfortunes to Agathocles's captains in Africa. The army blocked up, and almost starved. Agathocles beats the Carthaginians at sea near Syracuse. His captain Leptines harasses the Agrigentines. Agathocles feasts the Syracusans. His jocund temper. His cruelty. Routed in Africa. Carthaginian camp burnt. The misfortune afterwards to both armies by one cause. Agathocles put in chains by his own men. Steals out of Africa. The soldiers kill his two sons. They make peace with the Carthaginians. Agathocles's exceeding cruelty at Ægesta; and afterwards at Syracuse.

AT the end of the year, Anaxicrates was created chief governor of Athens, and Appius Claudius and Lucius Volutius consuls at Rome. At this time Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, being furnished with

two strong armies, one by land, and the other by sea, and provided with weapons and all other necessaries for the war, set forth from Ephesus with full orders and instructions to set all the Grecian cities at liberty, and in the first place to free Athens, which was then held by a garrison of Cassander's. To this purpose he arrived at the Piræus with his fleet; and upon his first arrival caused the edict to be proclaimed, and then assaulted the Piræus on every side. But Dionysius, the governor of the fort Munychia, and Demetrius Phalerius, whom Cassander had made president of the city, with a strong body of men beat off the enemy from the walls: but some of Antigonus's men forced their way near the shore, and scaled the walls; whereupon many within came up to their assistance, and in this manner was the Piræus taken. Dionysius the governor fled into Munychia, and Demetrius Phalerius into the city. The next day he, with some others, was sent by the city to Demetrius, and, after he had treated with him concerning the liberty of the city, and his own preservation, he prevailed so far as to be dismissed with a safe conduct, and so, without any further care or concern for Athens, he fled to Thebes, and thence to Ptolemy in Egypt. And thus he, who had governed the city for the space of ten years, was in this manner thrust out of his country. The people of Athens being hereupon restored to their liberty, decreed public honours to them that were the authors of their deliverance. Demetrius forthwith brought up his engines and battering-rams, and besieged Munychia both by sea and land. But the Dionysians made a stout resistance, and, by the advantage and difficulty of the height of the places to be assaulted, beat off the Demetrians, (for Munychia is not only strong by nature, but by art also, and defended by high walls), though Demetrius indeed far exceeded the other in number of men, and warlike preparations. At length, after the assault had continued for the space of two days together, many of those within being wounded and killed by the shot from the engines, so as that there were not men enough left to defend the place, the garrison-soldiers began to flag. In the mean time the Demetrians, who assaulted by turns, and mutually relieved one another with fresh supplies, having cleared the wall by their shot, broke into Munychia, and so, forcing the soldiers within to lay down their arms, they took the governor prisoner. Having despatched this business in a few days time, Demetrius demolished Munychia, and entirely restored the people to their liberty, and entered with them into a league of peace and amity. The Athenians therefore made a decree (which was written by Stratocles)—That golden statues of Antigonus and Demetrius should be set up, and mounted upon a chariot, next

to Harmodius and Aristogiton*; and that they should be both adorned with crowns of gold of two hundred talents weight a-piece; and that an altar should be erected in honour of them, called the Saviour's Altar: and in further honour of them, to the ten tribes of Athens they added two more, called the Antigonian and Demetrian. And thus the people of Athens, after they had been stripped of all their liberties by the Lamian war, after fifteen years were restored to their antient laws and government. Megara was still under the curb of a garrison; but Demetrius likewise took that city, and restored the people to their former privileges; therefore he was highly honoured and richly presented by the inhabitants upon this account. Moreover, when the Athenian ambassador, who was sent to Antigonus, presented to him the decree, he, understanding that they both wanted corn for necessary provision, and timber for building of ships, sent them a hundred and fifty medimnas of wheat, and as much timber as would build a hundred ships. Then he withdrew the garrison out of Imbros, and restored the city to the inhabitants. Afterwards he wrote to his son Demetrius, and ordered him to call a senate of members chosen out of all the confederate cities, in order to consult concerning what might be most conducive to the public good of all Greece; and that he himself with all speed should transport forces into Cyprus, and there fight Ptolemy's captains. In obedience to his father's commands, without any further delay, he passed over first into Caria, and moved the Rhodians to make war against Ptolemy, who were slack and slow in the matter, willing rather to be neuters, and keep in with all parties: hence first grew the heartburnings between them and Antigonus. Thence he sailed into Cilicia, and, furnishing himself there with shipping and men, he passed over into Cyprus with fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and a fleet consisting of an hundred and ten ships of three tier of oars a-piece, of singular swiftness, and fifty-three not so swift as the others, but men of war, as they were; besides transport-ships of all sorts, answerable to so great a multitude of men and horses. Being landed, he first encamped near the shore, not far from Carpasia, and, drawing up his ships to land, fenced them with a deep trench and ramparts; and then he fell upon the cities next at hand, and took Urania and Carpasia by storm; and, leaving a sufficient guard to defend his trenches about the fleet, he marched to Salamis.

Menelaus, appointed by Ptolemy chief commander of the isle, being then at Salamis, and seeing the enemy within forty furlongs of

* Two brothers that killed the tyrant Hyparchus in Athens.—Olymp. 66, Thucyd. Hist.

the city, drew out of the garrisons adjoining, to the number of twelve thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, and went out to meet him, and fought awhile; but, not being able to endure the enemy's charge, he fled, and Demetrius, pursuing him even to the gates of the city, took to the number of three thousand of his men, and killed a thousand upon the field. The prisoners he pardoned, and distributed them among his own men: but finding that they were ever ready to fly over again to Menelaus, because their wealth was in Ptolemy's hands in Egypt, he shipped them all away to Antigonus his father.

Antigonus at that time was building a city in the Upper Syria, near the river Orontes, called by his own name Antigonia, laying out great sums of money upon it, and taking within the walls seventy furlongs of ground: for the place itself was very opportune to lie as a yoke both upon Babylon and the upper provinces, and likewise upon the lower, with the other provinces, as far down as to Egypt. But this city continued not long; for Seleucus razed it, and transplanted the inhabitants to another, built by himself, called Seleucia, after his own name. But we shall give an account of these things when we come to the time proper for them.

But Menelaus, after he was thus routed in Cyprus, drew all his engines within the walls, and lined all the bulwarks and battlements with soldiers, and prepared for fighting, observing at the same time that Demetrius was doing the like. He despatched likewise a messenger to Ptolemy, to tell him what had happened, and to desire more help, in regard the affairs of Cyprus were in a very low and dangerous condition.

Demetrius, seeing that the city was in no contemptible condition, and that it was furnished with a great number of soldiers for its defence, was resolved to prepare engines of an extraordinary bigness, and all sorts of battering rams, and other instruments of war, that might in any manner terrify the besieged. He sent likewise for workmen out of Asia, and for iron, timber, and every thing else that was necessary to be made use of in the works he designed. And now every thing being ready at hand, he built an engine, which he called Helepolis, from taking of cities, forty-five cubits broad on every side, and ninety in height, drawn upon four strong wheels, eight cubits high: he made likewise two exceeding great battering rams, and galleries to support them. He put several great shot of massy stones in the lowest story of the Helepolis, the greatest of which weighed three talents: in the middle were placed very great machines to shoot darts and arrows; in the highest part were those

that were less, and a great store of stone-snot, and above two hundred men, who knew the manner of managing all these devices to the best advantage.

Bringing up, therefore, his engines to the walls of the city, by showers of shot he there swept off the turrets and battlements, and battered down the walls with his rams: but the besieged made such obstinate resistance, and opposing engines to engines, that the issue for some days was very doubtful; and toil, labour, and wounds, were the mutual lot and portion of each party. At length the wall tumbled down, and the city was even upon the point of being taken by storm; but night coming on, both sides drew off. Then Menelaus, having a diligent eye for the security of the city, lest it should be taken by some fresh stratagem, got a great deal of dry stuff and matter together, and cast it in the night from off the walls upon the engines, together with many lighted firebrands, and burnt the principal of them. On the mounting up of the flames, the Demetrians came in to quench the fire; but it was so quick and furious, that the engines were totally consumed, and most of the men that were in them.

However, Demetrius, though he was for the present disappointed in his design, yet desisted not in the least, but still urged on the siege both by sea and land, supposing that time at last would crown him with victory.

But Ptolemy, having received intelligence how his forces were routed, set sail from Egypt with an army well furnished both for sea and land service; and, arriving at Paphos in Cyprus, took boats, and went to Citium, two hundred furlongs from Salamis. His whole fleet consisted of an hundred and forty long ships, the biggest whereof was of five tier of oars, and the least of four; and these were attended by two hundred ships of burthen, carrying no less than ten thousand soldiers. From thence Ptolemy despatched away by land some messengers to Menelaus, to bid him with all speed to send him (if possibly he could) those ships that were then in the port of Salamis, which were sixty sail: for he was in hopes that with this addition, having made his navy two hundred sail, (if he should come to a sea-fight), he should be victorious. But Demetrius, foreseeing what might be in contriving, left part of his army to carry on the siege, and manned all his vessels with the best of his soldiers, and placed his engines to shoot stones, arrows, and darts of three spans in length, upon the forecastles of his ships. Then with his fleet, top and top-gallant, ready prepared for battle, he sailed about to the city, and anchored about a dart's cast from the mouth of the harbour, and there lay all night, both to prevent that fleet in the port from joining with

the other, and likewise waiting the coming up of the enemy, being himself then prepared to fight him.

On the other hand, Ptolemy set sail for Salamis; and in regard he had with him in his fleet a great number of tenders, his navy seemed to be exceeding great. Demetrius, hearing of the enemy's approach, left Antisthenes the admiral, with ten ships of five tier of oars, to keep in the fleet that was in the harbour; and commanded the horse to keep near the sea-side, to be ready to relieve those that should swim to land, in case any misfortune should happen. He himself drew up his fleet in a line of battle, and made towards the enemy, having not above a hundred and eight sail, with those taken in the forts that were deserted; the greatest of which ships were of seven tier of oars, but the most of them were of five. In the left wing were seven Phœnician gallies of seven tier of oars, and thirty Athenian vessels of four tier of oars, commanded by Medius as admiral. To support these, he drew up ten gallies of six tier of oars, and as many of five, conceiving it prudent chiefly to guard that wing where he himself intended to engage. In the middle division he placed the least ships, under the command of Themisus, the Samian, and Marsyas, the writer of the affairs of Macedon. The right wing was commanded by Hegesippus of Halicarnassus, and Pleisthias of Coos, who was lord-high-admiral of the whole fleet.

Ptolemy at the first made with all the sail he could in the night time towards Salamis, in hopes to enter the port before the enemy: but at break of day, spying the enemy's fleet not far off ready drawn up, he likewise forthwith prepared for battle; and for this purpose ordered his transport-ships to lie off at sea at a great distance, and drew up the rest in a line. He himself commanded in the left wing, where were the greatest of his ships ready to defend him. The fleets being thus drawn up, both sides (according to antient custom) called (by their priests) upon their gods, and the whole army followed the noise and cry of them that first began. But the princes, seeing now all (both lives and fortunes) ready to be laid at stake, were both in no small concern. Demetrius now, not a quarter of a league distant from the enemy, gave the sign of battle which was before agreed upon, and that was the lifting up of a golden target visible to the whole fleet, one part after another. Ptolemy doing the same, presently the fleets joined, and the trumpets sounded a charge, and both armies setting up a great shout, to it they went in a dreadful and terrible manner. At first they made use of bows, and engines to shoot arrows, stones, and darts, by which many on both sides were grievously galled and wounded.

When the ships came side to side, and fell foul with great violence one upon another, those upon the decks fell to it with their lances and spears, and the rowers (encouraged by them that called out to them) plied their oars with extraordinary eagerness. And now the vessels, with the fierceness and violence of the charge, were so pressed upon each side, that some brushed off the oars one of another, so that they could neither fly nor pursue, and by this means disabled the soldiers on board from making a vigorous defence, by putting a check to the force wherewith they might otherwise have borne down upon their enemy; others so forced with the beaks of their ships one upon another's poops, that they rowed a-stern from time to time to repeat their strokes. In the mean time, those upon the hatches mutually wounded one another, every one having his mark near and plain before him. Some of the captains of the vessels struck the broadsides of their adversary's ships with that violence, that the beaks stuck fast in them, whereupon they boarded the enemy's ships, giving and receiving wounds and blows on either side: some catching hold upon the sides of ships, when they missed footing, in their attempts to board the other, tumbled headlong into the sea, and were forthwith run through with the lances of them that were next at hand. Some who prevailed in the boarding of their enemy, killed some upon their first entrance, and drove all the rest in heaps one upon another, and threw them overboard. In fine, various and sudden were the turns and changes of fortune in this battle, while they that were worsted now, were presently after conquerors, by the height of their ships overtopping their adversaries; and then again the conquerors were brought into straits, by being driven into bad stations, and by other unaccountable accidents, which frequently happen in these cases. For in land-fights valour apparently carries the day, when no unusual misfortune intervenes; but in sea-fights there are many and various accidents often occur, which sometimes on a sudden ruin them whose valour otherwise would certainly and most justly have brought them off victorious. Of all the rest, Demetrius, placing himself upon the stern of his galley of seven tier of oars, behaved himself with most gallantry: for, when he was surrounded by throngs of enemies on every side, he so exerted himself, that he strewed the decks with them, some by darts at a distance, and others by his lance hand to hand: showers of darts and other weapons, it is true, were cast at him, but some he nimbly declined, and others he received on his target and other defensive arms that he then wore. In this conflict there were three that stuck close to him as assistants, whereof one was run through and slain with a lance, and the other two were both wounded. But at length Demetrius repulsed his enemies,

and put the right wing to a total rout, and forthwith those that were next to them.

On the other hand, Ptolemy, who had with him the greatest ships, and the best soldiers, easily broke that party that opposed him, and put them to flight, sinking some of their ships, and taking others, with the men in them, and then returning from the pursuit, thought to have done the like with the rest: but when he came, he found his left wing totally routed by Demetrius, and him in hot pursuit of them; upon which he made back to Citium. But Demetrius, being now conqueror, committed his men of war to Neon and Burichus, with orders to pursue the enemy, and to take up such as they found swimming for their lives. He himself, with his own ships richly adorned, and those that were taken of the enemy's, towed along after small skiffs, returned to his own camp and port, whence he set out.

Meanwhile, about the very time of the fight at sea, Menelaus, governor of Salamis, sent out to the aid of Ptolemy the sixty ships completely manned and armed, under the command of Menetius, who, engaging with those ships in the mouth of the harbour, which were set to keep him in, charged through them; whereupon they fled for safety to the army that was at land. But when the Menetians were in the open sea, and perceived that they came too late, they returned back to Salamis. This being the issue of this fight, there were taken above a hundred transport-ships, wherein there were almost eight thousand soldiers: of ships of war he took forty, with the men in them, and of those that were bilged in the fight about fourscore, which being almost full of water in the hold, they hawled to land under the camp near the city. Demetrius had twenty of his own ships much damaged in this fight, which yet, being refitted and rigged up again, proved serviceable as before.

Afterwards, Ptolemy, seeing no good to be done in Cyprus, returned into Egypt. But Demetrius, having taken in all the towns and cities of the island, distributed the garrison-soldiers among his own companies, to the number of sixteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse; and put messengers on board the greatest ship in the fleet, and sent them to his father, with an account of the victory he had gained.

As soon as Antigonus received the news, he was so transported with the greatness of the victory, that he put a diadem upon his head, and from that time assumed the stile and title of a king, and allowed Demetrius to do the same. And Ptolemy also, not at all willing to hang the head at his late ill success, took the crown and title of a king to himself likewise; and in all his letters from that time forward wrote

himself king: and by their example, other governors of provinces, as Seleucus, who had lately subdued the upper provinces, and Lysimachus, and Cassander, who held the provinces first allotted to them, all proclaimed themselves kings.

Having now spoken sufficient concerning these affairs, we shall proceed to give a distinct account of things further done in Africa and Sicily.

Agathocles, when he heard that the governors of the provinces beforementioned had taken upon them the dignity of crowned heads, judging himself no way inferior to them, either as to the strength and power of their arms, largeness of his dominions, or memorable actions, took upon him likewise the name and title of a king, but yet did not think fit to wear a diadem: for, from the very time of his first aspiring to the principality, he wore a crown, after the manner of a priest, which he never laid aside all the time he was in contest for the tyranny.

Some say, that he always wore this, because he wanted hair. And now he made it his business to do something worthy of the honourable title he had assumed, and therefore he led his army against the rebellious Uticans; and, surprising them on the sudden, took three hundred of them as they were abroad in the fields. At the first he pardoned them, and required the surrender of the city; but those within refusing so to do, he built an engine, and hanged up all the prisoners upon it, living as they were, and so brought it up to the walls. The Uticans, though they pitied the miserable creatures, yet they valued more their common liberty, and therefore lined the walls, and resolved to abide a siege. Whereupon Agathocles furnished his engine with shot, slingers, and darters; and, plying them with shot from his machine, began the siege, and so terrified them, that he even cauterized the spirits of the besieged. Those that were upon the walls at first scrupled to use their darts and arrows, having their own citizens placed before them as their marks, amongst whom were some of the chief nobility: but the enemy still pressing on with more violence, they were forced to endeavour to beat off them that were placed in the engine; and here it happened that the Uticans fell into a sudden and unexpected misfortune, through an inevitable necessity. For the Greeks exposing the prisoners they took abroad in the fields to be marks to their own fellow-citizens, they were constrained either to fall into the enemy's hands, by sparing their townsmen, or unmercifully to kill a great number of miserable creatures in defending the city, as in truth it happened. For while they repulsed the enemy with all sorts of darts and arrows, and other weapons, the same time as they wounded and galled those that managed

the engine, at the same time they wounded the citizens that hung at it, shooting some through, and fastening others with their darts and arrows, as with nails, to that part of the machine towards which the body happened to move, so that their ignominy and misfortune resembled that of the cross. And thus some suffered (as fortune ordered it) by the hands of their near relations and friends, extremity and necessity not allowing any consideration of natural relations.

Agathocles, perceiving the townsmen to defy all danger, and throw off all regard and affection to their countrymen, begirt the city round, and made a violent assault upon a part of the wall where it was weakest, and there broke through into the city; upon which some fled into their houses, and others into the temples. Agathocles being enraged, filled all places with blood and slaughter: some were killed in the heat of fight, others that were taken prisoners were hanged up afterwards, and those that fled to the temples and altars were altogether frustrated of their hopes. After he had rifled and plundered the town, he left a garrison in it, and marched to the citadel called the Horse-castle, naturally defended by a lake adjoining to it: but he took it by storm, after a close siege, and a sharp fight with the inhabitants upon the water with his gallies. Thus, having subdued the cities, he brought most of the sea-coasts, and those that inhabited in the heart of the country, under his own power, except the Numidians, part of whom made peace with him, and the rest were in continual expectation to fight it out to the last.

Africa was at that time divided into four sorts of inhabitants, that is to say, the Pœni, who inhabited Carthage: the Libyan Pœni, who had many cities upon the tracts lying to the sea-shore, who, being conjoined in affinity by marriages with the Carthaginians, were called by this name, which imported the denomination of both people. The most antient inhabitants, and most numerous of all the rest, were called Africans, who bore a deadly hatred to the Carthaginians, by reason of the severity of their government. The last are the Numidians, who hold a vast tract of Libya, as far as to the very deserts.

But Agathocles, though he was now, by the help of his confederates, and the valour of his own army, conqueror over the Carthaginians, yet being much concerned for the affairs of Sicily, he built some open vessels and skiffs, rowed with fifty oars a-piece, and put on board two thousand soldiers, and sailed from Africa with his whole fleet towards Sicily, leaving his son Archagathus chief commander and governor of Libya.

While these things were acting, Xenodochus general of the Agrigentines having freed many of the cities, and raised the hopes of the

Sicilians that they should all be restored to their antient liberties throughout the whole island, led out his forces against Agathocles's captains, having with him above ten thousand foot, and almost a thousand horse. Leptines and Demophilus on the other hand, having got together as great an army as possibly they could out of Syracuse and the neighbouring garrisons, encamped against him with eight thousand and two hundred foot, and twelve hundred horse. At length there was a sharp engagement between the two armies, in which Xenodochus was routed, and lost fifteen hundred of his men, and was forced to fly to Agrigentum. The Agrigentines, weakened by this loss, left off their honourable design, and frustrated the hopes wherewith they had filled the hearts of the confederates. Presently after the battle, Agathocles landed at Selinus in Sicily, and shortly forced the Heracleots, who had regained their liberty, to stoop again to his government: thence marching into another part of the island, he brought under the Thermites, (whose city was held by a Carthaginian garrison), and received hostages of them. Then he took Cephalœdis, and made Leptines governor. Then marching up into the heart of the country, he attempted to have entered Centuripa in the night by the help of a faction he had in the city: but the treachery being discovered, the garrison-soldiers fell in upon him and drove him out of the town, with the loss of above five hundred of his men. After this, some of the Apolloniats sent to him, and promised to deliver up their city; whereupon he forthwith made thither. But the traitors being apprehended and punished, he made nothing of it the first day; but the next, after many hardships, and the loss of many of his men, he at length with much ado gained the place; and putting multitudes of the Apolloniats to the sword, he gave the town up to the plunder of his soldiers. While Agathocles was thus employed, Dinocrates the captain of the exiles revived the prosecution of the former design of the Agrigentines, and declared himself Protector of the common liberty, and got together great numbers who came flocking to him from all parts. Some out of a natural love of liberty, and others out of fear of Agathocles, were at his devotion. Having therefore now an army of twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, (who were all accustomed to the hardships and toils of exiles), he took the field, and dared Agathocles to a battle. But Agathocles being much inferior in numbers, made a running fight of it; but Dinocrates still pressing close at his heels, often gained several advantages without any difficulty. From this time forward things began to go backwards with Agathocles, not only in Sicily, but also in Africa. For Archagathus, left general there, after his father was gone, sent a part of the army into the upper countries, under the command

of Eumachus and at first was successful; for Eumachus, took the great city Tocas, and subdued many of the neighbouring Numidians. Then he took another town called Phellina, and subdued the bordering inhabitants called Asphodelodians, who are as black as the Ethiopians. He gained likewise Maschala, an exceeding large city, antiently inhabited by the Greeks, that planted there in their return from Troy, as we have before related in the third book. Afterwards he brought under the citadel called the Horse-castle, formerly taken by Agathocles: the last town he gained was Acris, a free city, the plunder of which he gave to his soldiers, and sold the inhabitants for slaves; and so, laden with spoil, he returned to Archagathus to the camp.

His name being now up for a brave and valiant man, he undertook another expedition into the higher Africa; and passing by the places he had before lately taken, he inconsiderately broke into the city called Mittines: but the barbarians coming upon him in a full body in the streets, they so far prevailed, that unexpectedly they drove him out of the town again, with the loss of a great number of his men. Thence he marched away over a high mountain, two hundred furlongs in length, full of wild cats; there no kind of birds breed, either in trees, holes, or elsewhere, because of the greedy nature of these beasts. Having passed over these mountains, he entered into a country abounding with apes, and came to three cities, in the Greek language called Pithecusæ*: but their customs are far different from ours; for those apes are as familiar in the houses as the inhabitants themselves, and are worshipped as gods, as the Egyptians do dogs. These creatures come and take meat out of the cellars and butteries, whenever they are hungry, without any disturbance; and parents use to name their children after these apes, as we do after the gods. Whoever kills any of them, is sure to die as a notorious atheist†: and therefore it is a common proverb amongst some of them, if a man carry himself haughtily and proudly, to say—"Thou hast drank the blood of an ape." Eumachus took one of these cities by storm, and razed it to the ground: the other two submitted. But receiving intelligence that the bordering barbarians were coming against him with a great army, he hastened away as fast as he could towards the sea-coasts.

To this very time all things succeeded in Libya according to Archagathus's heart's desire. But afterwards the senate of Carthage, upon more mature deliberation, ordered their forces to be divided

* Pithecusæ, i. e. The city of apes.

† See Erasmus Adag. (Simiæ sanguinem profudisse, p. 492), referring to this place, where this proverb is applied to those that die a violent death.

into three bodies, and to march out of the city, one to the towns upon the sea coasts, another into the heart of the country, and the third into the upper Africa. For by this means they supposed they should free the city both from the siege and the inconveniences through scarcity of provisions at one and the same time. For being that all had flocked to Carthage from every place around, the city was in very great want, having now spent and eaten up all their provisions, so that they had nothing left to subsist upon; they knew likewise that there was no danger that the city should be taken by force, because it lay so close to the sea, and was so well guarded by the strength of the walls, so that it was then even inaccessible: besides, they concluded that if they had considerable armies in the field ready to assist their confederates upon occasion, they would remain firm and constant in their alliance. And that which was of more weight than all the rest, they hoped that by this means the enemy would be obliged to divide their forces, and go to other places far distant from Carthage: all which good counsel was afterwards crowned with success in all these particulars. For sending thirty thousand soldiers out of the city, there was not only provisions sufficient for the merchants that were left, but a glut and overplus more than they had occasion to use; and those confederates who before out of fear were forced to join with the enemy, now recollecting themselves, returned to them as their old friends and allies. Hereupon Archagathus, perceiving that the Carthaginian armies were now in every part of Africa, divided likewise his army; part of which he sent to the sea-coasts, half of the rest he delivered to Eschrion, and the other half he led himself, leaving a sufficient garrison at Tunis. While great armies were thus marching to and fro all over the country, and every one expecting a sudden revolution at hand, all were in a fear and amazement, in expectation of what would be the event.

Hanno, who commanded that part of the forces that marched up into the heart of the country, laid an ambuscade for Eschrion, and surprising him on a sudden, cut off above four thousand of his foot and two hundred of his horse, amongst whom was the general himself. Of the rest, part of them was taken prisoners, and the remainder escaped to Archagathus, who was five hundred furlongs* from the place. Himilco, general in the higher Africa, first possessed himself of a city near to Eumachus, whose army was overloaden with spoils taken out of several cities. But the Grecians notwithstanding drew up in battalia, and offered the Carthaginian general battle; whereupon he left a part of the army ready drawn up in the town, with this

* About sixty miles.

order, that as soon as they saw him fly, they should sally out upon the pursuers. Marching therefore out with half of the army, he engaged the enemy almost close under their camp, and presently fled, as if he had been in a great fright; whereupon Eumachus's men, proud of their victory, pursued them in disorder, and in that confusion followed them close at their heels; and presently on a sudden issued out from another part of the city the body before drawn up in the town, and at one word of command set up a great shout, which struck the pursuers with fear and astonishment; and, the barbarians falling upon the other that were in disorder, and surprised besides, the Grecians presently fled: but the enemy having blocked up the passage to their camp, the Eumachians were forced to turn aside to the next hill, where they wanted water; which being surrounded by the Carthaginians, they almost all there perished, some by thirst, and others by the sword: for of eight thousand foot, thirty only escaped, and of eight hundred horse only forty.

Archagathus therefore, being thus distressed, left Tunis, and recalled the rest of the soldiers (he had sent abroad) from all parts, and sent messengers into Sicily to give an account to his father of what had happened, and to entreat him to hasten over with assistance with all speed. Besides these misfortunes, other inconveniences and mischiefs overtook the Grecians; for all their confederates (except a very few) forsook them, and all their enemies joined together, and encamped just in front of them, and were ready to swallow them up. For Himilco had blocked up all the passes, and secured the country from all inroads of the enemy for a hundred furlongs distant; and on the other side, Atarbas had placed his camp forty furlongs from Tunis; so that the Greeks, hemmed in both by sea and land, were nearly starved for want of provisions, and nothing but terror and amazement filled every place. While they were in this sad and dreadful condition, Agathocles, receiving intelligence of the destruction of his men in Africa, had prepared seventeen men of war for the assistance of Archagathus. But his affairs in Sicily growing every day worse and worse, and the number of the exiles with Dinocrates increasing more and more, he left the management of the war in the island to Leptines and his captains; and he himself, having manned his ships, waited only for an opportunity to get out, for at that time thirty Carthaginian ships lay in the mouth of the harbour. But some time after, when eighteen ships came in to his assistance from Etruria, who had passed by the Carthaginians in the night into the harbour, he took that occasion, and by a stratagem deluded the enemy; for he charged part of his fleet to lie still for some time, while he, by making out of the port, should draw off the Carthaginians to pursue him. Out

therefore he went with seventeen sail, with all the wind he could make, whom the enemy's fleet forthwith pursued: but Agathocles, as soon as he saw that the Etrurians were got out of the harbour, presently tacked about, and fell upon the barbarians; upon which the Carthaginians, surprised with the unexpectedness of the thing, and now surrounded by the gallies of their enemies, in a great terror made away and fled. The Grecians then took five of their ships, together with the men in them; and the Carthaginian admiral (seeing that the ship he was in was upon the point of being taken) killed himself, preferring death before captivity, which then (as he thought) was just at hand. But he took no right measures at that time; for the ship, by the help of a happy gale of wind, got off with the loss of the little trinket-sail. Thus Agathocles, who never in the least hoped to overcome the Carthaginians at sea, unexpectedly beat them in a sea-fight, and, being thenceforth master of the port, he secured the passage for the benefit of the merchants; so that the Syracusans, having provision brought in from all parts, instead of their former scarcity of every thing necessary, presently abounded in plenty of all things.

Agathocles, lifted up with this success, sent Leptines away to harass the enemy's country, and especially the Agrigentines: for Xenodochus was in disgrace amongst his fellow-citizens, and blackened by his adversaries upon account of his late overthrow, so that he was troubled with mutinies and seditions. Therefore Agathocles commanded Leptines to make it his business to draw him out to fight, if he possibly could; for that it was a very easy thing to vanquish an army that was in divisions and mutinies among themselves, and that had been beaten but a little before; which afterwards happened accordingly: for Leptines, making an inroad into the territories of the Agrigentines, harassed and spoiled all before them. Xenodochus, looking upon himself as too weak, lay quiet and still at first; but, being called a coward by the citizens, he marched out with an army nearly as many as the enemy, but far inferior to them for courage and resolution; because the citizens had lived altogether in ease and idleness, but the other had been used to lie in the open field, and continually inured to all manner of hardships. A battle therefore being fought between them, those with Leptines presently put the Agrigentines to flight, and pursued them even to the walls of Agrigentum. There were killed of those thus routed about five hundred foot, and fifty horse. The Agrigentines being grievously incensed at these losses, one after another, summoned Xenodochus to his trial, as the occasion of two overthrows and slaughters of the citizens,

who, fearing the severity of the sentence he was likely to fall under, fled to Gela.

Agathocles, having conquered his enemies both at sea and land in a few days time, sacrificed to the gods, and entertained his friends with sumptuous feasts and royal banquetings. In the time of his feasting and quaffing, he laid aside all his ensigns of royalty and majesty, and appeared as one of the meanest among them: and this he did in the first place to gain upon the good will of the people, which he sought thus to purchase; and in the second, that, by giving every man free liberty in their cups to say what they pleased of him, he might the better learn how every one stood affected towards him: for, by the force of wine, truth often appears from behind the hanging. He was naturally of a jocund and jesting temper, and would not sometimes lose his jest even in public assemblies, but would jeer the very senators, and mock some of them by his apish imitations, insomuch that he would often set the people laughing, as if they had seen some juggler or stageplayer. For he would go alone to the public assemblies, attended only by the common people, much differing from the practice of Dionysius the tyrant; for he was so fearful of every body, that he would let the hair of his head and beard grow to excess, that the principal parts of his body might not be at the mercy of a razor; and whenever he wanted shaving, or polling, he burnt off the hair: every one may hereby see, that the only guard for tyranny is diffidence. Moreover, at this time of revelling Agathocles took up a great golden bowl, and boasted, that he never left off the potter's trade before he had made cups and bowls exactly of that shape: for he did not deny, but rather glory in his trade, as a foil that set off with more lustre that high state and dignity to which his own valour had advanced him from a mean and contemptible calling.

Once when he besieged one of the considerable cities, the soldiers from the walls cried out—"O potter! Sweep-chimney! When wilt thou pay thy soldiers?" To whom he answered—"When I have taken and razed this place."

When he had found out by the craft of his carousing and festival jollity who were his enemies, he invited them another time by themselves, together with five hundred other Syracusans, who were men of brave and undaunted spirits; and when they were together, he surrounded them with his mercenary soldiers, and murdered them every man: for he was terribly afraid lest, when he was gone into Africa, they should recal Dinocrates and the refugees, and abrograte his government.

Having thus settled affairs in order to the establishing himself in the principality, he departs from Syracuse. When he landed in Africa, he found there in the camp nothing but want and desperation; therefore judging it most for his advantage to fight, he made it his business to encourage the soldiers to engage the enemy, and thereupon drew them all out in battalia, and offered the barbarians battle. The remainder of the foot then with him were at the most not above six thousand Grecians, and as many Celts, Samnites, and Etrurians, and almost ten thousand Africans of those that stayed with him. These Africans are a treacherous sort of men, ever upon any occasion running over from one party to another. Besides these, there were with him fifteen hundred horse, and about six thousand African carriages. But the Carthaginians, though they had the advantage of a high ground, and of difficult access, yet they were not willing to venture all at once with men that were desperate, but by lying still in their camp, (where they had plenty of provisions), and by protracting of time, they hoped to starve the enemy, and so be masters of their camp without fighting.

Agathocles therefore, not being able to draw the enemy forth to a battle in the open field, and being necessitated by his present circumstances to attempt something, and enter upon some desperate action, marched up with his whole army close to the enemy's camp: thereupon the Carthaginians made out against him; and, though they had the advantage of ground, and far exceeded him in number of men, yet Agathocles, pressed hard on every side, for some time resolutely bore up against them: but his mercenaries and some others at length giving ground, he was forced to retreat to his camp. The barbarians pursued them close; but, to gain the good will and favour of the Africans, they passed by them without doing any execution: but the Greeks (whom they knew by their arms) they killed all along till they had driven the rest into their camp. There were slain of Agathocles's men at that time three thousand.

The next night a sudden and unexpected disaster fell upon both the armies: for the Carthaginians, when they were sacrificing the most eminent and considerable persons among their prisoners, in gratitude to their gods for the victory they had gained, the flame rising high that enwrapped the bodies of the sacrificed captives, a fierce wind on a sudden carried the flame to the sacred tabernacle near the altar, where it catched and burnt it down to the ground; thence it proceeded to the general's pavilion, and the officer's tents next adjoining: upon which arose a mighty consternation, and astonishment filled the whole camp, while some endeavouring to quench the fire, others striving to carry away arms and rich furniture, were

consumed by the flames. The tents were made of reeds and straw, and therefore the fire (through the height of the wind) raged the more; so that by its quickness it prevented all help and assistance that the soldiers could any ways contribute. The whole camp being presently in a flame, many in straight and narrow passes were intercepted by the fire, and burnt to death. And thus they presently paid for their cruelty to the captives, suffering the like punishment as a retaliation of their impiety. And others, who tumultuously with woful cries got out of the camp, were pursued by another and greater misfortune: for those Africans that were in Agathocles's army, to the number of five thousand, deserted the Grecians, and were flying to the barbarians. When those that went out to scout saw those deserters make towards the Carthaginian camp, thinking the whole Grecian army was at hand ready to fall upon them, they forthwith gave intelligence to their own party, that the enemy's whole army approached; which being noised abroad, confusion and dread of the enemy's being just in the midst of them ran through the whole camp: whereupon every one placed his own safety in the swiftness of his heels; and in regard no word of command was given by any of the officers, nor any order kept among the soldiers, those that fled fell down one upon another; and some of them through the darkness of the night, and others out of excess of fear, fell a-fighting with their own men, not knowing who they were. The mistake still continuing, and increasing, a great slaughter was made; and some were killed hand to hand, and others running away with the loss of their arms, in the height of a surprising fear, in their haste fell down steep and craggy rocks, and were dashed to pieces; about five thousand of them being destroyed, the rest at length got to Carthage. The citizens within the town (deceived by the report of their own men) believed they were routed, and that the greatest part of the army was cut off; in this fright they opened the gates, and received them with great terror and amazement into the town, fearing lest the enemy should likewise break in at the heels of them. And though when it was full day they came to understand the truth of the matter, yet they could scarce allay the fears they had been in, as if the evils were still even at their doors.

About the same time, through a vain fear and foolish imagination, Agathocles fell into a misfortune something of the same kind. For the African deserters, after the burning of the Carthaginian camp, and the confusion and uproar that followed thereupon, durst not march forward, but made their way back to the place from whence they came; whom some of the Greeks espying to make towards them, they took them to be the Carthaginian army, and thereupon gave in-

telligence to Agathocles, that the enemy was near at hand: upon which, by the king's order, they cried out—"Arms! Arms!" and forthwith the soldiers came pouring out of the camp in great tumult and confusion. And besides all this, when they saw the flame in the enemy's camp mount up into the air, and heard the shouts and cries of the Carthaginians, they were the more confirmed in their opinion, that the barbarians were making towards them with their whole army.

But excess of fear leaving no room for due and serious consideration, horror and amazement filled the whole camp, and all of them took to their heels; and the Africans being presently mixed among them, (the night causing the mistake), every one opposed him that he met as an enemy, and being all the night long dispersed here and there, and wandering up and down in a panic fear, there perished of them above four thousand: the rest, (with much ado, at length coming to understand the mistake), returned safe to their camp. And in this manner both armies, deceived by the vanity of war, (as the common proverb is), fell into miserable disasters. After which misfortune, being now deserted by the Africans, and having not sufficient forces left to contend with the Carthaginians, he resolved to leave Africa: but he thought it impossible to transport the soldiers with him, because he both wanted shipping, and heard that the Carthaginians were masters at sea, and lay to intercept his passage: and he concluded that the barbarians (whose forces far exceeded his) would never make peace with him, but rather cut off every man of them that first set footing upon Africa, to deter all others for the future from the like attempt. He determined therefore to slip away privately with a few, and take along with him his younger son Heraclides; for he feared lest his son Archagathus, being a daring man, and one that had been too familiar with his step-mother, would plot something against his life. But Archagathus perceiving his design, resolved to discover the matter to those captains and officers who would be able to defeat him in his contrivance, and to that purpose strictly observed his motions: for he looked upon it as a base and unworthy thing that he, who had undergone a good part of the toils and hazards of the war for the sake of his father and brother, should be now left alone as a prey to the enemy, without any hopes of deliverance. He informed therefore some of the captains and most considerable officers of the intended departure of Agathocles and his companions the next night: whereupon all the body forthwith made up to him, and not only put a stop to his voyage, but acquainted the common soldiers how the plot was laid; who being both grieved and enraged together, laid hold of him, and bound him, and so committed him to custody. An

anarchy following hereupon, there was nothing but tumult and confusion throughout all the camp: and when night came on, a rumour was spread over the camp, that the enemy was just falling in amongst them: upon which all were so possessed with a panic fear, that, having none to command them, every one was preparing to get away; at which very time they that had the custody of the prince (in as great a consternation as the rest) thought that some or other called them forth, who thereupon came out with Agathocles in his chains along with them; at which sight the whole army was so affected with pity and compassion, that they cried out—"Loose him, let him go."

Being freed from his chains, he presently after with a small attendance stole away, and took shipping about the beginning of October* in the night, in winter-time, and got away. And thus to preserve himself, forsook his children; whom the soldiers presently, upon the news of their father's flight, killed; and then they chose captains from among themselves, and made peace with the Carthaginians upon these conditions, viz.—That the Greeks should receive three hundred talents, and should restore all the towns they then held, and that all that would, might take up arms with the Carthaginians, and receive the usual pay: that the rest should be transported to Sicily, and should have Selinus for their habitation. The greatest part of the soldiers, who were faithful to what they had agreed, had all as faithfully performed to them: but those cities and towns that held out in hopes and expectations of relief from Agathocles, were all taken by force of arms; whose several governors the Carthaginians crucified, and the rest they bound in chains, and employed them to till, and repair by their own labours, those parts of the country that they had before wasted and destroyed. And thus the Carthaginians, after they had been harassed and vexed with a four-years war, recovered their former peace and liberty.

In this expedition of Agathocles into Africa, any one may observe most remarkable accidents, and the divine providence in the punishment inflicted upon his sons. For, being routed in Sicily, he lost the greatest part of his army: a little time after, he overcame the conquerors with a very inconsiderable body of men in Africa. In Sicily, being thrown out of all the cities, he was cooped up by a close siege within the walls of Syracuse: in Africa, he gained all the towns, except Carthage, and closely besieged the Carthaginians in that city; by which fortune seemed to make it her business to let every one see what power she had to retrieve those things that seemed to be in a desperate condition. But after that Agathocles, in the height of his prosperity, had murdered Ophelas, against all the laws of friendship

* At the setting of the Pleiades, or seven stars.

and hospitality, God made it manifestly apparent, that for the piece of wickedness acted upon that man, whatever happened to him afterwards was ordered and dispensed by his own hand: for the very month and day of the month that he killed Ophelas, and brought over to him all his army, the very same day and month he again lost both his sons and his army. And that which is more especially to be observed was, that God, as a just law-giver, inflicted on him a double punishment; for he who had most wickedly destroyed his friend, was deprived of two sons together, even by the hands of those that came along with Ophelas. This remark ought not to offend those who slight and despise such providences.

As for Agathocles, as soon as he landed in Sicily, by a hasty flight out of Africa, he sent for part of his forces, and marched to the confederate city of the Ægestines; and, being in want of money, exacted the greatest part of the estates of those that were rich, in which place were ten thousand inhabitants. This many of them took very heinously, and met together in private cabals; but Agathocles, finding out that the Ægestines were plotting against him, brought most dreadful calamities upon the city: for, drawing all the poor out of the town, he cut all their throats upon the bank of the river Scamander; and all those who seemed to be richer than the rest he put to severe tortures, to force them to confess how much money they had: for some he broke upon the wheel; others he bound to his engines of battery, and shot them away like stones; and of others, he cut out the ankle-bones of their feet, and by his cruel and unmerciful dealing put them to most horrible torments. He invented likewise another sort of punishment, not much unlike the Phalarian bull; for he made a bed of brass exactly after the shape of a man, wherein were several openings and hollow places on every side: those that he intended to torment he put into this bed, and then put fire under it, and burnt them to death. In one thing this engine differed from the bull, that those who perished, and were consumed in those strait and narrow holes, were exposed to the view of every one. He would likewise break in pieces the ankle-bones of some of the rich women with iron pincers, and cut off the breasts of others; and would sometimes lay a weight of tiles upon the loins of women with child, till he forced the child to leap, as it were, forcibly out of the womb. While the tyrant was in this manner endeavouring to find out all the wealth every body had, and the whole city was in terror and astonishment, some burnt themselves and their houses together, and others hanged themselves. And thus Ægesta, in one black and doleful day, had the prime and flower of her youth cut off. But the young women and children the tyrant transported into Italy, and sold them to the Brutii: and, that the very

name of the place should be extinguished and forgotten, he called it Dicœpolis, and granted it as a habitation to such refugees as came over to him.

When he heard of the murder of his sons, he was so enraged at those he had left behind him in Africa, that he sent some of his friends to his brother Antander at Syracuse, with orders, that he should cut the throats of all the kindred and relations of those that went over in the Carthaginian expedition; who thereupon executing what he was commanded, committed such slaughters and murders as never occurred at any time before: for he not only hurried away to destruction young men in the prime of their age, as brothers, fathers, and children; but even grandfathers and great-grandfathers, if they happened then to be living, though they had one foot even in the grave, and could neither see nor hear, through extremity of old age: nay, even infants carried in arms, who were not sensible of any harm designed them before they felt it: they dragged away likewise to execution women, whether they were servants or kindred to them in Africa, or whoever else that (by their death) might be the occasion of grief and sorrow to them: so that, while a vast number of persons of all ages and sexes were hauled away to execution at the sea-shore, where the butchers stood ready for them, tears, earnest entreaties upon their knees, and woful lamentations appeared every where, both from them that were butchered, and from others, who so far compassionated the sad condition of their neighbours, that their hearts were as full of grief as theirs who were just ready to die. And that which was the most grievous of all was, that after so great a slaughter, and that the carcases lay cast forth upon the shore, neither kinsman nor friend durst bury them, lest any of them should be thought related to those that were dead. The multitude of them that were murdered upon the shore was such, that the sea was dyed with blood a long way off, which presented to the eye at a great distance the horridness of that barbarous cruelty.

CHAP. IV.

Antigonus's march into Egypt. A tempest near Raphia, where he lost some of his ships. He returns into Syria. Dinocrates prevails in Sicily. Agathocles is willing to resign his government; but Dinocrates stands off. What was done in Italy. Antigonus's war with the Rhodians. Rhodes besieged by Demetrius. Agathocles routs Dinocrates's great army with a few men. His cruelty to those that submitted upon terms, where he butchers seven thousand. Dinocrates in favour with Agathocles; he betrays the confederates. Further transactions in Italy.

THE year following, Corybus was chief magistrate at Athens, and Quintus Martius and Publius Cornelius were created consuls at Rome. About that time king Antigonus buried his youngest son with royal pomp and splendour; and, calling home Demetrius out of Cyprus, commanded his whole army to meet at his new city Antigonia, for he purposed to march from thence into Egypt: wherefore leading the foot himself, he passed through Cœlosyria, having an army of fourscore thousand foot, and above eight thousand horse, and fourscore and three elephants. He made Demetrius admiral of his fleet, giving him orders to keep close to the shore, in sight of the land-army, having in all a hundred and fifty fighting ships, and a hundred more of burthen, wherein was an infinite store of arms of all sorts: and when the pilots told him, that they were to stay till the setting of the seven stars, which would be the eighth day* from thence, he condemned them for being too timorous. Coming to Gaza, and purposing to fall upon Ptolemy before he was provided for him, he commanded his soldiers to take with them ten days victuals; and, getting together camels out of Arabia, he loaded on them a hundred and thirty thousand bushels of wheat, and an infinite store of hay upon other beasts of burthen; and, carrying his ammunition on carts, went through the desert, not without some trouble to the army; for they met with sundry fens and dirty places by the way, especially about the place called Barathra. Demetrius departing from Gaza in the dead of night, was for many days together becalmed; so that the lighter ships were obliged to tow the ships of burthen after them with ropes.

* About the beginning of April.

But after this, and as soon as the seven stars were set, a northerly wind arose, and fell upon them, by which many of the ships with four tier of oars a-piece were driven on shore near to the city Raphia, where there was no commodious landing for them: but of those which carried the artillery, some of them were sunk, and the rest recovered Gaza again. Yet some of the best of them bore up, and came under the promontory of Cassius. That foreland is not far distant from the river Nile, but is not a place fit for shipping; especially if any tempest happen, there is no coming near it: wherefore every ship dropping two anchors each, two furlongs off from land, were obliged to ride out in a huge sea, in the midst of a thousand dangers; for the fury of the waves was such, that the great danger was, lest both men and ships should sink down together; and because there was no fit landing-place, and likewise as the shore was guarded by the enemy, the vessels could neither make to land, nor any swim out without extreme hazard. But the most grievous of all was, that they had spent all their fresh water, and were reduced to that extremity of want, that, had the tempest lasted but one day longer, they must all necessarily have perished through extreme thirst. But in this great extremity of theirs, and when they expected nothing but death, the storm ceased: Antigonus with his army coming to the place, there encamped, and the weather-beaten men came on shore, and refreshed themselves in the camp, and waited for the ships that were separated from them by the storm. Nevertheless there were lost in this tempest three ships of five tier of oars each, out of which some men escaped alive to land. From hence Antigonus removed, and sat down with his army two furlongs distant from the river Nile. But Ptolemy, having manned all the bank of the river with strong garrisons, sent some in river-boats, with commands that, going as near the farther bank as safely they could, they should there proclaim—That if any of Antigonus's army would come to him, he would give him, if a common soldier, two minas, if a captain, a talent. No sooner was this proclamation made, than a multitude of Antigonus's men, who served him for pay, grew very desirous to be gone; yea, and some of his captains too, for that and some other reasons, had a mind to go also. But when Antigonus perceived that a multitude of his men were flying away from him, he disposed archers and slingers, and other engines of war, upon the shore, to keep them from flying over the water in boats; and some that ran away he overtook, and put to horrible torments, to deter others from the like.

Antigonus, gathering together his ships that came in after the tempest, though later than him, went to a place called Pseudostomon, thinking there to have landed some of his men; but he found a strong

garrison, and was beaten off with bows and slings, and other engines of war: the night therefore drawing on, he went his way, giving orders to the masters of every ship, to follow the admiral's lanthorn, and to make to the mouth of the river Nile which is called Phagneticum: but the next morning, finding that many of his ships had lost their way, he was forced to come to anchor there, and to send away the swiftest ships he had to seek them out.

The time thus spent and protracted, Ptolemy being advertised of the approach of the enemy, came in speedily to the relief of his men, and ranged his army all along the shore. Whereupon, Demetrius finding no possibility of landing here neither, and being informed that the country adjoining was naturally fenced with fens and moorish grounds, he set sail and returned. But as he was going, the wind struck up to the north, and with a mighty tempest drove three of his ships of four tier of oars, and some others of his transport-ships, upon the shore, all which came into Ptolemy's hands; the rest with much ado recovered Antigonus's camp. Now Ptolemy had placed strong garrisons at every one of the mouths of the river Nile, and had an infinite number of river-boats every where ready, stored with darts and slings, and men which knew well how to use them, which greatly vexed and troubled Antigonus: for the mouth of the river at Pelusium being strongly guarded by Ptolemy, he could make no use of his ships at all: and for the land forces, they were not able to do any thing, because of the height of the river: and that which was worse, by his long tarrying, both food for men, and fodder for cattle, began to grow scarce. Wherefore Antigonus seeing his army disheartened, called them all together, and propounded it to the captains, Whether of the two were best, to stay and fight it out now, or to go into Syria for the present, and to return again better provided, and when the waters should be lower? And when every man's voice was for departing, he bid his soldiers truss up their trinkets; and so with his navy keeping still along the shore by them, he returned into Syria.

Ptolemy growing glad at heart that the enemy was thus gone, offered sacrifice to his gods for this great deliverance; and made withal a most magnificent feast for his nobles, and wrote off letters to Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, of his prosperous success, informing them likewise, how a multitude of Antigonus's men had fled over to him. And now having rescued as it were Egypt a second time, and obtained it by his sword, judging therefore he might lawfully reckon it as his own, he returned to Alexandria.

While these things thus passed in Egypt, Dionysius*, the tyrant

* See Ælian. Var. Histor. l. 9. c. 13, the fatness of this man.

of Heraclea in Pontus, died, having reigned thirty-two years: and his sons Zathras and Clearchus succeeding him reigned sventeen years.

In the mean time, Agathocles visited all the cities in Sicily that were under his command, filling them with garrisons, and polling them for money: for the man was in a terrible fright, lest when he should fall under a cloud, they should recover their liberty by force of arms.

About that time, Pasiphilus, the general, hearing of the death of Agathocles's sons, and the rout of his forces in Libya, held the tyrant in contempt: and falling off to Dinocrates, joined in confederacy with him; and being possessed of the cities which were before committed to his care and trust, he enticed and drew off the army (then under his command) from the tyrant by fair promises, and hopes of mighty things.

Agathocles therefore being now every where disappointed and frustrated of his hopes, was so far dejected, that he sent an agent to Dinocrates, and offered to make peace with him upon these conditions, viz.—That he would lay down his sovereignty, and restore Syracuse to the citizens; and that Dinocrates should be no longer an exile, so that he would deliver up two castles, Tharma and Cephalœdis, together with their adjoining territories, to Agathocles. Here some may justly wonder how it came to pass, that Agathocles, who was at all other times, and in all other things resolute and obstinate, and never in the least discouraged when his condition was most desperate, should be now so dastardly, as to be willing to give up all into the enemy's hands, without striking a stroke for the obtaining and compassing of which he had fought so many and great battles: and that which is the strangest of all, was, that he who was lord of Syracuse, and of many other cities, and had a considerable navy at sea, and an army at land, should become so weak-headed, as not to remember any thing of that which happened to Dionysius; for when he was reduced to most miserable straits, and to that degree of fear of those mischiefs that hung over his head, as that he was altogether hopeless of retaining his principality, and was upon the very point of mounting his horse, and flying away from Syracuse; Heloris, one of the most antient of his noblemen (to put a stop to his career) said to him—"The sepulchre of a king is honourable." And the like to this is what his father-in-law, Megacles, said to him, that—"He who is deprived of a kingdom, should part with it so, as if forced from between his very thighs, and not as one making a voluntary abdication." By which serious admonitions, Dionysius was so encouraged, that he went through every thing courageously, though ever so terrible, and

afterwards mightily enlarged his dominion, and continued in this height of prosperity till he was old, leaving the greatest principality in Europe to his children.

But Agathocles not in the least encouraged by any of these considerations, nor considering the vanity of human confidence and expectations by what he had learnt by his own experience, set to sale so great a principality for a trifle: but yet the proposals took no effect; for though Agathocles would willingly have had them confirmed, yet the ambition of Dinocrates rejected them; for he affected an absolute monarchy, and therefore hated the Syracusan democracy, and was better pleased with the command (as general of the army) which he then enjoyed: for he had at that time under his command above twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and many of the largest and chiefest cities; so, though he was called only general of the exiles, yet in truth he had the majesty and authority of a king; the chief and absolute power of every thing being in his hands; for if he returned to Syracuse, he concluded he must of necessity be no more than a private man, and be reputed but one of the many, (for liberty loves equality), and subject to be undermined and degraded by the suffrage of every demagogue in the public assemblies; for the common people are ever enemies to those that are rising men, and speak their minds most freely. And therefore a man may justly say, that Agathocles voluntarily lowered his sails; and that Dinocrates was the only cause of whatever good was done by this prince at any time afterwards. For Agathocles often sent agents to him to solicit and treat about the conditions of peace, still insisting upon having the two castles for his subsistence, and he as often contrived some specious pretence or another, to dash and break all in pieces; sometimes requiring that he should depart wholly out of Sicily, and at others, that he should give up his children as hostages.

Agathocles therefore smelling out his design, sent agents to the exiles to accuse Dinocrates of the project he was carrying on, to obstruct the restitution of their antient liberties. He sent likewise an ambassador to the Carthaginians, and made peace with them upon the following conditions, viz.—That all the cities the Carthaginians formerly enjoyed, should be forthwith surrendered to them: for which he received of the Carthaginians three hundred talents of gold, according to the account and value of silver; but as Timæus says, a hundred and fifty talents, and two hundred thousand medimni* of wheat. Thus stood the affairs of Sicily at that time.

* Every medimnus is eighteen gallons, and eight gallons make a bushel; so that two hundred thousand medimni make five hundred thousand bushels.

In Italy the Samnites took Sora and Atia, (two confederate cities of the Romans), by storm, and sold all the captives for slaves: upon which, the consuls broke in with mighty forces into Japygia, and sat down before the city Silvium, a garrison of the Samnites, which the Romans took by assault after a few days siege, and carried away above five thousand prisoners, and abundance of rich spoil and booty. Then they harassed the country of the Samnites, cutting down all the trees, and making havock and spoil wherever they came. For Rome having for many years been in contest with this nation for the supreme command, hoped at length, that the enemy being stripped of all they had throughout the country, would be forced to stoop to the stronger; and to that end they continued wasting and spoiling the country five months together, within which time they burnt down to the ground almost all the towns, and rooted up every plant and tree, and whatever other thing that might yield any fruit for daily food. After this, the Æginetes* proclaimed war for the injuries done them, and took Frusino† by assault, and sold the territories belonging to it.

After the end of this year, Xenippus governed at Athens, and Lucius Posthumius and Tiberius Minucius, bore the office of consuls at Rome.—About this time the Rhodians were at war with Antigonus upon the accounts following:—The city of Rhodes was very strong in shipping, and the best governed of any city among the Greeks, and therefore all the kings and petty princes strove which should gain the greatest interest among the citizens, every one endeavouring to have her for their confederate. But foreseeing afar off, what would be most for her advantage, she secretly made peace with all, but would not meddle with any of the wars wherein the princes were engaged one against another; so that she was courted and richly presented by every one of them, and grew exceeding rich by the enjoyment of a long peace. For she became so potent, that in the piratical war, undertaken for the common good of all Greece, she scowered the seas and freed them from pirates at her own charge.

Alexander, the most potent prince of any that is recorded, honoured this city above all others; for there he laid up his last will concerning the disposal of his whole kingdom, and honouring her in other respects, advanced her to the state of a royal city. The Rhodians thus in amity with all the princes, kept themselves (with all the art they could) from giving any just offence by outward appearance; though in their hearts they most favoured Ptolemy: for they were most enriched by the merchants which traded thence into Egypt; and the whole city was maintained and supported by the wealth of that kingdom; which being understood by Antigonus, he did all he

* Anagnia, or Anagni, in Italy; a city of the Hernici. † Frusino.

could to draw them off from siding with Ptolemy: and therefore at first, when he was engaged in a war against Ptolemy for the island of Cyprus, he sent ambassadors thither to solicit them to send aid and shipping to Demetrius; which they denying, he commanded one of his admirals to go with his fleet against them, and intercept and rifle all the ships that proceeded from the port of Rhodes for Egypt. But the Rhodians beating the admiral, he charged them to be the aggressors and beginners of an unjust war, and threatened to besiege their city with the strength of his whole army: upon which the Rhodians decreed him great honours, and sent ambassadors to him to entreat him that he would not force them to engage in a war against Ptolemy, contrary to the league they had made with him: but the king growing more enraged at this, sent Demetrius against them with the army and all manner of engines for a siege; who were thereupon so terrified with the mighty power of the king, that at first they signified to Demetrius by their ambassadors, that they would assist Antigonus against Ptolemy: but afterwards, when he required a hundred of the nobility for hostages, and that his fleet might be admitted into the harbour, they concluded that he designed to surprise the city; and therefore they prepared for war.

Demetrius, on the other hand, rendezvoused all his fleet in the port at Elorymna, and put all in readiness for an expedition to Rhodes. He had with him two hundred men of war of several dimensions, a hundred and seventy ships of burthen, in which were carried about forty thousand soldiers, together with horse and auxiliaries from the pirates: besides, there were on board abundance of all sorts of darts, arrows, and other engines fit for the carrying on of an assault. And along with all these there followed almost a thousand vessels, belonging to private men, full of wares and merchandize. And whereas the country of the Rhodians had been free from all devastations for many years together, a vast multitude of men that had enriched themselves by the losses of others in the war flocked thither from all places. Demetrius therefore drawing up his fleet in a line of battle, as ready prepared for a sea-fight, commanded his men of war (which carried engines upon their forecastles to cast darts and arrows of three spans long) to sail before; and the transport-ships, and such as had horses on board, they that rowed in lesser vessels towed after them by cable-ropes. In the rear came the vessels of the pirates, and a numerous company (as is before said) of merchant-ships laden with corn and other provisions; so that all the sea between the island and the opposite shore seemed to be covered over with ships, which struck a great terror and amazement into those that had the prospect from the city. For the Rhodian soldiers who were placed

upon the walls there, waited for the enemy's approach: the old men and women likewise had a prospect of them from the tops of their houses, (for the city was in its situation like a theatre); and all being amazed and terrified with the greatness of the fleet, and glittering of the arms, were in no small perplexity; for all they had in this world was now lying at stake.

Demetrius now at last arrived at the island, and landed his men, and then encamped near the city, but not within the cast of a dart: which done, he forthwith sent out some of the pirates, and others fit for the purpose, to spoil and pillage all before them, both by sea and land. He cut down also all the trees of the country next adjoining, and razed the towns; and with the timber and materials from thence he fortified his camp, drawing round it a treble trench, and many great and strong ramparts; so that by the misery and losses of the enemy he effectually provided for the security of his troops. Then, by the labour of his whole army, and the seamen that came along with him, in a few days he enclosed with a rampart of earth all that portion of ground lying between his landing-place and the city, and enlarged the haven, for the more commodious riding of his ships.

In the mean time the Rhodians sent ambassadors to him, entreating him that he would not do any thing that might be irreparable: but when they perceived that he would not hearken to any terms, (laying aside all hopes of composing matters), they sent messengers to Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, praying their assistance, because that war was made on them upon their account. Both inhabitants (that were not free of the city) and foreigners (lately come in) were admitted to take up arms, if they thought fit, for defence of the place; the rest of the rabble that were useless they put forth out of the city, both to prevent scarcity of provision, and lest any, uneasy under the present circumstances they were in, should betray the town. Then taking an account of the number of them in arms, they found that there were of the citizens six thousand, of inhabitants and strangers one thousand. They made likewise a decree—That all servants who had approved themselves honest and faithful in all hazards and dangers should be bought off from their masters, and set free, and enrolled into the number of the citizens. Then a proclamation was made—That whosoever died in the war should be buried at the public charge, and that his parents and children should be maintained out of the city treasury; that portions should be given to the daughters out of the public stock, and that the sons, when they were grown up, should be crowned and adorned in the theatre, at the time of the festivals of Bacchus, with all sorts of arms and armour. With these promises all were presently excited to stand to it to the last, and en

dure the utmost extremity; and then they made it their business (as far as it was possible) to provide all other things that were necessary; for all being unanimous, the rich brought in their money, and the smiths and other workmen earnestly set themselves to the making of arms, and all were so intent upon their business, that every one strove to exceed each other. Some therefore employed themselves in making engines to cast darts and shoot stones, and others in making and preparing other things; some repaired the walls where they were defective, and many loaded men with stones to carry to the walls. They sent out likewise three swift-sailing vessels against the enemy, and the merchants that brought them in provisions: these falling suddenly upon them, sunk many of the merchant-ships, the crews having gone on shore to rob and spoil the country, and burnt no few that were driven up to land; and what they received for the redemption of captives they brought with them back into the city: for the Rhodians had agreed with Demetrius what the value of redemption on both sides should be, that is, for every freeman a thousand drachmas, and for every servant and bondman five hundred. Demetrius being furnished with plenty of all things necessary for the making of engines, began to make two, called Testudoes, the one against the engines that cast stones, and the other against those that shot darts and arrows; these they placed upon the fore-decks of two transport-ships, which moved from place to place, and were chained close together: he likewise made two towers four stories high each, higher than those turrets belonging to the town in the harbour, both which likewise were placed upon two ships of equal height, and joined one to another, that both might be equally ballasted when they were forced forward. He built likewise a rampart upon a four-footed piece of timber nailed together, to float upon the water, in order to beat off the enemy in any attack they might make upon the ships where the engines were placed. At the same time while he was making these, he got together a number of the strongest water-boats, and fenced them round with boards and planks, and made loop-holes in the sides, (to shut at pleasure), and in these he placed engines to shoot darts and arrows of three spans long at a great distance, together with such soldiers as knew very well how to make use of them, and with them some Cretan archers. Coming up, therefore, with his ships within the cast of a dart, he sorely galled the townsmen with his darts and arrows, the engines in the ships being higher than the walls next to the harbour. The Rhodians, on the other hand, understanding that Demetrius made it his main business to gain the port, were as earnest in providing all things necessary for its defence. To this end they mounted two engines upon a rampart, and put on board three others

upon two transport-ships, and lay with them at the mouth of the little harbour; and in these they put great numbers of engines for the shooting of stones, darts, and arrows, of all sizes, that by the help of these they might repulse the enemy, if he either attempted to land men, or make up with his engines. Besides all this, they had contrived convenient places and apartments in the transport-ships which then lay in the harbour, wherein to place their engines and darts, as they had occasion. Both sides being now thus ready prepared, and Demetrius just upon the point of moving into the harbours with his machines, was prevented by a fierce and violent storm which then arose. But being calm all the night afterwards, he sailed up secretly, and seized upon the highest rampart of the great harbour, and forthwith drew a mud wall about it, and fenced it with stones and planks of timber: then he landed four hundred of his men, and placed them there, with all sorts of darts and weapons; the fort was five plethra distant from the walls. As soon as it was light they came up with the engines into the port, with shouting and sound of trumpet, that with their small shot, which did execution at a great distance, they beat off those that were building the wall in the port, and with their battering engines broke in pieces the enemy's machines, and shook the wall near the rampart in one part, and battered it down in another: for it was but low and weak at that time. The citizens stoutly defended themselves, and spent all that day in wounding and receiving wounds from their enemies: but night drawing on, Demetrius towed his ships by cables tied to smaller vessels, and got off his engines out of the reach of the enemy's artillery. But the Rhodians took fire along with them, and in boats filled with combustible matter pursued their enemies, and, coming up with the engines, put fire to the matter in the boats; but being presently beaten off by darts and arrows from the floating rampart, they were forced to tack about, and to retire; but the flame raged to that degree, that some few only having extinguished the fire, returned in the boats; and the greatest part of them, having had their vessels burnt down to the water, by swimming only saved their lives.

The next day Demetrius in the same manner made his attack from the sea, and ordered that an assault, with shouting and sound of trumpet, should be made on every side from the land, that he might strike the greater terror into the Rhodians, while innumerable dangers surrounded and distracted them on every hand. He continued thus assaulting the town for the space of eight days together, shooting from his engines upon the rampart stones of the weight of a talent, and battered down the middle walls between the towers, together with the towers themselves; the soldiers likewise possessed themselves of part

of the wall that faced the harbours: upon which the Rhodians all flocked to that place, and there they sharply fell to it, and engaged the enemy; and, overpowering them in number, with the slaughter of some of them, forced the rest to draw off. The uneasy, rough, and uneven passage to the place, (by reason of many heaps of great and massy stones which were laid before the walls on the outside), was of great advantage to the besieged. Many of the enemy's vessels, (in the midst of this confusion), manned with soldiers, coming up, the Rhodians presently tore off the beaks of the ships, and by combustible matter and firebrands thrown in among them, burnt the ships themselves. While the besieged were thus hurried and distracted in defending themselves, the Demetrians coming in with their vessels on every side, set scaling-ladders to the walls, and pressed on with the greater resolution, being assisted in all parts by the soldiers at land, who, together with them in the ships, mutually repeated their shouts and acclamations. And now many boldly and resolutely, in contempt of danger, pressed forward, and in great bodies mounted the walls; upon which followed a sharp engagement, the assailants forcing on with great resolution from without, and the besieged with as much courage flocking together to defend themselves within. At length the Rhodians, after a brave resistance, beat off the assailants, killing some, and taking others prisoners that were wounded, amongst whom were some of the chiefest commanders. The besiegers being thus baffled, Demetrius drew off his engines into his own port, and then set upon repairing both them and his ships.

In the mean time the Rhodians buried their dead, and dedicated to their gods their enemy's arms, and the beaks of their ships, and repaired those parts of their walls that were beaten down by the engines.

Demetrius however, after seven days time spent in refitting his battering engines, and repairing his shipping, having now all things in readiness, entered the harbour again: for he made it his main business to be absolute lord of this, and to intercept all provisions that might be brought in to the relief of the city. When he came within the cast of a dart, he threw firebrands (of which he had a great number) into the Rhodian ships, which lay scattered here and there, and shook and battered the walls with his engines, and wounded and galled with his darts and arrows whoever appeared in view. The assault thus continuing, to the great terror and amazement of the inhabitants, the Rhodian pilots (in great fear and concern for the shipping) extinguished the firebrands; and the magistrates of the city, (whom they call Prytanes), seeing that the port was now even upon the point of being taken, earnestly entreated all the citizens,

both high and low without distinction, resolutely to put to their helping hands for the common preservation and security of the whole city. Whereupon many readily came in, and manned three of their strongest vessels with the best of their men, giving them orders to do the utmost they could with the beaks of their ships to sink the enemy's vessels that carried their engines. Those thus sent out, though they were plied with showers of darts and arrows, yet by the violence of their charge they broke in pieces the rampart* that was fenced with iron, and so shattered their ships with one stroke after another, that they filled them with water, and dismounted two of their engines: whereupon the Demetrians towing back the third with cables, the Rhodians, encouraged by their success, pressed on still with more boldness than prudence; and therefore, being pierced and shattered by the beaks of many great ships that surrounded them, Execestus the admiral, and the captain of the gallies, and some others, (being badly wounded), were taken prisoners; the rest by swimming got to their own men; only one ship was taken by the Demetrians, and the rest escaped the danger. After this conflict, Demetrius made another engine, which was thrice as big as the former, both in height and breadth. And now, being just upon entering into port, there arose a violent south wind, which suddenly burst out of a cloud, and sunk the ships which were advancing, and overturned the engine. Upon which the Rhodians, taking advantage of the present opportunity, at the very same time flung open their gates, and made a sally upon them that entered the port: upon which there was a sharp dispute for a long time together; and because that Demetrius could not come up to the assistance of his men, by reason of the storm, the Rhodians still fell upon them with fresh parties one after another, so that the Demetrians, to the number of four hundred, were forced to throw down their arms, and submit. After this victory gained by the Rhodians, there arrived to their aid and assistance a hundred and fifty Gnossians, and five hundred men sent by Ptolemy, amongst whom were some Rhodians that were soldiers under the king's pay. And thus stood matters in the siege of Rhodes at that time.

In Sicily, Agathocles, not being able to compose matters with Dinocrates and the exiles, marched out with what forces he had against them, looking upon it as absolutely necessary to hazard his person, and resolutely to fight it out, and gain all, or lose all. He had not with him above five thousand foot, and eight hundred horse.

Dinocrates with the exiles, seeing that the enemy came boldly on, went out with as much earnestness and resolution to fight them, be-

* The floating rampart.

cause he was far superior to the Agathocleans in number, having above five-and-twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. Both armies sat down one against another at a place called Gorgius. At length they drew up in battalia, and fell to it; and the fight was very sharp for a while, by reason of the heat and resolution of both parties: but after a little time some deserted Dinocrates, (to the number of two thousand), and went over to the tyrant, which was the ruin of the exiles: for the Agathocleans were thereupon much more encouraged and heartened; but those with Dinocrates were as much amazed and dejected, and, thinking that many more went off than there did, they all took to their heels. Agathocles pursued them a little way; but then called off his men from the slaughter, and sent to the broken troops proposals, that all differences being at length laid aside, every one should have free liberty to return into their own country: for they found by experience that they were never able to overcome him by force of arms, being even now routed, when they had an army far superior to his in number. The horse indeed all escaped to the castle of Ambicas; and some of the foot the night following got away. The greatest part possessed themselves of a hill; but, despairing to prevail by force of arms, and desirous to return to their kindred, friends, estates, and country, made peace with Agathocles. Having therefore plighted his faith to them, and thereupon all of them being come down from the hill, which was a natural fortification, he first disarmed them, then hemmed them in with his forces, and put them every man to the sword, to the number of seven thousand, (as Timæus says), but as others have written, four thousand. For this tyrant never in the least valued either his word or oath, and increased his power not so much by the greatness of his forces, as by the weakness of his subjects, fearing more his confederates than his enemies. Having thus cut off his enemy's army, he received the rest of the exiles into his protection, and, receiving Dinocrates into grace and favour, made him general of part of the army, and intrusted him ever after in his most weighty affairs. At which every man may justly wonder that he, who was so jealous and suspicious of every one that he would never confide in any, should to the last maintain a firm friendship only with Dinocrates, who, having thus betrayed his confederates seized upon Pasiphilus at Gela, and there murdered him, and delivered up all the castles and cities to Agathocles, bringing all his enemies, under his feet in two years time.

In Italy, the Romans subdued the Palinians, and took their country from them, and some that were students at Rome they made free of the city. Afterwards the consuls marched out against the Sam-

nites, who had wasted and harassed Phaleria, and in a battle routed them, wherein they took twenty standards, and two thousand prisoners; and, after they had taken the city Bola by assault, presently appeared Caius Gellius, general of the Samnites, with six thousand men; upon which there was then another sharp engagement, in which Gellius himself was taken, and many of the other Samnites slain and taken prisoners. The consuls being thus successful, recovered Sora, Harpina, and Serenia, cities of their allies, which had been before taken from them.

CHAP. V.

The siege of Rhodes continued. The acts of the sea-captains of the Rhodians. Peace made with the Rhodians. The acts of Agathocles in the Lipari islands. The acts of Demetrius in Greece. The war between the Tarentines and Lucanians. The acts of Cleonymus the Spartan. Cassander sends to Antigonus to make peace, who refuses. Lysimachus joins with Cassander, and so does Ptolemy and Seleucus, against Antigonus: he marches against Lysimachus. Demetrius's further acts in Greece. The armies of Cassander and Demetrius. Demetrius leaves Greece, and goes with his army to his father in Asia, after peace made with Cassander. The misfortunes of Plistarchus at sea. Ptolemy besieges Sidon, but returns to Egypt upon a false report. Seleucus marches from Babylon with a great army.

AFTER the former year had run its course, Pherecles was made chief governor of Athens, and Publius Sempronius and Publius Sulpicius were invested with the consular dignity at Rome. At the same time was solemnized the hundred and nineteenth Olympiad, in which Andromenes the Corinthian bore away the prize. About this time Demetrius, who lay still before Rhodes, seeing things did not succeed as to his attempts made at sea, resolved to assault the city by land. To that end he made preparation of plenty of all sort of timber, and framed the engine called Helepolis, far bigger than any of the former. Its basis was four square; every side was almost in length fifty cubits, made up of four-square pieces of timber, bound together

by plates of iron. In the middle part he placed strong planks of timber, a cubit distance one from another, for those that forced the engine forward to stand upon. The whole was moved upon eight strong and large wheels, whose felloes were two cubits thick, covered with strong iron plates: across over the spokes were contrived Antistreptas * to turn about the engine in a trice whenever they pleased. At every corner of the machine were pillars raised, little less than a hundred cubits high, every one of an equal length, so compacted together as that the whole machine was nine stories high. In the first were three-and-forty beds, and in the highest nine: the three sides of the engine were lined on the outside with iron plates fastened with nails, to prevent all damage from fire that might be shot or cast from the city. In every story at the front were made loop-holes, proportionable, and in shape, to the nature of the artillery that was thence to be discharged. To these were shutters (fastened to the engine) to draw up, for the better defence of them within that threw the darts; for they were lined with skins stuffed with wool, to deaden the force of the stone-shot. Every story was furnished with two large ladders, that whatever was necessary might be brought in to them at one and the same time by one, while others were going down upon other occasions by the other, that so every thing might be despatched without tumult and confusion. There were chosen out of the whole army the strongest men (to the number of three thousand and four hundred) to move the engine forward; of whom some from within, and others placed behind, so forced it forward, that art and strength together much facilitated the motion. He made also Testudoes †, by some to fill up trenches and ditches, and with others to bring up battering rams: he made likewise galleries, through which they that were employed might pass and repass with safety at their pleasure. By the help and assistance likewise of the seamen, he plained and laid even all the way along which the engines were to be brought up, to the space of four furlongs, so that the breadth of the work faced as much of the city-wall as consisted of six divisions between the turrets, and of seven of the turrets themselves. The multitude of artificers and workmen that were got together were no less than thirty thousand men. Every thing therefore (through multitude of hands) being perfected and completed sooner than could be imagined, Demetrius became a terror to the Rhodians; for not only the greatness of the engines, and the multitude of men, but the valour and diligence of the king in carrying on of sieges amazed them: for he was extraordinarily ingenious in invention, and contrived many things

* Instruments to turn the engine.

† Artificial covers over men's heads, made of strong timber covered with raw skins.

beyond all the art and industry of the artificers, whence he got the name of Poliorcetes*: for he was so fierce and violent in his assaults, that no wall seemed to be so strong as to be a sufficient defence to the besieged against him. And besides he was so tall and beautiful, that he looked like a demi-god; insomuch that those who came to him but as guests and strangers, and saw his graceful mien, clothed with royal majesty, were struck with admiration, and would often attend upon him in his expeditions, merely to have the satisfaction of looking at him. Moreover, he was of a high and noble spirit, and scorned not only to stoop to the common sort, but even to princes themselves. And that which was most strange, and peculiar only to himself was, that in times of peace he was given to drunkenness and banqueting, to dancing and rioting, and would imitate even the manners of Bacchus himself, such as is fabulously reported he used to practise when he was upon earth; but in times of war he was very active and serious, insomuch that he went beyond all the rest, both as to his head and hand, when any thing was to be done. For in his time, and by his contrivance, were made the greatest darts, and such sort of engines as far exceeded all other nations in the world: and after this siege, and his father's death, he launched forth the greatest ships that were ever before seen. In the mean time the Rhodians, perceiving how the enemy's works went on, built another wall within, answerable to that which was now presently to be assaulted; and to this purpose they used the stones that walled in the theatre, and pulled down some neighbouring houses and some temples for the same purpose, vowing to the gods to build larger and fairer, if the city were preserved. They sent out likewise nine ships, and commanded the captains that, infesting every part, and surprising what ships they could, they should sink some of those they took, and bring others into the city harbour. These captains divided their squadron into three parts; Damophilus, with the ships which the Rhodians called Phalacidæ†, sailed to Carpathus‡, where, surprising many of Demetrius's fleet, he sunk some, and burnt others that were drawn up upon the shore, making choice of such prisoners as might be most useful and serviceable; and many ships that were carrying corn and other fruits out of the island he brought away with him into his own country.

Menedemus, who commanded three small gallies § between two and three tier of oars, made for Patara and Lycia, and there found a ship at anchor, and burnt her, all her men being before gone off to

* Poliorcetes, city-taker. † Guard ships.

‡ Carpathus, an island between Rhodes and Crete, now Scapanto.

§ Triremoltians, something less than three tier of oars.

land; he took likewise many of the enemy's transport-ships which carried provisions to their camp, and sent them to Rhodes: he took also a ship of four tier of oars coming out of Cilicia, which carried a royal robe, and other rich furniture, which Phila, Demetrius's wife, had curiously wrought, and had sent as a present to her husband. He ordered the garments to be conveyed into Egypt, for they were purple robes, fit for none to wear but kings; but the ship he took away with him, and sold all the seamen he had taken, both out of the galley of four tier of oars, and other vessels. Amyntas, who commanded the other ships, sailed to the islands, and, falling in with some of the enemy that were conveying away something of use for the engines, he sunk some of the ships, and brought in others to the city, in which were taken eleven famous artificers, most expert artists, in making of darts and engines.

After this was called a general assembly, wherein it was proposed that the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius should be pulled down, affirming, that it was a thing intolerable that enemies and besiegers of the city should have the same honours as those that were friends and benefactors: but the people were much incensed at this motion, and checked them that proposed it as those that did ill, and would not suffer any thing in diminution to the honour of Antigonus, thereby wisely consulting both their own reputation and advantage: for this greatness of mind and soundness of judgment in a democratical government redounded amongst all to the praise of the besieged, and softened and melted the spirits of the besiegers: for they that had set at liberty the Greek cities, who had testified nothing of their good will towards them as their benefactors, now seemed to go about to enslave that city, who had given a clear and evident demonstration of the firmness and constancy of their gratitude. This resolution likewise might reasonably be concluded to be of singular advantage to them in the worst of fortune; for if the city were taken, the remembrance of their kindness might plead and prevail for their pardon: it is clear, therefore, that the Rhodians manifested singular prudence in the management of this affair.

Demetrius had now even undermined the city, when a deserter very opportunely came in, and informed the city, that the miners were approached almost within the walls: upon which the Rhodians drew a deep trench all along the wall that was now ready to be tumbled down, and forthwith fell to countermining; and at length met the enemy under ground, and so prevented the mine from proceeding any further: and while both parties guarded the mines, some of Demetrius's soldiers with money bribed Athenagoras, the captain of

the guard for the Rhodians. He was a Milesian, sent thither by Ptolemy, and captain of the mercenaries, who having promised to betray the city, appointed a day on which Demetrius should send some one of the chiefest of his commanders, who should enter in the night through the mines into the city, and find out a place fit and convenient to receive the soldiers. Athenagoras having now raised up the hopes and expectations of the Demetrians, discovered the whole intrigue to the senate. The king, according to the compact, sent one of his noblemen, Alexander, a Macedonian: but the Rhodians seized him as soon as he peeped out of the mine; but crowned Athenagoras with a crown of gold, and for a reward gave him five talents of silver; and then made it their business to engage the rest of the mercenaries and strangers to be faithful to the people all the ways they could.

However Demetrius, having now finished all his engines, and plained and laid even every place under the walls, brought up his Helepolis* in the middle, and so ordered his Testudoes for filling up of trenches and ditches, (which were eight in number), that he placed four on each side of the Helepolis. To each of these was adjoined a gallery, and they who went in and out might execute what was commanded without any danger. He had likewise two other Testudoes that bore battering rams, far larger than the rest; for both of them were a hundred and twenty cubits long, strongly armed with iron, and their heads† resembled the beak of a ship, and were easily moved forward by the help of wheels; but to do effectual execution, they were forced on by a thousand men at least.

Being ready to bring up his engines to the walls, he filled every story in the Helepolis with as many engines for shooting of stones, arrows, and darts, as each would hold. Then he sent his sea-forces to the haven and the places adjoining, and ordered his land-army to the rest of the wall where any approach could possibly be made. At length, at one signal and word of command all set up a shout together, and with great violence stormed the city on every side: and at the very time that the walls were shaking and trembling with the strokes of the battering rams, and stones shot from the engines, in came ambassadors from Cnidus, and intreated him to forbear all further proceedings by force of arms, and promised, that they would persuade the Rhodians to submit (as far as it was possible) to his commands. The king hereupon remitted his heat, and ambassadors were sent from both sides, who banded matters to and fro, but could not come to any agreement. Whereupon he resolutely renewed the as-

* The great engine. † The rams' heads.

sault, and battered down one of the strongest towers built of four-square stone, and so shook the whole space between the towers, that the besieged could not pass that way to the bulwarks.

But at this time, king Ptolemy sent a great fleet with provisions to the Rhodians, in which were three hundred thousand Artabans* of corn, beans, and peas. These making a straight course for Rhodes, Demetrius sent shipping after them, in order to seize the provisions for the use of his own camp: but the Ptolemians, (hoisting up all their sails), by the favour of a fair gale of wind, arrived safe at their port, and so those that were sent after them by Demetrius returned as they went. Cassander likewise sent ten thousand medimni of barley to the Rhodians, and Lysimachus forty thousand of wheat, and as much of barley.

The town thus supplied with plenty of provisions, their languishing spirits now revived; and thereupon judging it much to their advantage if they could ruin the enemy's engines, they got together abundance of fire-balls, and several engines for shooting of fire, and placed them and their other artillery upon the walls; and the next night, about the second watch, they suddenly commenced playing upon the enemy's guard, with arrows, darts, stones, and other weapons; and at the same time making use of all sorts of fire engines, they grievously wounded and galled all that came flocking into that part: whereupon the Demetrians, who were altogether surprised by so sudden and unexpected an attack, being mightily concerned for their engines and their other works, ran all in a body together to defend them. The night being very dark, no moon appearing, fire-brands flying about with great violence, gave light to the night; and darts and stones from the catapults and balistas, not discerned when they were shot, wounded and galled many of the combatants, who could not see how to avoid them. And now, at this very time, some of the iron plates fell off from the great engine, and the fire-brands had the good fortune to fall upon that part that was bare: upon which as the fire increased, Demetrius was in a great fright lest the engine should be totally consumed; and therefore he endeavoured to prevent it with all the speed possible, and to quench the raging flame by the water before prepared, and ready in the apartments of the engine for such accidents. At length he called together, by sound of trumpet, those that were to move the engines, and by their help removed them out of the reach of the darts. When it was day, he ordered the boys and pages in the army to gather up all the darts and arrows shot by the Rhodians, because he had a desire, by num-

* A Persian measure, something larger than a medimnus, which is eighteen gallons.

bering of these, to make a conjecture how the citizens were furnished and provided. These boys performing what they were commanded, there were in number of fire brands, and other vehicles of fire of several sizes, above eight hundred; and of darts, no fewer than fifteen hundred. This vast number of darts, arrows, firebrands, and balls, shot in so little a portion of the night, caused him to admire the store and provision of the city in their ammunition; and likewise their great charge and expense in providing them. Then he set about repairing his engines, burying the dead, and curing those that were wounded; during which time the citizens, having a respite from the assaults and batteries of the engines, built a third wall in the shape of a half moon, which encompassed all that part of the wall which lay most open and exposed to the enemy's attacks. And besides this, they drew a deep trench round that part of the wall which was ready to fall, that the king might not enter on a sudden at the first push. They likewise sent out some swift sailing ships under the command of Amyntas, who made over to the continent of Asia, and there set upon some privateers that were commissioned by Demetrius: they had three open vessels, and were reputed the stoutest men the king had in his fleet. After a short fight, the Rhodians took both the ships and the men, among whom were Timocles, the chief of the pirates. They likewise fell upon some merchant-ships, and took some light vessels laden with corn, and with these, and the open vessels of the pirates, they secretly passed by the enemy, and got into Rhodes.

Demetrius having repaired his machines, brings them again up to the walls, and, with showers of darts and arrows, forced the besieged from the bulwarks; and battering the place adjacent with his rams, he beat down two spaces between the tower. In the heat of this action the besieged with all their might defended the middle tower, and were continually harassed by strong parties of fresh men one after another, so that Aminias their chief commander, courageously behaving himself, was there slain, with many of the common soldiers.

While these things were doing, king Ptolemy sent to the Rhodians as much corn and other provisions as he had done before; and also fifteen hundred soldiers, under the command of Antigonus a Macedonian.

About the same time there came to Demetrius, about fifty ambassadors, from Athens and other cities of Greece, all soliciting the king to compose matters, to conclude a peace with the Rhodians. Whereupon there was a cessation of arms, and many harangues were now made to the people, and then again to Demetrius, but they

could not agree upon any terms; and therefore the ambassadors departed without effecting any thing.

Demetrius was afterwards contriving to make an attack upon the city in the night, at that part of the wall which had fallen down. To this end he picked out the best of his soldiers, and some others fit for the purpose, in all to the amount of fifteen hundred, whom he commanded to approach the walls secretly, about the second watch. He himself stood ready with the rest of the army, and gave orders to the officers of every regiment, upon a signal given, to set up a shout, and forthwith to make an assault upon the city both by sea and land; who all executed his commands accordingly: and presently one party made to the ruins, and killing the watch at the trench, broke into the city, and possessed themselves of all the places round the theatre. The Rhodians seeing all the city in an uproar upon the knowledge of what had happened, commanded them that guarded the port and the walls, every one to keep their several posts, and endeavour to beat off the enemy that attempted to enter. They in the town, with the stoutest of the citizens, and those soldiers who had lately come from Alexandria, attacked them that had broke in within the walls: but as soon as it was day, Demetrius lifted up the signal, at which both those who had made an attack upon the port, and those around the walls, set up a shout all together, to encourage the men that had entered, and were about the theatre. The poor women and children throughout the whole city were in a state of terrible fear and consternation, as if the town had been then actually taken by storm.

However, a sharp encounter took place between the Rhodians and those that had entered the town; and though many fell on both sides, yet neither of them at the first gave the least ground. But after awhile, when many more of the Rhodians came flocking in, resolved to endure the greatest extremity in fighting for their country, and for all that was dear to them in the world, the king's party were overborn; and Alcimus and Mantius, the commanders of the party, after many wounds received, were there slain; most of the remainder were either killed upon the spot, or taken prisoners; but some few made their escape and got to the king. Many likewise of the Rhodians were slain at the same time, among whom was Damotetis, president of the council, a man most renowned for his valour. Demetrius, although he judged that fortune had, as it were, wrung the city out of his hands, yet prepared for another assault. But his father writing him to make peace with the Rhodians on such terms and conditions as he could get, he watched for the most convenient opportunity that might afford him a colourable pretence for an agree-

ment and settlement of matters between them. Ptolemy likewise, though he had before written to the Rhodians to acquaint them that he intended to send them a great quantity of corn, and three thousand men, yet afterwards advising them to treat and agree with Antigonus upon any reasonable conditions, they all inclined to peace. At the same time likewise, the Ætolian commonwealth sent ambassadors to negotiate a pacification. The Rhodians therefore at length struck up a peace with Demetrius upon the conditions following:— "That the city should remain subject to its own laws, and should be without a garrison: that they should enjoy their own estates and revenues: that they should join with Antigonus in his wars against all persons except Ptolemy; and that they should deliver a hundred citizens as hostages, such as Demetrius should make choice of, except such as were magistrates." And thus the Rhodians, after a whole year's siege, put an end to the war, honouring those with just rewards, who approved themselves honest and faithful to their country: and such slaves as had behaved themselves stoutly and valiantly, they set free, and enrolled them as members of the city. They set up likewise the statues of the kings, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, and of some others inferior to them, who yet had contributed much to the safety of the place. But, that they might express their gratitude and thankfulness to Ptolemy above all the rest, they sent some of their priests to consult the oracles of Ammon, whether they should worship Ptolemy as a god? And being answered that they should, they consecrated to him a four-square grove in their city, building on every side thereof a gallery of a furlong in length, and called it Ptolemæum, or Ptolemy's gallery.— They repaired also the theatre, and the parts of the walls that were thrown down, and made them, and all the other places which had been damaged, far more beautiful and glorious than they were before.

Demetrius, having ratified the peace with the Rhodians, (according to his father's commands), loosed from thence with his whole army, and, passing by the islands, he arrived at Aulis in Bœotia, minding with all speed to set the Grecians at liberty; for Cassander and Polyperchon, grown bold through the absence of the enemy, had not long before wasted and harassed many parts of Greece. And first of all he freed the city of the Chalcidians from a garrison of the Bœotians, and forced the Bœotians (out of fear of him) to fall off from their league with Cassander. Afterwards, confederating with the Ætolians, he prepared to make war upon Polyperchon and Cassander.

During these transactions, Eumelus, the king of the Cimmerian

Bosphorus, having now reigned six years, ended his days; after whom succeeded Spartacus, his son, who reigned twenty years.

Having now given an account of the affairs of Greece and Asia, we shall pass over to other parts of the world.

In Sicily, Agathocles on a sudden, and without any provocation, invaded the inhabitants of the Lipari islands, being then in full and perfect peace and security, and exacted from them fifty talents of silver. At which time, many thought that it was spoken from a divine spirit, when it was said—That God would remarkably pursue him for his wickedness. The Liparians then desired him, that he would give some time to make up the money that was short, declaring, that to that time they never made use of the dedicated treasure: but Agathocles forced them to give him the money that was in the sacred treasury*, upon some of which was stamped the image of Æolus, and upon others Vulcan; and when he had got it, he set sail, and away he went: but there arose a storm, which broke in pieces eleven of the ships that carried the money: which gave occasion to many to conclude, that Æolus (who is said to have command of the winds in those parts) executed vengeance upon him at his first setting forth; and that Vulcan, at his latter end, punished the tyrant in his own country according to the just desert of his wickedness, burning him alive with hot coals: for it was one and the same justice and divine will that forbore and passed over those that saved and preserved their parents at the foot of Mount Ætna, and that exerted his power in punishing those that had impiously prophaned the deity. But what is now said concerning the return and misfortunes of Agathocles shall be further confirmed, when we come to the time proper for that relation; but now we must apply ourselves to what was done in those parts of Italy that lay bordering upon one another.

The Romans and Samnites, after a war of two-and-twenty years and six months continuance, by their mutual ambassadors at length made peace one with another. But Sempronius, one of the consuls, broke into the country of the Æqui, and took forty towns in forty days time at the most; and, bringing the whole country into absolute subjection to the Roman yoke, returned home, and most worthily and gloriously triumphed. But the Romans entered into a league with the Marsi, Peligni, and Marrucini.

When the last year was ended, Leostratus was chosen chief magistrate of Athens for this succeeding, and Servius Cornelius and Lucius Genucius were created consuls at Rome. In the time of whose governments, Demetrius resolved to make war upon Cassander, and to restore liberty to the Grecians; and above all other concerns, to put

* In the Prytaneum.

the affairs of Greece into a good and happy condition; because he hoped by the liberty granted thereby both to advance his own reputation, and also to break those captains of Cassander's who were joined with Prepelaus, and that, by falling upon Cassander, he should gain the sovereign power to himself. The city of Sicyon was then held by a garrison of Ptolemy the king, of which Philip, a brave and gallant man, was governor: upon this place Demetrius made a sudden attack in the night, and broke in within the walls; whereupon the garrison-soldiers presently hurried into the castle. Demetrius, being now possessed of the town, posted himself between the houses and the citadel; and being just upon the point of bringing up his engines, they within were so terrified, that they surrendered upon terms, and then sailed away into Egypt. Afterwards, having prevailed with the Sicyonians to remove and settle themselves within the castle, he laid that part of the city adjoining to the haven even with the ground, which was a place before every way strongly fortified: then joining with the inhabitants, and helping them to build houses*, and restoring them to their former liberty, he was honoured by those he had thus obliged as a demi-god; for they called the city Demetriades, and appointed sacrifices, festivals, and sports, with other honours, to be yearly celebrated and offered in memory of him as the builder of their city. But time and turns of fortune put an end to these solemnities.

The Sicyonians therefore, being fixed in a far better place than they were before, have continued there from that very time to this day: for the site of the citadel is large and plain, compassed in on every side with inaccessible rocks, so that no engine can possibly approach or come near it: it is furnished likewise with plenty of water, by which the inhabitants greatly enriched their gardens and orchards: and therefore all approved the wisdom and ingenious contrivance of the king, who had provided for them every thing conducing to their pleasure in time of peace, and to their protection and security in time of war. Having settled all things at Sicyon, he marched thence with his whole army to Corinth, which Prepelaus, Cassander's general, then held with a strong garrison; where being presently let in by the citizens in the night, (through a little sally-port), he gained the city, together with the havens. The soldiers in garrison hereupon fled, some of them into the Sisyphium†, (as it is called), others into the citadel: whereupon the engines being brought up to the fortifications, after much toil and labour, he took Sisyphium by storm. The besieged had (before he entered) all fled to them that were in the citadel; but he so terrified them also, that he forced them to

* In the citadel. † Palace.

surrender: for this king in assaults was not to be resisted; and in inventing of engines for the assaulting of places was extraordinarily ingenious.

And now, although he restored the Corinthians to their liberty, yet he put a garrison into the citadel*, because the citizens desired to continue under the king's† protection until he had subdued Cassander: and so Prepelaus, having thus poorly lost Corinth, went to Cassander.

Then Demetrius marched into Achaia, and took Buta by assault; and within a few days after, he had Scyros delivered up to him, and expelled the garrison thence; and, moving forward, he freed all the rest of the cities of Achaia. Then encamping at Ægeum, he lay with his army round the walls; and, upon a parley with Strombichus the governor, demanded the surrender of the town: but he not only refused, but railed against Demetrius from the walls, and gave him base language; whereupon the king brought up the engines, battered down the wall, and took the city by storm, and there crucified Strombichus, (who was placed there as governor by Polyperchon), and about fourscore more that were his inveterate enemies, before the walls of the town. And from among the prisoners he picked out two thousand mercenaries, and intermixed them amongst his own regiments.

After the taking of this city, they who held the neighbouring forts and castles thought it to no purpose to oppose the king; and therefore all surrendered their garrisons. And all the governors of cities, seeing that Cassander and Polyperchon sent them no assistance, and that Demetrius with a potent army, and with engines the greatest that ever came into the field, was ready to fall upon them, surrendered all up to him. And thus stood the affairs of Demetrius.

In Italy, the Tarentines (being at war with the Lucanians and the Romans) sent ambassadors to Sparta desiring aid, and that Cleonymus might be sent them for their general. The Lacedæmonians readily granted the general that was desired; and the Tarentines sent ships and money, wherewith Cleonymus raised five thousand men, and mustered them at Tenarus in Laconia; and thence by a short cut sailed to Tarentum, where he hired as many mercenaries as the former, and listed some of the citizens: in the whole he raised above twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. He joined to his army likewise many Greeks of Italy, together with the Messapians; whereupon the Lucanians, being terrified with the greatness of his army, made peace with the Tarentines: only the Metapontians stood

* Acro Corintho.

† Antigonus's protection, who had assumed the title of king, as is said before.

off; and therefore he required the Lucanians to join with him in spoiling and harassing their country; and accordingly making use of a fit opportunity, he broke in upon them, and put them into a terrible fright: and, though he entered into the city as a friend, yet he trapanned the citizens out of six thousand talents of silver and upwards, and took away two hundred young ladies of the best quality for hostages, not so much to secure the performance of the league, as to gratify his own brutish lusts; for he threw off his Laconic habit, and gave up himself to all manner of voluptuousness, and brought them into bondage and slavery who had committed themselves to his care and protection. For, though he had so great an army, and so well provided, yet he did nothing worthy the name of a Spartan. He determined, indeed, to make an expedition into Sicily, under colour of overturning the tyranny of Agathocles, and to restore the Sicilians to their antient laws and liberties; but omitting that for the present, he sailed to Corcyra, and, having taken the city, got there a vast treasure, and garrisoned the place, designing to make use of that as a town and citadel of war, and thence to manage all the affairs of Greece. Forthwith ambassadors came to him from Demetrius, Poliorcetes, and Cassander, severally, to solicit him to join them as confederates; but he joined neither.

Afterwards, hearing that the Tarentines and some others had revolted and deserted him, he left a sufficient garrison at Corcyra, and with the remainder of his forces sailed in a great rage into Italy, with a resolution to execute exemplary punishment upon those who had rebelled. Arriving at the very place where the barbarians kept guard, he took the city; and after he had sold the men for slaves, he devastated and harassed all the country. He took also a town called Triopius by assault, and carried thence three thousand captives.—But about this time the barbarians got into a body, and attacked his camp in the night, killed above two hundred of his soldiers, and took about a thousand prisoners: and on the back of this misfortune there arose a violent storm, which destroyed twenty of his ships as they lay at anchor near his camp.

Being grieved and plagued with these misfortunes falling one upon the neck of another, Cleonymus returned with his forces to Corcyra.

The former year being past, this year Nicocles executed the office of Lord Chancellor of Athens, and Marcus Livius and Marcus Æmilius were consuls at Rome: at which time Cassander, king of Macedon, perceiving the armies of his enemies to increase, and that the impending storm was ready to fall with all its weight upon him, was in much alarm concerning the issue of the event. He there-

fore sent ambassadors into Asia to Antigonus, to entreat him to be reconciled, and make peace with him: who fiercely and roughly answered—That he would own no peace which should be made with him, unless Cassander would deliver up all into his hands. At this answer he was greatly terrified, and sent for Lysimachus out of Thrace, to venture all in a common lot together: for at all times, in his greatest straits, his manner was to have recourse to him for relief, both on account of his valour, and because his kingdom bordered upon Macedonia. These two kings therefore, consulting together how to manage their mutual affairs to the best advantage, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy king of Egypt, and to Seleucus, prince of the higher provinces, giving them an account of the proud answer of Antigonus; and representing to them—That they were all in equal danger by this war; for if Antigonus gained Macedonia, he would presently swallow up the rest; and that he had upon several occasions given a clear discovery of his covetousness and ambition; and that he would have none to participate with him in any part of the empire; and therefore, that it was very fit and expedient that they should all join together against him.

Ptolemy and Seleucus, judging what was said to be certainly true, readily came into the league, and raised numerous forces to assist in the war. However, Cassander judged it not prudent to suffer the enemy first to break in upon him, but that it was rather for his advantage to be beforehand with them, and fall first upon them. To that end he delivered part of the army to Lysimachus, and sent a general along with them; and he himself marched with the rest into Thessaly, to fight with Demetrius and the other Grecians.

Lysimachus with his army passed over out of Europe into Asia, and set free the inhabitants of Lampsacus and Paros, who had sided with him upon their own accord: but taking Sigæum by assault, he placed a garrison in it: and then committed six thousand foot and a thousand horse to the charge of Prepelaus, and sent him to take the cities in Æolia and Ionia: but he himself in the first place designed to besiege Abydos, and carried along with him darts, battering rams, and other engines for that purpose. But a great number of soldiers being sent by sea from Demetrius for the defence of the city, he laid aside his design; and having taken the Hellespont and Phrygia, he went forward and besieged the city of Synada, where the king's * magazine lay; and at the same time drew over Docimus, a commander of Antigonus's party, to join the common cause; and by his help took both Synada and other forts where the king's treasures were laid up.

* Antigonus.

In the mean time Prepelaus, who was sent to make war upon Æolia and Ionia, by the way took Adramyttium, and besieged Ephesus; and so terrified the inhabitants, that they submitted: and finding there the hostages which the Rhodians had given to Demetrius, he sent them all home again to their friends, and did not hurt any of the Ephesians in their persons; but he set on fire all the ships he found in the harbour, because the enemy still commanded all at sea, and because the issue of the war was as yet uncertain. After this, he joined to him the Teians and Colophonians. But as for Erythræ and Clazomenæ, they had succour sent them by sea, and therefore he could not take them: but having wasted their territories, he departed for Sardis; and there he drew over, by fair words, Phœnix and Docimus, two of Antigonus's captains, and took the city itself, all but the castle, into his protection. As for the castle, Philippus, a friend of Antigonus's, kept it, and would not betray his trust. Antigonus was at that time wholly taken up in making sports and feasts in Antigonia, and had proclaimed great prizes for such as would put in for them, and large wages to all expert artificers that could be found.

But when he heard that Lysimachus was come into Asia, and that his soldiers revolted to him by multitudes, he discontinued his sports, and distributed among the wrestlers and artificers no less than two hundred talents; and then taking his army with him, left Syria, and by long marches hastened to meet the enemy. As soon as he came to Tarsus in Cilicia, out of the monies which he took with him from the city of Quinda, he gave his army three months pay beforehand; and besides this, he brought three thousand talents along with him, in order that there should be no lack of money if need should call for it. Then passing the Taurus, he quickened his march into Cappadocia, and reduced all the cities in the Upper Phrygia and Laconia which had formerly revolted from him; and these served him in the wars as they did before.

Then Lysimachus, hearing of the enemy's approach, consulted with his council, in this imminent danger, what was fittest to be done: and their advice was, by no means to hazard a battle till Seleucus came down from the upper provinces; but to take possession of the strongest places, and to intrench himself in the best manner he could, with ramparts, palisades, and stakes, and there await the coming of the enemy. Lysimachus having heard this advice, put it seriously into execution: and Antigonus on the other hand, as soon as he came near his camp, drew out in battalia, and endeavoured to provoke Lysimachus to fight: but seeing he would not, he went and kept all the passages by which any victuals might come

into the camp. Whereupon Lysimachus fearing lest he should fall into the hands of the enemy through want of provisions, removed by night; and having marched four hundred furlongs, came to Dorylæum, and there encamped; for in those parts there was abundance of corn and other provisions, having a river at the back of him as a defence to his camp. Wherefore, having raised a work and enclosed it with an exceeding deep trench, and pallisadoed it with three rows of stakes, he made all sure as he thought. But Antigonus finding the enemy gone, pursued him with all speed; and coming near to the place where he lay intrenched, and seeing no disposition in him to fight, he presently fell to work and drew another trench around his camp, in order to besiege him there; and for that purpose caused darts, arrows, and catapults, to be brought thither to him. And though many skirmishes were made about the trenches, because Lysimachus's men endeavoured by their darts and arrows to drive the enemy from their works, yet Antigonus's party had still the better of it in every encounter. For in process of time Antigonus's works came to be almost finished; but Lysimachus's provisions began to fail; who therefore taking advantage of a tempestuous night, made off with his army, and through mountainous countries reached his winter-quarters. But when Antigonus the next morning perceived that the enemy was gone, he also marched after him, through the champaign country; but there having fallen a great quantity of rain, and the ways being thereby foul and deep, he lost many of his carriages, and some of his men also in that journey; and the whole army was in great distress: wherefore, in order to spare his men, and the winter coming on, he gave up the pursuit; and casting about for the fittest places, he distributed his army into winter-quarters. But on receiving intelligence that Seleucus was marching down from the higher provinces with a numerous army, he sent one of his friends into Greece to Demetrius, commanding him with all speed to come to him with his forces. For he was extremely alarmed, lest all the kings joining together should force him to fight, and so lay all at stake before the forces out of Europe could join him.

Lysimachus in the like manner sent his army to be quartered in the country of Salmonia, having made large provision for them out of Heraclea, he being in alliance with them of that city: for he married Amestris, the daughter of Oxyartes, niece to the late king Darius, whom Alexander gave to Craterus to be his wife, and now at this time governess of the city. And thus stood the affairs of Asia at that time.

But as to the affairs of Greece, Demetrius being at Athens, he

greatly desired to be initiated into the sacred mysteries of Ceres and Eleusina: but in regard that the time appointed by the law, and commonly spent by the Athenians in performing the ceremonies of this solemnity, was very long and tedious, he entreated the people that, in return of his former kindness to them, they would alter their antient custom; which they agreed to do. Whereupon he committed his person unarmed into the hands of the priests; and thus being initiated before the legal day, he departed from Athens, and then rendezvoused both his fleet and land army at Chalcis, in Bœotia: but hearing that Cassander had blocked up all the passes, he judged it unsafe to go by land into Thessaly, and therefore sailed with the army into the haven of Larissa, and there landed his men; upon which the city was immediately surrendered to him: but the citadel he took by force of arms, and bound all the soldiers in the garrison in chains, kept them close prisoners, and restored the people of Larissa to their antient laws and liberties. Then he took Prona and Pteleum. Cassander had commanded the inhabitants of Dion and Orchomenum, two cities in Thessaly, to remove and settle at Thebes: but Demetrius put a stop to this measure. Cassander, when he saw that every thing went as Demetrius would have it, strengthened the garrisons of Pheræ and Thebes, and rendezvoused his forces in the face of the Demetrians. His whole army consisted of twenty-nine thousand foot, and two thousand horse.—Those who followed Demetrius amounted to fifteen hundred horse, at least eight thousand Macedonian foot, and fifteen thousand mercenaries; and out of the cities of Greece twenty-five thousand; besides several regiments of light-armed men; and a disorderly rabble of sordid fellows out of all nations, to the number of at least eight thousand, such as are used to follow camps only to rob and plunder wherever they come: so that the whole land army consisted of fifty-six thousand men.

The armies had now lain opposite to each other for several days, and though they were drawn up in battalia on both sides, yet neither attempted to fight, solicitously expecting to hear how things passed in Asia. At that time, Demetrius entered with part of his army into the city of Pheræ, being invited thither by the inhabitants; and took the citadel, and dismissed all Cassander's soldiers on the terms agreed upon, and restored the Pheræans to their former liberties.

While these things were acting in Thessaly, the messengers from Antigonus came to Demetrius, who delivered his father's commands, and ordered him to transport his forces over into Asia, with all the speed imaginable.

Whereupon, looking upon it as a thing of absolute necessity to obey his father, he forthwith concluded a peace with Cassander, upon condition that his father should approve of it; not in the least doubting but he would make all void, whom he knew had resolved to put an end to the war by no other means than by force of arms. However, he was willing to manage his business so, that he should have a feasible pretence for leaving Greece, and not to resemble a flight. For among other matters, he took care to have it inserted in the articles of peace—That all the Greek cities, both in Greece and Asia, should enjoy their antient laws and liberties. At length, having got ships together to transport his army and the carriages, he set sail with his whole force, and steering a right course through the islands of the Ægean sea, came to Ephesus; and there landing his army encamped before it, reduced it to its former obedience, and suffered the garrison which Prepelaus had put there safely to depart. Then putting a strong garrison of his own into the castle, went off with the rest of his army as far as the Hellespont, where he reduced the Lampsacenians and Parians, and other revolted cities, to his subjection. And thence going to the mouth of Pontus, encamped near the Temple of the Chalcidonians, and there fortified; which done, he left there three thousand foot, with thirty sail of good ships to guard the port, and sent the remainder of his army into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood.

About this time Mithridates, who was subject to Antigonus, being suspected of favouring Cassander's party, was slain at Cius, in the country of Mysia; of which, and of Arthiras, he had been prince thirty-five years. His son, also called Mithridates, succeeded him in his principality, and added to his dominions Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which he held for thirty-six years.

In these days Cassander, after the departure of Demetrius, recovered all the cities lying on the sea-coast, and sent Plistarchus into Asia, with an army of twelve thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to assist Lysimachus. But Plistarchus coming to the mouth of Pontus, found that strait occupied by the enemy: and thereupon despairing of any passage that way, went to Odessus, which lies between Apollonia and Galatia, over against Heraclea, where a part of Lysimachus's army lay. But not having shipping enough for the transportation of all his forces at that place, he divided his army into three parts. The first landed safely at Heraclea; the second was defeated by the enemy's ships which lay at the straits of Pontus; and the third, wherein Plistarchus himself was, being overtaken by a violent tempest, the greatest part of the ships, with the men in them, perished. Among the rest, the ship in which he was, being a vessel

of six tiers of oars, and all the men in her, (which could not be less than five hundred), except thirty-three, (of whom Plistarchus was one), were all lost; getting upon a plank when the ship went to pieces, he was cast on shore half dead: but recovering a little, he was afterwards carried to Heraclea, and there recovering his strength, he went to Lysimachus in his winter-quarters, after having lost the greatest part of his army.

About the same time, Ptolemy coming with an excellently well-appointed army out of Egypt, reduced all the cities of Cœlosyria to his obedience. But when he lay in siege before Sidon, there came a false rumour to him, that a battle had been fought, wherein Lysimachus and Seleucus were routed and fled to Heraclea, and that Antigonus was thereupon hastening into Syria with his victorious army.

Ptolemy giving too easy credit to this report, made a truce with the Sidonians for five months; and putting garrisons into other cities which he had taken in those parts, returned into Egypt.

While these things thus passed, two thousand Autariats, and about eight hundred Lycians and Pamphilians, soldiers belonging to Lysimachus, fled over to Antigonus, out of their winter-quarters, and Antigonus entertained them very courteously, furnishing them with such pay as they said Lysimachus owed them, and also rewarded them with large sums of money over and above.

About the same time also Seleucus, with a great army, came down out of the upper provinces into Cappadocia, and wintered his army under tents which he brought with him ready made. His army consisted of twenty thousand foot, and about twelve thousand horse, including his archers on horse-back, and four hundred and eighty elephants, and a hundred iron chariots. Thus these kings joined their forces, resolving the next summer to decide the controversy by the sword. But we shall give an account of the wars among these princes in the beginning of the next book, according as we first designed.

THE END.

THE FRAGMENTS

OF

DIODORUS SICULUS,

OUT OF

SOME OF HIS BOOKS THAT ARE LOST.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

FRAGMENTS.

TO THE READER.

THE last twenty books of Diodorus Siculus are entirely lost, except some eclogues or fragments in Photius's Bibliotheca, and others, recovered by Hoes Chelius, and published by Laurentius Rhodomannus, which contained an account of affairs for the space of two hundred and forty-four years, or thereabouts; that is, from the end of the hundred and nineteenth olympiad, (when Antigonus and Demetrius Poliorcetes were routed by Ptolemæus Lagus and the other confederates, A. M. 3650), to the end of the hundred and eightieth olympiad, at which time Julius Cæsar made his first expedition into Britain, which was in the six hundred and ninety-third year of the city of Rome, as Eutropius accounts, in his sixth book.

The reader is desired to observe—That these being but fragments, or pieces of Diodorus, recovered, as it were, out of the rubbish of antiquity, the relations are often broken, and new matter sometimes begun, which has no coherence with what went before.

Where they are broken, they are noted generally thus, — — —. The new matter is easily discerned by observation.

A FRAGMENT

Out of the Sixth Book of the Bibliotheca of Diodorus Siculus, taken out of Eusebius Pamphilius Book II.

THESE therefore are the most remarkable things which are recorded among the Atlantides concerning the gods; and they say, the Grecians use the same rites and ceremonies. The same things Diodorus says in the third book of his history; and Diodorus also confirms the same theology in his sixth book, from the history of Evemerus the Messenian, where these are his words—The antients held two opinions (which are brought down to posterity) concerning the gods: some they say are immortal and incorruptible, as the sun, moon, and the rest of the stars; and likewise the winds, and other things of the like nature, for none of these have either beginning or end. But there are others, they say, that are earthly gods, but for their good deeds to the benefit of mankind, have attained to the highest pitch of honour and glory; and such were Hercules, Dionysius or Bacchus Aristæus, and such like. Of these terrestrial gods, many and various stories are related by historians and mythologists. Among the historians, Evemerus has composed a sacred history, and written peculiarly of these deities. Among the mythologists, or poets, Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, and others of that sort, have feigned most prodigious stories of the gods. We shall endeavour briefly to run over what has been written by both, observing a kind of middle course. Evemerus, a special friend of king Cassander, being forced to undertake some great and weighty affairs, and long and tedious voyages for the king, they say, was driven to a vast distance through the ocean, southward; and departing from Arabia Felix, after many days sail, arrived at certain islands situated in the midst of the ocean; the greatest of which was one called Panchaia, in which he saw the people very zealous and eminent for religion, who adored the gods with magnificent and pompous sacrifices, and rich gifts both of gold and silver. They say, moreover, that the island is consecrated to the gods, and that there were many other things in it which were admirable, both for their antiquity and excellency of workmanship; of which we have given a particular account in the preceding books. That there is likewise in it, upon

p of a high mountain, a temple dedicated to Jupiter Triphy-
ıuilt by him when he conversed here with men, and governed
ıole world; in which temple there is a golden pillar, whereon
istinctly described in Panchaian letters, the acts of Uranus*,
ı, and Jupiter. Afterwards he says—That the first king was
ıs, a just and good man, and very skilful in astrology; and
e was the first that adored the heavenly gods, and was therefore
Uranus: and that he begat on his wife Vesta two sons, Pan
aturn, and two daughters, Rhea and Ceres. He says, more-
that Saturn reigned after Uranus, and married Rhea, and be-
ıpiter, Juno, and Neptune; and that Jupiter, succeeding Sa-
married Juno, Ceres, and Themis: on the first of which he
e Curetes, Proserpina on the second, and Minerva on the
and that afterwards coming to Babylon, he was entertained
ılus. And that from thence arriving at the island of Panchaia,
ected an altar to Uranus's grandfather; and then passing
gh Syria, he came to prince Cassius, from whom the moun-
vas called mount Cassius. Then travelling into Cilicia, he
ame Cilix, the lord of the country; and having at last passed
gh several other nations, was highly honoured by all, and stiled
. When he had delivered these, and such like matters con-
ng the gods, as of mortal men, he subjoins this—"Let this
erefore suffice in reference to Evemerus, who wrote the sacred
ıtory."

d as to what the Greeks fabulously report concerning the gods,
ıall endeavour to give as succinct an account as we can, tracing
eps of Homer, Hesiod, and Orpheus.

A FRAGMENT.

ge Monachus, or the Monk, who wrote a history in Greek, out of Diodorus, concerning the Corinthian kingdom.

/ING given an account of these things, it remains that we should
speak of Corinth and Sicyon, how they were planted and inha-
by the Dorians; for almost all the nations in Peloponnesus,
ɔt the Arcadians, were removed from their antient seats at the

* Cœlum, heaven.

time of the return of the Heraclidæ; who, leaving out Corinth in the division, sent messengers to Alethes, and gave him the said province, together with the neighbouring territory. This man became very famous, and enlarged Corinth, where he reigned thirty-eight years. After his death, the eldest and next of kin ever succeeded in the kingdom, down to the reign of Cypselus, four hundred and twenty-seven years after the return of the Heraclidæ. The first that reigned at Corinth after Alethes was Ixion, who held the kingdom thirty-eight years; after whom, Agesilaus reigned thirty-seven years; and after them, Prumnides thirty-five years, and his son Bacchis as long, who was the most famous and renowned of any of his ancestors, so that those who reigned after him were not called Heraclidæ, but Bacchidæ. After Bacchis, Agilaus enjoyed the throne thirty years; Eudamus, twenty-five; Aristomedes, thirty-five, who after his death left behind him a son called Telestas, a little child, who was deprived of his father's kingdom by Agemon, his uncle and guardian, who reigned sixteen years; after him, Alexander came to the crown, and enjoyed it twenty-five years, and was then killed by Telestas, who had been before deprived of the kingdom of his ancestors, which he now regained, and possessed it twelve years, and then was murdered by some of his own kindred, and Automenes reigned in his stead one year: after which the Bacchidæ, the posterity of Hercules, enjoyed the kingdom for above two hundred years, and all governed together with equal authority; but every year they created one of themselves Prytanis, who had the power of a monarch for ninety years, till the time of Cypselus, who put an end to that sort of government. These therefore are the kings of Corinth. Bacchis reigned thirty-five years.

A FRAGMENT.

The same George of the origin of the Romans, out of the seventh book of Diodorus Siculus.

SOME writers have erroneously held, that Romulus, who built Rome, was the son of Æneas: but this cannot possibly be true, since there were many kings that reigned in course between Æneas and Romulus, the city being built the second year of the seventh Olympiad,

which was above four hundred and thirty years after the Trojan war. For Æneas gained the kingdom of the Latins three years after the destruction of Troy, and reigned only three years, and after his death was adored as a god. Ascanius, his son, succeeded him, and built Alba, called at this day Longa. He gave the city this name from the river which was then called Alba, and now Tiber: but Fabius, who wrote an history of the Roman affairs, speaks otherwise of the naming of this city. For he tells a story, that Æneas was foretold by the oracle, that a four-footed beast should shew him the way to the place where a new city should be built, which came thus to pass: being about to sacrifice a white* sow then big with young, she made her escape, and ran away to a hill, whither she was pursued, and there she brought forth thirty pigs. Æneas, wondering at the accident, and calling to mind the answer of the oracle, forthwith went about to settle inhabitants in the place; but being warned by a vision in the night to desist, and not to build till after thirty years then next ensuing, he left off his design till the number of years was completed.

Here follow the Eclogues or Fragments of Diodorus Siculus, out of books twenty-one to twenty-six inclusive, which are now lost.

BOOK XXI.

1. ALL vice is to be avoided by every wise man, but especially covetousness: for this (through hopes and desire of gain) prompts many to acts of injustice, and so becomes the occasion of the greatest mischiefs to mankind; for being in the very highest sphere of wickedness, it involves not only mean men, but even kings themselves, in extreme calamities. For Antigonus, king of Asia, as an example of this truth, out of his insatiable desire, beginning a war against four other kings, (who joined against him), viz. Ptolemy Lagus, king of Egypt, Seleucus, king of Babylon, Lysimachus, of Thrace, and Cassander, the son of Antipater, king of Macedonia, perished in battle†, being shot through the body with multitudes of darts and arrows, (though afterwards buried in a royal manner), and his son Demetrius, with his mother Stratonice, who were then in Ci-

* Alba signifies white. † At Issus in Phrygia.—Plut. in Pyrrhus.

licia, were forced to sail away with all the wealth they had to Salamis in Cyprus, that remaining still in the hands of Demetrius.

2. Agathocles, king of Sicily, burnt all the Macedonian fleet, and so freed Corcyra, when it was besieged by Cassander both by sea and land, and very near and likely to be taken. Oh the many uncertainties of war! For folly and fraud many times effect as great things as true valour and courage.

3. Agathocles, being returned to the rest of his army from Corcyra, when he heard that the Ligurians and Tyrrhenians (who were his mercenary soldiers) had assisted those who killed his son Archagathus in his absence, put them all to the sword, to the number of two thousand: upon which account the Brutii deserting him, he resolved to besiege their city called Æthas*. But the barbarians in great numbers falling upon him suddenly in the night, cut off four thousand of his men, and so he returned to Syracuse.

4. Agathocles rigged out a great fleet, and sailed into Italy; and, having a design to march his army to Crotona, he sent a messenger before to Menedemus, king of Crotona, who was his particular friend, not to be afraid of his motion; which was merely to deceive him; and, purposing to besiege the place, he gave out that he was sending away his daughter Lanassa with a royal fleet to Epirus, to marry her: and by this fraud he came upon them when they were unprovided, and never suspected him. Thereupon, applying himself with all earnestness to the siege, he blocked up the place by a wall drawn from sea to sea; and, having by his mines and batteries ruined the greatest house of the town, the Crotoneans out of fear opened their gates, and received his army into the city, who, breaking in like a flood, first rifled all the houses, and then put all the men to the sword. He likewise made a league with the neighbouring barbarians, the Japygians, and Peucetians, furnishing them with ships for piracy, and shared with them in the robbery. At length, having put a garrison into Crotona, he sailed back to Syracuse.

5. Diallus the Athenian writer composed a general history in twenty-six books, and Psaon of Platæa another in thirty books.

6. In the war against the Hetruscans, Gauls, and Samnites, and their confederates, the Romans destroyed (when Fabius was consul) a hundred thousand men, as Duris relates.

7. Antipater, out of envy, killed his own mother. Alexander, his brother, was likewise killed by Demetrius, whom Alexander had sent for to his assistance. Antipater, the murderer of his mother, was also served the same sauce by Demetrius, unwilling to have a partner in the kingdom.

* Ætini, people of Sicily.

8. Agathocles raised an army, and sailed over into Italy, with thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and, giving the command of the fleet to Stilpo, he ordered him to waste and spoil the country of the Brutii: while he was harassing the sea-coasts, he lost many of his ships in a storm. But Agathocles, by the help of his battering engines, took the city Hipponium; which so terrified the Brutii, that they sent ambassadors to treat with him upon terms of peace: upon which he put in a garrison, and carried away with him six hundred hostages, and returned to Syracuse. But the Brutii made slight of their oath, and with the whole power of the city fell upon the garrison, and slew every man, and afterwards recovered their hostages, and freed themselves from the yoke of Agathocles. Lenity is to be preferred before revenge.

9. Most generals of armies, when they are brought into straits and difficulties, (out of fear), do generally humour the multitude.

10. When the Thebans made a second defection, Demetrius battered down their walls, and took the city by storm, and put only ten men to death, who were the ringleaders of the rebellion.

11. Agathocles sent his son Agathocles to Demetrius, to enter into a league with him, offensive and defensive. The king kindly received the young man, and bestowed on him a royal robe, and many other rich and princely gifts, and sent along with him Oxythemes, his special friend, under colour of confirming the league, but in truth to be a spy in Sicily.

12. King Agathocles, after a long peace between him and the Carthaginians, at length rigged out a fleet: for he designed to transport an army into Libya, and with his navy to hinder the exportation of all corn and provisions from Sardinia and Sicily to the Carthaginians, who by the last war had gained the dominion of the sea, and thereby had secured their country from invasions. And, though Agathocles had a well furnished fleet, to the number of two hundred gallies of four and six tier of oars, yet he failed in his design, by reason of what shortly happened. For there was one Menon, an Ægistan, a beautiful captive, then servant to the king, who for some time conformed himself to a strict compliance with the king's humour, so that he was taken into the number of his beloved* and intimate friends. But, because of the ruin of his country, and the dishonourable abuse of his own person, he bore a secret hatred to the king, and watched an opportunity to be revenged. The king, because he was old, intrusted Archagathus with the command of the army: he was the son of Archagathus, who was killed in Libya, and was king Agathocles's grandchild; he was a man of a strong body, and of a brave and

* His catamite.

generous spirit, far above all the rest of his family. When he was encamped with the army near Ætna, the king had a desire to promote his son Agathocles to be his successor in the kingdom, and to that end recommended the young man to the Syracusans, and declared his purpose and design to have him succeed. Afterwards he sent him to the camp with letters to Archagathus, which ordered him to deliver up the command of all the forces both by sea and land to his son: upon which Archagathus, perceiving that the kingdom was designed for another, contrived the destruction of them both: and to that end sent a messenger to Menon of Ægista, who persuaded him to poison the king: Archagathus himself, celebrating a sacrifice in a certain island where Agathocles then lay with the fleet, invited him to the festival; and in the night (when he was dead drunk) cut his throat, and threw his body into the sea, which being afterwards cast up by the violence of the waves, was known by the inhabitants, and carried to Syracuse. And whereas it was the king's custom always after supper to pick his teeth with a quill, now rising from the table, he called to Menon for his tooth-picker, who, having dipped the end of it in poison, delivered it to the king, and he, never suspecting any thing, plied all his teeth with that care and earnestness, that none of his gums escaped the touch of the poison. Upon this the king began by little and little to be very ill, which was succeeded by violent torments in his body every day. Then an incurable putrefaction and rottenness covered his gums and teeth: and now drawing near to his end, he called a senate, where he complained of the wickedness of Archagathus, and incited the people to take revenge of him for his villanies, declaring that he would forthwith restore them to their democracy. Afterwards, when he was in the very height of his extremity, Oxythemes (who had been there a little before, sent by king Demetrius) hurried him to the funeral pile, and burnt him while he was yet alive, and not able to speak by reason of the foulness and filthiness of his mouth through the poison. And thus Agathocles, for the many slaughters and murders of his reign, and cruelties towards his own subjects, and impieties against the gods, came to an end such as he justly deserved for his former wickednesses, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, and lived seventy-two, as Timæus the Syracusan relates, and Callias, another Syracusan, (who wrote two-and-twenty books), and Antander likewise, the brother of Agathocles, an historian. The Syracusans, having now regained their democratical government, confiscated all the goods and estate of Agathocles, and broke down all his statues. Menon, in the mean time, who had plotted and executed the treason, was at the camp with Archagathus, having fled thither from Syracuse: and

now beginning to look very big upon it, as being a man who had ruined the monarchy, he secretly murders Archagathus, and with fair words and winning behaviour, brought over the army to his interest, and determined to force Syracuse to obedience, and gain the principality. Hereupon the Syracusans created Hicetas general against Menon, who continued the war for some time; Menon all along seeking to avoid fighting, and could by no means be brought to engage. But when the Carthaginians joined with Menon, by which he became far stronger than the Syracusans, they were forced to agree with the Carthaginians, and delivered four hundred hostages for further security of the peace, and to restore all the exiles. However, when the mercenary soldiers were denied their right to vote in the choosing of magistrates, the city was presently in an uproar; and both the Syracusans and mercenaries ran to their arms. But some of the better sort interposed, and by much intercession prevailed with both parties to agree upon this condition —That the soldiers should depart out of Sicily by such a time, and take all their goods along with them. Hereupon the foreign soldiers left Syracuse, and came to Messana, where they were received into the city as friends and confederates; and being kindly entertained in their houses, in the night they massacre'd all their hosts, and marrying their wives, seized upon the city, which they called Mamertina, from Mars, which in their own country* language they call Mamers.

13. For they who are not members of the democratical government, are not admitted by the tribune of the people to give their suffrages among those that are.

14. It is a commendable thing to be ever terrible to an enemy, and always kind and courteous to a friend.

15. Since at that time, when you knew not what was best and fittest to be done, you were caught with fair and enticing words; and now when you see calamity upon the country indeed, you are taught another lesson. For sometimes to be ignorant of things which may fall out in this life, is natural to mankind; but to be deceived twice in the same thing, argues a man to be a fool. And the oftener we are deceived, the greater punishment we deserve. Some of the citizens have arrived at that height of covetousness, that they would fain raise up the glory of their families by the ruin of their country. For they who have so wickedly acted in assisting others, pray, how have they been used by them?

16. Offences are to be forgiven, and peace to be kept for the time to come.

* Campania.

17. Not they that offend, but they who repent not of their offences, ought to be severely punished.

18. Mercy and kindness among men, is more antient than wrath and revenge.

19. It is a commendable and desirable thing to lay aside all animosities, and instead thereof to return to friendship and amity. For when a man is reduced to poverty and straits, he presently, at the first nod as it were, runs to his friends.

20. Covetousness being naturally ingrafted in men, no man can be wholly free from that vice. Pride, and a tyrant's robes, ought to be left at home. For he that enters into a free city, ought to conform himself to the laws of the place. He that is of a princely family, and comes to a kingdom by hereditary descent, is desirous also to succeed in the glory and reputation of his ancestors. For it is a base and dishonourable thing to carry the name of Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, and yet in actions to imitate Thersites*. For the more honour and reputation any person has gained, so much the more regard and respect will he have for them who were the instruments of his advancement and happy successes. Therefore what may be honourably and deservedly obtained, should not be used unjustly and disgracefully, when it is enjoyed. It is therefore, gentlemen, a commendable thing, by the example of other men's sufferings and mistakes, wisely to provide for our own security.

21. It does not become any man to have more regard to strangers, than his own kindred; and to be more fearful to exasperate an enemy, than careful to preserve the good will and opinion of his allies.

BOOK XXII.

1. IT is the natural property of the Epirots, not only to fight for their country, but to run all hazards likewise in the defence of their friends and allies.

2. Decius, the Roman tribune governor of Rhegium, to revenge his country of king Pyrrhus, killed all the inhabitants except the women, whom he sold for slaves, and seized on all the goods and estates of those that were slain. These were Campanians, who acted the same cruelty here as the Mamertines did when they massacre'd all

* A filthy ugly fellow killed by Achilles for his sauciness, by a box on the ear.

the Messanians. Afterwards, because he made not an equal distribution of the prey and plunder taken from those miserable people, he was banished Rhegium by his own countrymen the Campanians. The Mamertines themselves assisted in this butchery: and with the money that was left, hired him to be their captain, and chief commander. Afterwards, a distemper falling into his eyes, he advised with a skilful physician, who, to revenge the injuries and cruelties done to his country, prescribed an application of cantharides, which wholly deprived him of his sight: and the physician himself took care to withdraw from Messana. In the mean time, there were these princes in Sicily, Hicetas at Syracuse, Phintias at Agrigentum, Tyndarus at Tauromintium, and some others in the lesser cities. Phintias and Hicetas were at war with each other, and fought a battle at Hibleum, in which Hicetas was conqueror. Afterwards, making several incursions upon one another, and robbing and spoiling every where, the country by this means lay untilled. Hicetas, puffed up with his victory, engaged the Carthaginians at the river Terias, where he was beaten with the loss of a great number of his men.—At that time Phintias built Phintia, and planted there the Gelans, who had been driven out of their country. It is situated by the sea-side: for both the houses and walls of Gela being utterly demolished, after he had walled in Phintia, and made a stately market-place, and built temples for the service of the gods, he transplanted the people of Gela thither. When he committed the murder, he was hated by all the cities under his government, who drove out all the garrisons, among the first of whom were the Agyreans.

3. King Ptolemy was killed by the Gaus, and the whole Macedonian army utterly destroyed.

4. A Cadmean victory is a proverb, meant when the conquerors have lost abundance of men, and the vanquished are but little the worse, because of the extent of their empire.

5. Phintias, the builder of Phintia, and tyrant of Agrigentum, in a dream had a representation pointing out to him his own death.—He thought he saw, as he was hunting the boar, a sow fiercely come up to him, and strike him on the side with her teeth, which so pierced him that he died.

6. Hicetas, after he had reigned nine years at Syracuse, was deprived of his kingdom by Thynion the son of Mameus.

7. Thynion and Sosistratus, the successors of Hicetas, sent again for king Pyrrhus into Sicily.

8. The Mamertines, who treacherously murdered the Messanians, having entered into a league with the Carthaginians, in a senate decreed to hinder Pyrrhus from landing in Sicily. But Tyndarus,

tyrant of Taurominium, sided with him, and was ready to receive into the city all those forces that joined him.

9. The Carthaginians entered into a league with the Romans, and took five hundred men on board their own ships and sailed over to Rhegium, and began to assault the place, but at length raised the siege; and having set all the timber and other materials on fire, which had been prepared for shipping, they put to sea, and there lay to observe the motions of Pyrrhus.

10. When Thynion had the command of the Island*, and Sosistratus lorded it over the Syracusans, having each an army of ten thousand men, they broke out into a war with one another; but being tired out, they both sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus.

11. Pyrrhus made war in Italy for the space of two years and four months, and whilst he was preparing for his departure, the Carthaginians closely besieged the Syracusans both by sea and land. They had a fleet of a hundred sail, which lay in the great haven; and a land army of fifty thousand men, encamped near the walls. With these they penned up the Syracusans on every side, and wasting and plundering the country round about, they even converted it into a desolate wilderness. The Syracusans therefore, wearied out with the war, depended only upon Pyrrhus, in regard he had married Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles, of whom he had begotten Alexander. On which account they sent daily to him; whereupon shipping his men, elephants, and other provisions, he departed from Tarentum, and arrived the tenth day at Locris: thence he sailed, after his landing in Sicily, to Taurominium; and there being joined by Tyndarus, prince of that city, and reinforced by him with more soldiers, he made from thence, and came to Catana; where, being magnificently received by the inhabitants, and laden with golden crowns, he landed his men, with which he marched straight to Syracuse, his fleet ready prepared for an engagement, sailing with him all along the coast. When he came near to Syracuse, the Carthaginians, having sent away thirty of their ships for necessary provisions, durst not venture a battle with those that remained; so that Pyrrhus came to Syracuse without any opposition; the Island being still kept by Thynion, and the rest of the city by the Syracusans and Sosistratus. For he had Agrigentum under his command, and many other cities, and above ten thousand soldiers. And having then reconciled Thynion and Sosistratus, and the Syracusans, and brought them all to a right understanding among themselves, he was thereupon highly esteemed and applauded. The king received weapons, engines, and other furniture and povisions which were in the city,

* A part of the city.

with a hundred and twenty decked ships, and twenty open vessels.—But* the palace belonged to Enneres. The whole navy therefore, including those he brought along with him, consisted of two hundred sail. Whilst he was thus employed, ambassadors came from the Leontines, sent to him from Heraclidas the governor, with promise to deliver up the city into his hands, with the garrisons, and four thousand foot and five hundred horse. There were then many others at Syracuse, who promised to deliver up their cities to Pyrrhus, and to join him in the war. He received them all graciously, and sent them back to their several countries, expecting to be shortly lord of Libya.

12. The port of Corinth is called Lichæum.

13. Brennus, king of the Gauls, made an inroad into Macedonia with a hundred and forty thousand targeteers, and ten thousand horse, and a great multitude of other foreign rabble, and many merchants, together with two thousand carts and carriages. He made great havock and slaughter, with a design to ruin them utterly. At last he broke into Greece, and fully purposed to rifle the temple at Delphos. By frequent engagements Brennus lost myriads of his men, and he himself received three desperate wounds. Being near his end, he called his army together, and made a speech to the Gauls, and advised them to kill both him and the rest of the wounded men, to burn their carriages, and return home with all speed, and make Cichorius their king. Brennus at length, after he had drunk freely of wine, ran himself through the body. Cichorius, so soon as he had buried Brennus, knocked all the wounded men on the head, those at least that were likely to be starved with hunger or perished by the cold, to the number of twenty thousand; and then returned with the remainder the same way they came. But the Grecians, who lay in ambush in the strait and narrow passages, cut off all their rear, and took most of their baggage. Marching forward to Thermopylæ, they there left behind them twenty thousand more for want of food. At length, as they were passing through the country of the Dardanians, they all perished; and not one man returned to his own country.

14. But Pyrrhus, when he had settled all things at Syracuse and Leontium, marched his army towards Agrigentum; and while on his march, he was told by some from on ship-board that they had driven out the Carthaginian garrison, in order that Phintias might not govern them; and promised they would deliver the city into his hands,

* Something is wanting here, for it seems to have no coherence with what is either before or subsequent.

and join with him as confederates in the war. Having therefore received the forces, he marched straight to Agrigentum, and received the city and soldiers from Sosistratus, to the number of eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse, nothing inferior to the Epirots. And now he took into his protection thirty cities which were under the command of Sosistratus. Afterwards he sent to Syracuse for the engines of battery, and all the arms and darts; and when they were brought to him, he marched into the territories of the Carthaginians, having an army with him of thirty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, and some elephants. And first he took Heraclea, a Carthaginian garrison: then Azones; afterwards the Selinuntines came in to the king, with the Halicyæans, Ægestines, and many other cities. Eryx at that time had in it a very strong Carthaginian garrison, and was besides naturally fortified, and very difficult of approach. Pyrrhus was resolved to storm this place; and for that purpose brought his battering rams to the walls. After a strong defence for a long time, the king, desirous to make his name famous, in imitation of Hercules, was the first that entered within the walls, and fought with that courage and resolution, that he despatched all the Carthaginians that came in his way. At length succours coming in to him, he took the town by storm: then leaving there a strong garrison, he marched to Eginora, a very strong place, and pleasantly situated near Panormus. The inhabitants surrendered the city. Thence he forthwith made for Panormus, which had the best harbour of any city in Sicily, from whence in has its name: he took it likewise by storm. Then taking the fort at Ercte, he gained all that belonged to the Carthaginians except Lilybæum. This city was built by the Carthaginians after Dionysius the Tyrant had ruined Motya: for those that were left alive after that slaughter, the Carthaginians placed in Lilybæum. Just as Pyrrhus was ready to besiege this place, a great army landed there out of Africa, having the advantage of being masters at sea, and brought with them abundance of corn, and an innumerable number of engines and weapons of war. And because the greatest portion of the city lay near to the sea, they were principally careful to guard that part towards the main land; and for that purpose they raised many bulwarks and high towers, and drew a large trench to prevent an approach on that side. Then they sent ambassadors to the king to treat upon terms of peace, and to offer him a great sum of money: but the king refusing the money, they desired that he would permit the Carthaginians to keep only Lilybæum. But the confederates who were then assembled in senate, and the representatives of the several cities, sent to him, and earnestly entreated him, that he would not upon any terms whatever

permit the barbarians to have any footing in Sicily, but drive the Carthaginians wholly out of the island, and limit their power at sea. Upon this the king encamped near the walls, and at first made several assaults, one after another; but the Carthaginians, being well furnished both with men and other necessaries, beat him off: for they had so vast a number of engines that cast darts and stones, that the wall could scarcely contain them; which being all plied against the assailants, they were so galled and cut off, that Pyrrhus was forced to draw off his men. Then he began to contrive other engines, and did all he could to undermine the walls: but the Carthaginians making a stout resistance, and the place being all of rock, he was now out of all hopes of taking it by force, and therefore (after two months lying before it) he raised his siege. And now he designed to bend his force elsewhere, and to that end to furnish himself with a great fleet, in order to be master of the sea, and to transport a great army into Africa.

15. When the Mamertines in Messana grew strong, they fortified many castles, and put garrisons into them; and came presently, with an army they had ordered to be in readiness, to the relief of Messana. But Hiero, leaving the enemy's country, took Myle by storm, and brought under his command fifteen hundred soldiers, and then marched towards Amesalus, (which lies between the Centoripians* and the Agyreans†), and, though it was a strong place, and had many soldiers in it, yet he took it by assault, and razed it to the ground; but he pardoned all the garrison-soldiers, and joined them to his own army. The territory he gave to the Centoripians and the Agyreans. Afterwards Hiero (having a great army) marched against the Mamertines, and gained Alese; and, being readily received by the Abacenî and Tyndaridæ, he gained their cities also, and so penned up the Mamertines into a strait and narrow corner: for on that side towards the Sicilian sea he was lord of Taurominium, a city near Messana, and towards the Etrurian sea he commanded the Tyndaridæ. And now making an incursion into the territories of Messana, he encamped at the river Lotanus, having with him in his army ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. The Mamertines encamped over against him with eight thousand foot, and but forty‡ horse, under the command of Cion, who called the augurs together to consult the issue of the battle by the view of the sacrifices; who answered—That by the entrails the gods foretold, that he must lodge that night in the enemy's camp: upon this he was transported with joy, to think that he should be master of the king's camp. Hereupon he forthwith

* Or Centuripians.—Vid. postea. † Agyreans, the city Agyrium.

‡ This seems to be a mistake.

attempted to pass the river with his forces drawn up in battalia. Hiero, on the other side, commanded two hundred exiles of Messana, (who were stout and noted men for their valour), with whom he joined four hundred others of his best soldiers, to compass a hill called Thorax, there near at hand, and so to come round upon the back of the enemy, and he himself in order of battle met them in the front. Whereupon the armies engaged, both horse and foot, (the king having gained a rising ground near the river, much to his advantage). The issue was doubtful for some time: but they that were ordered to the hill on a sudden fell upon the Mamertines, who (being but raw men, and tired out) were easily vanquished. At length, being hemmed in on every side, they took to their heels: but the Syracusans pursued them so close with their whole army, that they cut them off every man, save the general, who, fighting with great valour, at length fainted by the many wounds he received, and was taken prisoner, and brought half dead into the king's camp, and committed to the care of the surgeons; thus being brought to spend the night, according to the prediction of the augurs, in the enemy's camp. When the king was very earnest to have Cion cured, some came to the king with horses they had taken in the fight: upon which, when Cion saw his son's horse among the rest, he concluded he was killed; whereupon he was so transported with passion, that he tore in pieces all the bands and ligatures of his wounds, that by his own death he might honour his son's. The Mamertines, hearing that both their general Cion and their whole army was destroyed, resolved to go and humble themselves to the king as suppliants. However, fortune suffered not the Mamertines to be altogether lost and undone. For it happened that at that time Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, lay at the island Lipara; who, as soon as he heard of this slaughter, went to the king with all speed, seemingly to congratulate his victory, but in truth by some stratagem to circumvent him: and the king, trusting to the Carthaginian's word, lay still. But Hannibal, going to Messana, and finding the Mamertines ready to deliver up their city, he dissuaded them, and, making a league with them, put forty* soldiers more into the city. Thus the Mamertines (even now in despair by reason of their great slaughter) were by this means secured from present danger. As for Hiero, (being thus cheated by the Carthaginian general, and so discouraged from besieging Messana), returned to Syracuse, after his many successes. Afterwards, when the Carthaginians as well as Hiero had thus lost Messana, they had an interview, and, upon second thoughts, entered into a confederacy to besiege the city with their joint forces.

* A mistake it is conceived. See before, fol. preceding.

BOOK XXIII.

1. SICILY is one of the finest islands in the world, conducing much by its power to the gaining and increase of a larger dominion.

2. Hanno, the son of Hannibal, as soon as he arrived in Sicily, rendezvoused his forces at Lilybæum, and thence marched as far as Selinus, where he left his army encamped near the city; but he himself went forward to Agrigentum, and fortified the citadel. Then he brought over the people to the interest of the Carthaginians, and so engaged them to be their confederates. After he returned to his camp, ambassadors came to him from Hiero, to consult concerning the public good of Sicily: for they had made a league and agreement one with another to make war upon the Romans, if they would not forthwith withdraw all their forces out of Sicily. In execution of which they both marched with their armies to Messana, where Hiero encamped on the hill called Chalcidicus: the Carthaginians lay with theirs near the monuments*, and possessed themselves of the arsenal called Pelorias, and both presently laid close siege to Messana. As soon as the news was brought to Rome, they sent away Appius Claudius, one of the consuls, with a great army, who came to Rhegium with all speed, and from thence sent ambassadors to Hiero and the Carthaginians to raise their siege, and promised in a general assembly not to make any incursion into the territories of Hiero. To which Hiero answered—That the Mamertines, for their razing and ruining of Gela and Camarina, and their cruelty and wickedness in getting the possession of Messana, were most justly besieged; and that it did not become the Romans, who are so cried up in every place for their justice and faithfulness, to protect such bloody villains, who had contemptuously broken all the ties and bonds of faith and truth amongst men. And if, notwithstanding, they begin a war in the defence of such notoriously wicked men, it will be evident and apparent to all mankind, that succour to them that are in distress is but a mere pretence to cover their covetousness, whereas in truth their aim is to gain Sicily.

3. The Romans at first bore four-square shields, but afterwards, when they observed the Tyrrhenians to carry brazen shields, they got the like, and conquered them.

4. When the consul landed at Messana, Hiero, suspecting that

* Cubiles, or lodging places.

the Carthaginians had made way for him, fled himself to Syracuse. The Carthaginians being at length subdued, the consul besieged Ægesta, and, after the loss of a great number of his men, returned to Messana.

5. When both consuls arrived in Sicily, they besieged the city Adranum, and took it by storm. And while they were besieging the Centoripians*, and lay encamped at the brazen halls or palaces, first ambassadors came from them of Læssina: afterwards other cities that were terrified with the Roman armies sent ambassadors for terms of peace, promising to deliver up all their towns into the hands of the Romans, to the number of sixty-seven: from all which places they marched to Syracuse, to besiege Hiero, who, seeing the uneasiness of the Syracusans at this preparation against them, sent ambassadors to the consuls, to negotiate for peace; who readily agreed to the conditions, designing chiefly the war against the Carthaginians. A peace, therefore, was concluded for fourteen years, and the Romans were to receive one hundred and forty thousand drachmas†. And, after he had released all the prisoners to them, they agreed that Syracuse and all the cities under his jurisdiction, viz. Acra, Leontium, Megara, Ælora, Neatina, and Tauromínium, should remain in the hands of Hiero. In the mean time, Hannibal was come as far as Xiphonia to the aid of the king; but, hearing what was done, he marched back.

6. The Romans, after they had besieged the towns called Adranes and Macella for a long time together, at length raised their sieges without effecting any thing.

7. The Ægestines, who were the first brought under the power of the Carthaginians, revolted to the Romans. The Alieneans did the like. But they took Hilarius, Tyrittus, and Ascelum by force. The Tyndaridæ, seeing themselves deserted, (through fear), designed to deliver up themselves as the rest had done: but the Carthaginians, suspecting their design, took the chiefest of the citizens for hostages, and carried them, and the corn and wine, and all the rest of the provisions that was in the town, to Lilybæum.

Philemon the comedian wrote ninety-seven comedies; he lived ninety-nine years. The Romans that besieged Agrigentum, and that made the trenches, and cast up the works, were one hundred thousand. At length, after a stout resistance, the Carthaginians delivered up Agrigentum to the Romans.

8. After the siege of Agrigentum, Hanno the elder brought over a

* Or Centuripians, their town called Centuripia. The people now called Centorluans.

† A drachma is seven pence farthing.

great army out of Africa into Sicily, of fifty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, and sixty elephants. Philinus the historian, of Agrigentum, sets forth this expedition. Hanno with all these forces marched from Lilybæum to Heraclea. About this time some came and offered to deliver up Erbessus. Hanno, in prosecution of the war, lost in two battles three thousand foot, and two hundred horse, and four thousand — — — that were taken prisoners. In the mean time, thirty of his elephants died, and three were wounded.

9. There was likewise the city Entella. — — — Hanno therefore, by his prudent management, by one stratagem cut off both his open and secret enemies at one time. And after they had lain thus before it for the space of six months, Agrigentum was at length delivered up to them, and they carried away above twenty-four thousand as slaves. But the Romans lost thirty thousand foot, and five hundred and forty horse. But the Carthaginians fined Hanno in six thousand pieces of gold, and took away his commission, and sent Amilcar general into Sicily, in his room. The Romans then besieged Mystratus, and for that purpose devised many engines: but after seven months time they raised their siege, with the loss of a great number of their men. But Amilcar fought with the Romans at Thermæ, and routed them, killing six thousand upon the place, and it was not far from, but the whole army. — — — The castle Mazaron was likewise taken by the Romans. Then Camarina was betrayed into the hands of Amilcar the Carthaginian, and not long after Enna in the same manner. There he walled in Drepanum*, and made it a town of defence; and, after he had transplanted the inhabitants of Eryx thither, he razed the city to the ground, except that part which surrounded the temple. But the Romans took Mystratus, now besieged the third time, and levelled it to the ground, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The consul afterwards marched to Camarina, and laid siege to it, but could not reduce it. But at length, by the help of some engines of battery, and other instruments of war, sent to him from Hiero, he won the place, and sold most of the Camarineans for slaves. Presently after, he became master of Enna by treachery, where he put the garrison to the sword, save some who made their escape out of the town, and fled to their confederates. Thence he marched to Satana, and took it by storm. Then placing garrisons in other cities, he made for Camicus, a castle belonging to the Agrigentines, which was also betrayed and delivered up to him, and there he placed a garrison. About this time Erbessus was deserted by its inhabitants. — — — But the river Alycus, and the last of all the other. — — —

* Drepanum, upon the promontory Drepanum, near Eryx.

10. A prudent man ought either to resolve to conquer, or else to submit to those that are stronger than he.

11. All men in time of adversity are apt to be more religious, and more frequent in devotion than at other times: but in times of prosperity and success, they make slight of the gods, as so many fables and romances. And when they are again brought into troubles, then they run again to their natural shelter.

12. It is much more easy to get the advantage of an enemy, when a man will be advised, and be willing upon all occasions to rectify his own mistakes. And it often happens that they who are carried away to the same — — —

Many are stirred up to virtue through the credit and reputation which attend upon them, that employ themselves in good and commendable studies and exercises. — — —.

For not being able to bear, as an over-heavy burthen, the successes of fortune heaped upon him, he deprived himself of most of the glory of his actions, and involved his country in great calamities.

— — — Moreover, when the Romans had transplanted a great army into Africa, under the command of Attilius the consul, they first prevailed over the Carthaginians, and took many of their towns and castles, and destroyed great numbers of their soldiers: but as soon as Xantippus the Spartan, whom they had hired to be their general, came out of Greeee, the Carthaginians totally routed the Romans, destroyed a numerous army. Afterward, they fought several battles by sea, wherein the Romans lost many ships, and abundance of men, to the number of a hundred thousand. — — — The honour he had gained before, highly aggravated the disgrace and contempt; and by his own example, he instructed others to behave humbly and modestly when they are in the greatest power and authority. And that which stung him most, was, that he became the scorn, and was brought into the power of those whom he had before proudly trampled upon in disdain: and now he had deprived himself of all pity and commiseration, commonly shewn to men in misery and distress.

For those that before were conquerors in all, he now altogether conquered: and those who formerly, through the slaughter made amongst them, expected nothing but utter destruction, now, by the greatness of the victory by them on the other hand obtained, he incited to slight and contemn their enemies. — — — For it is no wonder if the prudence and experience of a general effect those things which seem to others impossible: for all things are easy and possible to ingenuity and diligence, supported by skill acquired by

experience. — — — — For as the body is the servant of the soul, so great armies are governed by the prudence of their generals. — — The senate ordering all things for the public good. — — — Philustus then wrote his history. — — —

But the Romans, who had then passed over into Africa, and fought with the Carthaginians a battle at sea, and beaten them, and captured twenty-four of their ships, after they had taken on board those Romans that were left of the land army, as they were sailing to Sicily, were all shipwrecked near Camarina, and lost three hundred and forty men of war, besides vessels for transporting of horses, and other transport-ships to the number of three hundred: so that all the coast from Camarina to Pachinus, was strewed with the carcasses of men and horses, and wrecks of ships. Hiero courteously entertained those that escaped, and supplying them with meat and drink, clothes, and other necessaries, conveyed them safe to Messana. Carthalo the Carthaginian, after the shipwreck of the Romans besieged Agrigentum, took it and burnt the town, and demolished the walls; and those that were left fled to Olympius. The Romans, after the shipwreck, fitted out another fleet, of two hundred and fifty sail, and came to Cephalœdis, which was delivered up to them by treachery. Thence they marched to Drepanum, and laid siege to it, but upon succours brought in by Carthalo, they drew off, and sailed to Panormus. There they cast anchor in the harbour, even under the walls, and landed their army, and then drew a wall and trench round the city. And the country being very woody, even up to the city gates, they had the advantage to raise mounds and bulwarks all along from sea to sea.

Then the Romans, by continual assaults and batteries, beat down the walls, and entering the outward forts, put many to the sword: the rest fled to the old city, and sent out commissioners to the consul to treat for the sparing of their lives. These conditions were agreed upon — That every person who paid two minas for his head, should be free. Hereupon the Romans entered, and forty thousand were set free for the ransom agreed upon; the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were sold for slaves, together with the spoils. — But they of Jetæ drove out the Carthaginian garrison, and delivered up the town to the Romans. So did the Selinuntines, Petrineans, Enaterineans, and Tyndaridæ. Then the consuls leaving a garrison at Panormus, marched off to Messana.

The year following, the Romans designed another descent into Libya, but being prevented from landing by the Carthaginians, they returned to Panormus. Thence, in their return to Rome, by ano-

ther tempest they lost a hundred and fifty ships of war, besides transport ships, with all their lading and provisions. About this time, the governor of Thermæ being abroad about some necessary affairs, was taken prisoner by the Roman army; and during his confinement he treated by messengers with the general, to open the gates of the city to him in the night, if he might be released. The time was agreed upon, and he was ordered to be discharged; and a thousand men were sent thither in the night, who came there at the time appointed, whereupon he opened the gates, and the chiefest persons of quality only entered, giving a strict charge to the guard, to shut the gates and suffer no one else to enter; and this they did, that none but themselves might have the plunder and pillage of the city; but they were all presently knocked on the head; a just reward for their covetousness! But at another time Thermæ and Lipara were given up into the hands of the Romans. Yet they failed of their purpose at the castle of Ercta, though they besieged it with forty thousand foot, and one thousand horse. — — —

Asdrubal the Carthaginian general, being ill spoken of by his soldiers for not fighting, marched off with the whole army, and came to Panormus, through the straits of Selinus, and passing over the river near to the town, he encamped close to the walls without fortifying himself, in contempt of the enemy. And now again plenty of wine being brought into the camp by the merchants, the Celtæ made themselves drunk; and while they were roaring and carousing, and filling every place with disorder and confusion, Cecilius the consul broke in among them, and totally routed them, and sent sixty elephants, then taken in the fight, to Rome, which were the admiration of all the Romans.

BOOK XXIV.

THE Carthaginians, after they had razed the city of Selinus, transplanted the citizens to Lilybæum. But the Romans sailed with two hundred and forty long gallies, and sixty round vessels, and all other sorts of shipping, to Panormus, and thence to Lilybæum, which they now began to besiege; and fortified themselves by a trench drawn all along from sea to sea. Then they constructed engines to throw stones, battering rams, and engines not only to batter, but to pluck

the stones by violence out of the walls, and all other things necessary for the raising of mounds and bulwarks. Then they filled fifteen of their round vessels with stones, and sunk them in the mouth of the harbour to choak it up. The Roman army amounted to the number of a hundred and ten thousand men, of whom sixty thousand foot and seven hundred horse were ordered to carry on the siege.—But four thousand men with corn and provisions, were sent from Carthage to the besieged, which greatly encouraged them, and Atarbas* their governor. When the Romans understood that the city had been relieved, they filled up the mouth of the harbour a second time, and made a boom with anchors and great pieces of timber: but the wind, which then blew high, and the violent surges of the sea, broke it all in pieces. The Romans likewise made another engine to cast mighty stones; but the Carthaginians raised another wall within, and the Romans filled up the city-trench with earth, which was sixty cubits broad, and forty deep. And while a skirmish was fought on that side of the walls towards the sea, the Romans placed an ambush on the other side, and the soldiers within making sallies out of the town, to help them that were engaged at the sea side, those that lay in ambush, having scaling ladders ready mounted, gained the first wall; which being known, the Carthaginian commander fell furiously upon them, and killed ten thousand of them on the spot, and put the rest to flight, and burnt all the Roman engines, battering rams, instruments to cast stones, and all their works and fortifications. After this, the Carthaginians seeing that their horse were of no use to them in the strait and narrow passages, sent them away to Drepanum. Then presently came in strong recruits to the Carthaginians; but the Romans, by the burning of their engines, and through want of provisions, and the breaking out of the plague amongst them, were reduced to great difficulties, (for only the Romans and their confederates eat flesh), and so great a distemper seized them, that in a very few days ten thousand were cut off, so that they were very desirous to break up the siege; but Hiero, king of Syracuse, sent them a great quantity of corn, which again encouraged them to continue. After this the Romans chose another consul, and gave the command of the army to Claudius the consul, the son of Appius, who taking charge accordingly, stopped up the mouth of the port as his predecessor had done, but the sea bore down and cleared all away a second time. Moreover, Claudius thinking himself able to do great things, equipped two hundred and ten of the best ships, and arriving at Drepanum, there engaged the Carthagi-

* Adherbal.

nians in a sea fight, was beaten, and lost a hundred and seventeen of his ships, and twenty thousand men. There never happened so great a fight at sea, and so absolute a victory, either among the Carthaginians, or any others about these times; and that which was more to be admired was—That though the Carthaginians were in so great danger, and had only ninety sail, yet they lost not one man, and had but a very few wounded.

— — — — With thirty sail, which intercepted the corn and provisions belonging to the Romans, and carried it to Drepanum, and taking thence every thing which remained that was useful, they came to Lilybæum, and loaded the besieged with all kinds of provisions. And now Carthalo the general came from Carthage with seventy long ships or men of war, and as many laden with corn, who also set upon the Romans, and sunk some of their vessels, and carried off four others which lay at anchor. But after he heard that the Roman fleet had sailed from Syracuse, having called a council of war, he proceeded against them with two hundred and twenty sail of the best ships he had. When the fleets came in sight of each other, near the coasts of Gela, the Romans, struck with a panic fear, tacked about and fled to Phintia, deserting all their transport-ships laden with provisions, and other vessels, behind them. But the Carthaginians, making a swift pursuit after them, a fierce engagement took place; in which the Carthaginians sunk fifty of their great men of war, and sixty other long gallies, and disabled thirteen. After the fight, the Carthaginians sailed to the river Alycus, and there took care of their wounded men. In the mean time Junius the consul, not knowing what was done, left Messana with thirty-six long gallies and many ships of burden, and having passed Pachynus, and gained the port of Phintia, upon intelligence of what had happened he was amazed; and the Carthaginians making up upon him with their whole navy, he burnt twelve of the most useless of his ships, and sailed with the rest towards Syracuse, hoping to be succoured by Hiero. But near Camarina a storm arose, which drove him upon the shallows and rocks, the winds being very fierce and boisterous. But the Carthaginians having reached Pachynus, anchored in a safe and secure harbour. The Romans being thus distressed, lost all their transport-ships of corn and provisions, and a hundred and five long gallies, so that there were only two escaped; and of those which were lost, most of their men perished.

Junius, with those two, and the men which were preserved, came to the camp at Lilybæum: he surprised Eryx in the night, and walled in Ægothalus, which is now called Acellus, and put in it a garrison

of eight hundred men. But when Carthalo had intelligence that the places about Eryx were possessed by the enemy, he wafted thither a considerable body of men in the night, and assaulted the garrison of Ægothalus, and took the castle; some he put to the sword, and the remainder fled to Eryx, where was a garrison of three thousand men. In the first sea-fight the Romans lost thirty-five thousand men, and as many were taken prisoners.

In the territory of Catana there was a castle called Italium, which was assaulted by Barcas the Carthaginian.

— — — — For the counsels and stratagems of the commanders, being communicated to their friends, were discovered by some deserters to the enemy, which terrified the soldiers, and possessed them with an expectation of some imminent danger. But Barcas arriving there in the night, landed his men, and was the first that led them to Eryx, (which was thirty stages distant), took the city, and put most of them to the sword; and those who survived he removed to Drepanum. — — — —

Always, and in every concern, it is known by experience, that the observance of good rule and order has produced many good and great effects. — — — —

But Calatinus the consul sailed into Sicily with three hundred long gallies, and other shipping, to the number of one thousand in the whole, and anchored at the mart-town of the Eryxians. Hanno also arrived in the sacred island from Carthage, with two hundred and fifty long gallies, and other ships of burthen; and thence he came to Eryx. — — — —

The Romans fell on, and a sharp and obstinate engagement there was on both sides, in which the Carthaginians lost a hundred and seventeen ships, among which were twenty with all their men.

But the Romans — — — eighty; thirty for their own charge and expense, and fifty to divide for spoil; and six thousand prisoners, as Philinus reports, but according to others, four thousand and forty; the rest of the fleet got safe with a fair wind into Carthage. — — — For valour signified nothing, when the fleet was so dispersed that it had nobody to fly to, but was by the sea, as it were, delivered up into the hands of the enemy. So that after the war had continued between the Romans and Carthaginians for the space of twenty-four years, and Lilybæum had been besieged ten years, a peace was mutually concluded.

BOOK XXV.

EPICURUS the philosopher, in his book called Maximus, says—"That a religious life is void of all trouble and disturbance; but an unrighteous one, nothing but trouble and sorrow." It contains much matter in brief and concise sentences, tending greatly to the reformation of the lives and manners of men: for injustice is the greatest of all evils, involving not only private men, but, that we may sum up all at once, nations, kings, and kingdoms, in most miserable calamities. — — — For the Spaniards call them of the Baleary islands, Africans, Carthaginians, and Ligurians, joined with them of Carthage. And the slaves, whose parents were Greeians on one side, who also rebelled. — — — — Then it was perfectly seen by experience, how far the diligence of an expert commander excelled the blind and headstrong vulgar, and the rash and ignorant conduct of a rude common soldier. — — — — — So excellent a thing is modesty in commanding, that it enjoins nothing beyond the power of men. — — — But after their departure out of Sicily, the Carthaginian mercenaries rose up in arms against them for these reasons. — — — They were unreasonable and excessive in their demands for the horses and men which they had lost in Sicily. — — — And they were in war with one another four years and as many months. But at length they were put to death by Barcas the general, who had likewise performed notable services in Sicily against the Romans.

2. But Amilcar the Carthaginian general in a short time increased the bounds of his country; for he advanced with his fleet as far as the pillars of Hercules and the Gades*. This city is a colony of the Phœnicians, lying on the farthest corner of the earth, on the seaside, and hath a haven. Having subdued the Iberians and the Tartessians, with Istolotius, the general of the Celtæ, and his brother, he put most of them to the sword, amongst whom were the two brothers and several other honourable persons. And he received into his own army three thousand of them that were prisoners.

But Endortes got again together fifty thousand men, but fled before he engaged, and betook himself to a high hill; where being beset and blocked up by Amilcar, he decamped again in the night, and most of his army were cut off. Endortes himself at length fell into the hands of the enemy, and Amilcar put out his eyes, and then with

* Now Cadiz, or Cales, in the straits.

many scoffs and scorns crucified him. But he discharged about ten thousand other prisoners, and took many cities; some by fair promises and persuasions, and others by force.

Then Asdrubal, the son of Amilcar, being sent by his father-in-law to Carthage against the Numidians, who had rebelled against the Carthaginians, killed eight thousand, and took two thousand prisoners: the rest were subdued and brought under tribute. In the interim, Amilcar having gained many cities in Spain, built a very large town, which, from its situation, he called Acra Leuca. Having afterwards besieged the city of Helice, he sent the greatest part of his army and elephants into winter-quarters to the city he had lately built, and continued with the rest at the siege. But Orissus the king, under pretence of coming in as a friend to join Amilcar, succoured the besieged, and forced Amilcar to raise the siege and fly. His sons and friends he ordered, for their safety, to take one road by themselves, and he himself took another; and being hotly pursued by the king, in crossing a great river he was forced from his horse by the violence of the stream, and was drowned. But Hannibal and Asdrubal, his sons, got safe to Acra Leuca, or the white citadel.

——— And though Amilcar died many ages before our time, yet history has left an epitaph and commemoration of his due praise. But Asdrubal his son-in-law, so soon as he heard of his father-in-law's death, forthwith marched off, and came to Acra with upwards of one hundred elephants. Being chosen general by the army, and also by the Carthaginians, he picked out fifty thousand foot, of old experienced soldiers, six thousand horse, and two hundred elephants. In the first place, he ruined, and totally broke in pieces the troops of king Orissus; then he put to the sword all that were the occasion of Amilcar's flight, and got possession of twelve cities; and at length all the cities of Spain. And having now celebrated a new marriage, and taken the daughter of the king of Spain to wife, he was invested with full power in the government, by all the Spaniards. He afterwards built a city by the sea-shore, which he called Carthage; and after this another, and aspired to exceed Amilcar in power and greatness. He had in his army sixty thousand foot, eight thousand horse, and two hundred elephants. But at length he was assassinated by one of his own household, having been general nine years.

3. The Celtæ and the Gauls entering into a war with the Romans, raised an army of two hundred thousand men, and were victorious in the first battle, and likewise in the second, wherein one of the Roman consuls was killed. The Romans had an army of seventy thousand foot, and seven thousand horse. However, although they

were worsted in the two first battles, yet in the third they gained a signal victory, killing forty thousand upon the field of battle, and taking the rest prisoners. — — — So that the greatest of their kings cut his own throat: but the other was taken alive. After this brave exploit, Æmilius being made consul, wasted the country of the Gauls and Celtæ, took many cities and castles, and filled the city of Rome with spoils.

4. Hiero, king of Syracuse, supplied the Romans with corn in the Celtic war, and was paid at the conclusion of it.

5. The army being in want of a general after Asdrubal was slain, the Carthaginians unanimously chose Hannibal, the eldest son of Amilcar, to be their general. — — — While the city of Saguntum was besieged by Hannibal, the citizens got together all the riches in the temples, and all the silver and gold in the houses, nay, even the very jewels in the women's ears, and laid them in a heap, and melted them down, mixing brass and lead with the gold and silver, to make them useless and of no value: and having so done, they all valiantly made a sally, and fought it out to the last man; and after having made a great slaughter of their enemies, were all killed upon the field. The mothers likewise first killed their own children, and then stifled themselves by the smoke of furnaces. And thus Hannibal gained the town without any benefit from the plunder: whom, when the Romans demanded to be brought to trial for his breach of the league, and could not prevail, they began the war called the Hannibal war.

BOOK XXVI.

THERE never was any poet or historian, nor any learned man of what science soever, that could please all their readers in every thing. Neither can any thing that is mortal, though it attain its end and design, gain the general approbation of all, so as to be wholly free from exception and censure. For neither Phidias, who was so admired for his ivory images; nor Praxiteles, that excellent stone-cutter; nor Apelles or Parrhasius, who both attained to the highest pitch of art and skill in limning and painting; could ever reach to that degree of happiness, as to exhibit any piece of their several arts, that was not in some respects capable of censure. For who was a more

famous poet than Homer; or an orator than Demosthenes? Who more just than Aristides and Solon? Yet joined as a flaw to all their excellencies, there is an oration which carps at them, and makes them as if they were all ignorant fellows. For indeed, being but men, although they attained to eminent perfection in their several accomplishments, yet through human frailty, they failed and erred in many things. However, some men there are who disclose both their envy and folly, who wilfully omit to give an account of what is commendable and praise-worthy; but where they have any colour to find fault, there they fix, and are unwilling ever to leave it, endeavouring, by blackening another, to set forth the more their own supposed worth and excellence; not considering that every art and peculiar accomplishment is more to be judged of by inquiry into the thing itself, than by making conclusions from the partial and peevish passion of another. But any candid person would duly appreciate this industrious folly of detraction, whereby an individual, by aspersing another, in fact lessens his own reputation. — — — — There are some things which, by a certain destructive tendency, are naturally hurtful, as frost and snow, which destroy and blast the fairest and most pleasant fruits; and the resplendent whiteness of the snow so dazzles the eyes, that it almost deprives them of their sight: and so some men, who have neither wit nor will to do any thing that is commendable themselves, yet have malice and folly enough to judge and condemn the actions of others. But it is the part of a prudent and understanding man, always to attribute due praise to those who by their industry have prosecuted virtuous designs: and where any have not been so successful as they wished, not to taunt at the infirmity of human nature.—But enough of these envious men.

2. For as a brave champion, after he has spent much time in anointing himself, at length descends into the lists. — — — Having gained great experience and a habit.

3. Menodotus the Corinthian wrote the affairs of Greece in fourteen books. And Sosilus the Ilian* wrote the acts of Hannibal in seven.

4. Among the Romans a legion consisted of five thousand men.

5. Men naturally flock to those who are in prosperity, but domineer over those who are brought into distress. — — — For the soul presently to undergo a mere contrary change, which is in its own nature unchangeable.

6. The city of Rhodes being ruined by a great earthquake, Hiero

* A people in the island of Corcyra, or Corfu.

the Syracusan bestowed six talents of silver towards the repairing of the walls, and silver cauldrons of great value, besides money; and let them have corn free from duty.

7. That which is now called Philopolis, was heretofore called Phiotis of Thebes, over all Thessaly.

8. For soft beds, constant delicate fare, and the use of all sorts of precious ointments, unfitted them for toil and hardship. — — — — For both their bodies and minds were habituated to effeminacy and luxury. — — — For men naturally cannot well brook toil and pains, and low diet; but delight in idleness and luxury. For Hannibal with much toil and care gained cities both from the Romans and Brutians, and took Crotona, and besieged Rhegium. For, from the Pillars of Hercules in the west, to Crotona, he over-ran all the Roman territories.

THE FRAGMENTS

OF

DIODORUS SICULUS,

OUT OF

THE BIBLIOTHECA OF PHOTIUS.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

FRAGMENTS.

BOOK XXXI.

WHILE these things were doing, ambassadors came to Rome from Rhodes, to beg pardon for what they had done. For in the war with Perseus they seemed to favour the king, and to break their league with the Romans. But not being able to accomplish any thing for which they were sent, they were greatly dejected, and solicited with tears the great and principal men of the city. Whereupon, being introduced into the senate by Antonius, one of the tribunes of the people, Philophron was the first that opened the matter and business of their embassy: and after him Astimedes. When they had made many arguments and apt discourses to prevail with the senate, and at last, according to the proverb*, had with the swan concluded their mournful ditty, they received such an answer as presently dispelled their fears: however, they were sharply reproved and fined for their offences. So that it is evident how the most noble among the Romans, by whom the greatest affairs are managed, strive which shall be most generous, and on that account gain most honour and reputation: for in the administration of public affairs elsewhere, one envies another. But the Romans praise and commend one another. So that while all endeavour to advance the public good, great and glorious things are achieved: but as to others, while they aim only at their own vain glory, and envy the successes of each other, they ruin their country.

2. At length Æmilius took Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, who had often leagued with the Romans, and as often appeared in the field with great armies against them. And after the victory Æmilius triumphed gloriously. And though Perseus was brought into so great miseries and calamities, that the ruins and destructions which he suffered can scarcely be paralleled by any romance, yet he was not willing to part with life: for before the senate had determined any thing relating to his punishment, one of the chief officers

* Sung the swan song.

of the city* cast both him and his children into the gaol Albinus: This prison is a deep dungeon of the bigness of a chamber, capable of only holding nine beds at the most; dark; and full of all sorts of filth and nastiness, by reason of the multitude of men condemned for capital offences who from time to time were thrust down there; and in general most of such malefactors were put into this place. So that many being shut up together in so small a place, those miserable creatures were even turned into beasts: and in regard the meat, drink, and other necessaries that were brought them, were jumbled together in one chaos and heap of confusion, there arose thence such a stench, that none who approached were able to endure it. In a most miserable condition Perseus continued here for the space of seven days, insomuch that he begged relief, and some share of the food of those strangers in prison, who had only a stinted allowance. They out of compassion to this miserable man, with great humanity and tears in their eyes, gave him part of the small pittance they had, and withal offered him a sword and a rope, to use which of them he would at his pleasure, for putting a period to his existence. Yet nothing seems so sweet as life, even to the miserable; for though they suffer what is equivalent to death itself in the mean time. To conclude, he had certainly ended his days in this extreme misery, if Marcus Æmilius, president of the court, out of respect to the dignity of his person, moved by the natural and innate humanity of the Romans, had not with some indignation moved the senate in his behalf, putting them in mind, that though they feared not men, yet they should bear some awe and reverence to Nemesis*, who will take vengeance on them that use their power with pride and insolence. Upon this he was committed to a more moderate confinement, and while he was consoling himself with fresh hopes, he ended his days agreeably to the former misfortunes of his life: for after he had lived two years in this fond love of life, having displeased his barbarous keepers, they would not suffer him to sleep, and so he died.

3. The kings of Cappadocia say that they sprung from Cyrus, king of Persia. They affirm likewise, that they are descended from one of those seven Persians that killed Magus. And they draw down their pedigree from Cyrus thus:—That Atossa was the sister of Cambyses, and daughter of Cyrus; that Gallus was the son of Atossa and Pharnaces, king of Cappadocia, Smerdis the son of Gallus, and Artanes the son of Smerdis, and Artanes the issue of Anaphas, a brave and valiant man, who was the father of one of the seven Persians. In this manner, therefore, do they make out their consanguinity both to Cyrus and Anaphas, who it is said was of so

* The Goddess of Revenge.

stout a spirit*, that before he would pay tribute to the Persians, he abdicated his government of Cappadocia. After his death, Anaphas, his son, reigned in his stead; who dying, left two sons, Ditamus and Arimneus, of whom Ditamus took upon him the government, a warlike prince, and in all respects accomplished for the kingdom; who joining in battle with the Persians, and conducting himself with great gallantry and resolution, was killed in the fight; and his son Ariamnes succeeded him in the kingdom. He had two sons, Ariarathes and Holophernes: he died after he had reigned fifty years, having done nothing memorable; and the elder of his sons, Ariarathes, succeeded him, who it is said bore so great and tender a love to his brother, that he advanced him to the highest degree of honour and preferment. And he sent him to join the Persians in the war against the Egyptians, who afterwards returned laden with many and large marks of honour conferred upon him by Ochus, for his valour, and died in his own country, leaving behind him two sons, Ariarathes and Arysses. And that his brother, the king of Cappadocia, having no legal issue, adopted Ariarathes, his brother's eldest son. About this time Alexander the Macedonian king ruined the Persian empire, and presently afterwards died. But Perdiccas, who had the chief command, sent Eumenes as general into Cappadocia, who subdued and killed Ariarathes, and brought Cappadocia, with all the bordering territories into the power of the Macedonians. But Ariarathes, the adopted son of the former king, despairing for the present to regain the kingdom, fled into Armenia with a few followers. But both Eumenes and Perdiccas not long after dying, and Antigonus and Seleucus embroiled in a war, Ariarathes, with the help of Arclonthus, king of Armenia, who furnished him with forces, routed and killed Amyntas, the Macedonian general, and presently drove all the Macedonians out of the country, and recovered his kingdom. He had three sons, the eldest of whom, Ariamnes, succeeded him; who joined in affinity with Antiochus Theos, and married his eldest son Ariarathes to Stratonice, Antiochus's daughter. And for the great love he had to him above all his children, he set the diadem upon his head, and made him co-partner with him in the kingdom: and after the death of his father he reigned alone. Then he dying, his son Ariarathes, of a very tender age, succeeded.—He married Antiochide, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, a very subtile woman: who, because she bore no children, to make up that defect, contrived, unknown to her husband, a supposititious birth, as if she had born two sons, which were called Ariarathes and Holophernes. But not long after, she conceived in reality, and unexpectedly was delivered

* Others say, it should be cowardice.

of two daughters and a son called Mithridates. Upon this she acquainted her husband with the imposture, and so wrought upon him, that she prevailed with him to send away the eldest of the two sons, with a small sum of money to Rome, and the other into Ionia, lest they should challenge the kingdom from him that was lawful heir to the crown, who after he came to man's estate, it is said, was called Ariarathes, and was educated in all the learning of Greece, and was a person accomplished in all manner of virtuous endowments. That the father, who was wonderfully beloved by the son, strove all he could to repay his son's love; and their mutual endeared affections one towards another went so far, that the father would have given up the whole kingdom into the hands of the son, but the son on the other hand told him, he could not possibly accept so great an advantage from living parents. Therefore, after his father died, he succeeded, spending the rest of his life very virtuously, and in the study of philosophy: so that Cappadocia, which was before but little known to the Grecians, was now a desirable place of residence for all learned men. He renewed the league of peace and friendship with the Romans. And in this manner is the pedigree of those who have hitherto reigned in Cappadocia, brought down from Cyrus.

4. For statues are erected to such Romans as are of noble families, in near resemblance of the persons, and according to the whole proportion of their bodies. For all their life long, they have some who observe their mien and deportment, and the special remarks of every part exactly. Likewise every man's ancestor stands in that habit, and in those ornaments, and is so clearly represented, that every one knows the person as soon as he looks at him, and to what degree of honour every one was advanced, and what share and interest they had in the commonwealth.

5. Memmius* was sent general with the army into Spain. But the Lusitanians, (now Portuguese), just upon his landing, fell upon him and routed him, and cut off most of his army. When this success of the Iberians was noised abroad, the Araucians, who looked upon themselves to be far better soldiers than the Iberians, slighted and contemned the enemy; and upon this ground and confidence chiefly it was that in their general council they determined to make war on the Romans.

* Rather Fulvius.

BOOK XXXII.

1. ALEXANDER fled out of the fight with five hundred men to a city in Arabia, called Abas, to Diocles the prince there, with whom he had before intrusted his son Antiochus, a child of very tender age. Afterwards the chief commanders who were about Heliades, and had been with Alexander, plotting to assassinate Alexander, sent off some messengers privately among themselves, promising secretly to murder him. Demetrius consenting to what they proposed, they became both traitors and murderers of their prince. We might be justly condemned if we should pass in silence that which happened before the death of Alexander, although, from the strangeness of the thing, it is almost incredible. King Alexander, a little before these times, consulted with the oracle in Cilicia, where they say is the temple of Apollo of Sarpedon: and it is reported that the oracle made answer, —That he should take heed of that place which should bring forth a god of two shapes. This divine hint was then taken for a riddle: but after the king was dead, the truth was discovered in this manner. Far in Abas, a city in Arabia, dwelt one Diophantus a Macedonian.—This man married an Arabian woman, by whom he had a son called after his own name, and a daughter called Heraides: his son died when he was young; but he gave a portion to his daughter when she was grown up, and married her to one Semiades, who, after he had lived with his bride one year, undertook a long journey. In the mean time, it is reported, that Heraides fell into a strange and wonderful distemper, such as is scarcely credible. For she had a vehement inflammation, and a great swelling at the bottom of her belly, which increased to that degree, that it brought her into a violent fever. The physicians conceived it was an ulcer about the neck of the matrix: refrigerating medicines and plaisters were therefore applied, to bring down and cool those hot burning tumours. Upon the seventh day the humour burst, and out started from the privy parts of Heraides, a man's yard with the testicles complete.—This happened when neither physician nor any other stranger was present, but only the mother and two servants; who with the strangeness of the thing, were struck with amazement. However, they made it their business to cure her, and kept all secret to themselves. And when she was recovered, she still wore a woman's habit, and managed the affairs of the house as usual. But those who were privy to what had happened, suspected her to be a hermaphrodite. And

so, although formerly in carnal embraces with her husband, there might be no natural copulation, yet she had been seen frequently to have carnal knowledge of women. In the mean time, while all things were kept secret, Semiades returns and demands his wife, as was very fit and reasonable. And being continually urgent for the society of his wife, the father refused, and yet was ashamed to declare the reason; which occasioned great dissension, so much so, that the husband resolved to sue the father for his wife: so that this wonder was exposed to public view, like a play upon the stage, by means of a criminal accusation. The person contended for was present in court when the matter was debated on behalf of each party: concerning which the judges were in doubt whether the power and authority of the husband over the wife, or that of the father over the daughter, should be preferred. At length, when they were ready to give sentence that the wife should abide with her husband, she laid open the truth of the whole matter, and with great boldness and assurance of mind threw off her feigned habit, and discovered herself to be a man to all that were there present, and in a surly manner uttered these words:—Can any compel one man to marry another? Upon which all were amazed, and set up a shout of admiration at the strangeness of the thing. Heraides being now discovered, afterwards, as is reported, changed her woman's attire, and put on the habit of a young man. And it is likewise said, that the physicians, when they saw those parts of the woman, judged that the nature of the male lay hid in the womb of the female, in a place of the shape of an egg; and that in the thin scarf or skin that wrapped about the yard was an unusual hole through which the urine passed. And therefore they declared, that the place first being pierced and made like a hollow pipe, should be turned into a green wound, and at length brought to a scab; and when the yard was reduced to its proper shape, that suitable remedies should be applied for the cure of the patient. Heraides was afterwards called Diophantus, and served in the king's camp in a regiment of horse, and then resided with the king at Abas. At that time, therefore, when the king came to Abas, where this hermaphrodite was born, was the meaning of the oracle understood, which had been dark and obscure before. It is reported that Semiades at length, through the love he bore to her, upon account of their former familiarity, and through shame of his unnatural marriage, was no longer able to bear up, but after he had left all his goods to Diophantus, and made him his heir, he broke his heart and died. So she that had been a woman, assumed the courage of a man; and he that was ever a man, appeared to be more pusillanimous than a woman.

The like to this fell out about thirty years after, in the city of Epidaurus*. There was a young maid in Epidaurus, (as the report goes), an orphan, whose name was Callo. This maid had no passage in her privy parts; but about the pecten there was a place like an issue, through which the urine passed ever from the time of her birth. When she came to a mature age, she was married to one of the citizens, with whom she lived two years, and, though she was not capable of natural embraces as a woman, yet she was forced to endure those that were preternatural, or beside nature. But afterwards a tumour arose near the pecten, which put her to exceeding torment, so that many physicians were sent for to consult together, and all despaired of curing her; but an apothecary undertook the cure, and made an incision in the place, whence came forth a man's yard with testicles, but solid, without any passage. And when all were amazed at the strangeness of the thing, the apothecary supplied the parts with what was deficient. First he made an incision into the end of the yard, and pierced it even to the uretor, and, thrusting down a small silver instrument, brought away the urine, and other excrementitious humours; but the place where the issue was he first turned into a green wound, and then healed it up. Having performed this extraordinary cure, he demanded a double reward: for he said he had undertaken to cure a sick woman, and had now set right a young man. Callo hereupon laid aside her wheel, and other effeminate employments, and took upon her the name of Callon, adding only the last letter N to her former name. Some say, that before her transformation she was the priestess of Ceres, and because she shewed to men those things that were not to be seen, this judgment fell upon her for her prophaneness. They report that at Naples and several other places the like hath happened: not that the two sexes of man and woman are really formed by nature in two several shapes, (for that is impossible), but that nature is deceived in fashioning the members of the body, to the amazement and deceit of — — — the beholders. We have therefore judged these strange events, which are brought down to us both by writings and traditions, worthy to be taken notice of, in respect both of their pleasure and profit to the readers: for many, looking upon such things as these as monsters in nature, are thereby infected with a kind of superstition; not only private men, but whole cities and nations. For it is reported, that a little before the beginning of the Marsian war, there dwelt an Italian near Rome, who, having married such a one as is before described, complained to the senate; upon which they, out of a fond superstition, and persuaded thereunto by the Tuscan augurs, ordered the hermaphrodite

* In Peloponnesus.

to be burnt. And thus (they say) this poor creature was most unjustly doomed to destruction, and was ignorantly judged a monster, because she had some resemblance of both sexes. And not long after there happened the like at Athens; where, the thing not being understood, they say the man was burnt alive. Some there are who tell idle stories how that there are Hyæne, (for so they call such as are both men and women) who have carnal copulation one with another, according to each sex, by turns every other year; when in truth there is no such thing. For although both sexes have a peculiar and distinct nature, without participation one with another, yet by a false formation the inconsiderate spectator may be imposed upon: for to the female (which is naturally such) is joined something like unto a man's yard, and so, on the other hand, to the natural male something like to the privy parts of a woman. The same reason holds in all kind of living creatures, there being many and various sorts of prodigious births; but such as never receive any nourishment, nor can ever come to any perfection. But what hath been said may suffice for the reforming this superstition.

2. They say that the walls of Carthage were forty cubits high, and twenty-two broad, but though they were so, yet the Roman valour and engines were too strong for all their defences and fortifications, for the city was taken and razed to the ground.

3. Manasses (called Masinissa by the Latins) who reigned in Africa, and was always a friend to the Romans, lived ninety years in strength and firm health, and left ten sons behind him when he died, whom he committed to the care and guardianship of the Romans. He was of a strong body, and from a child inured to hardship: in whatever business he was engaged he would keep close to it all the day immoveable: he would never rise from his seat till night, spending the whole day in laborious projects and contrivances. When he was once on horseback he would ride continually night and day, and never be weary. A great instance of the health and strength of his body, was, that when he was almost ninety years of age, he had a son but four years old, yet of a very strong body. He was so extraordinarily given to husbandry, that he left to every one of his sons ten thousand plethras of land, adorned with all manner of delightful improvements, and instruments necessary for that purpose. He reigned with great commendation sixty years.

4. Nicomedes after he had routed his father Prusias, and forced him to fly to the temple of Jupiter for shelter, there killed him, and by that wicked and bloody murder got possession of the kingdom of Bythinia.

5. The Lusitanians at first not having an expert general, were easily vanquished by the Romans; but after Viriathus became their general, they did them much mischief. He was of them that inhabited the sea-coasts, a shepherd upon the mountains from his childhood; by nature of a healthful constitution, in strength and agility of body far exceeding all the Iberians: for he had inured himself to a sparing diet, much labour and toil, and to no more sleep than was absolutely necessary. He likewise continually carried iron weapons, and was famous for his conflicts both with wild beasts and robbers, and at length was made general; upon which a whole drove of thieves and rogues on the sudden flocked about him. Being very successful in many battles, he was not only admired for his other excellencies, but likewise for his military conduct. Besides, in distribution of the spoils he was very just, alloting to every man proportionably to his merits and deserts. Still proceeding and prospering he approved himself to be a prince, rather than a thief and a robber. He fought several battles with the Romans and came off conqueror, insomuch as he routed Vitellius the Roman general, broke his army and took him prisoner, and then put him to death. And many other brave exploits he performed, till Fabius was appointed to go out as general against him, and from that time he began to decline. But not long after rallying his men, and bravely managing the matter against Fabius, he forced him to terms dishonourable to the Roman name. But Cæpio who was afterwards general against Viriathus, slighted all the former conditions as of no effect, and often routed Viriathus, whom (now being reduced to those straits, as that he sued for terms of peace) he caused to be treacherously assassinated by some of his own servants: and striking a terror into Tantalus his successor, and all his army, he imposed what terms and conditions he pleased upon them, and in the conclusion gave them the city and land about for their habitation.

BOOK XXXIV.

1. KING Antiochus* besieged Jerusalem, But the Jews stood it out for some time: but when all their provision was spent, they were forced to send ambassadors to him, to treat upon terms. Many of his friends persuaded him to storm the city, and to root out the

* Sidetes.

whole nation of the Jews; For that they only of all people, hated to converse with any of other nations, and treated them all as enemies: and they suggested to him that their ancestors were driven out of Egypt, as impious and hateful to the gods: for their bodies being overspread, and infected with the itch and leprosy, (by way of expiation) they got them together, and as profane and wicked wretches, expelled them out of their coasts: and that those who were thus expelled, seated themselves about Jerusalem, and being after embodied into one nation (called the nation of the Jews) their hatred of all other men descended with their blood to posterity. And therefore they made strange laws, and quite different from other people: never will eat nor drink with any of other nations, or wish them any prosperity. For said they, Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes having subdued the Jews, entered into the temple of God, into which none was to enter by their law but the priest; in which when he found the image of a man with a long beard, carved in stone sitting upon an ass, he took it to be Moses who built Jerusalem, and settled the nation, and established by law all their wicked customs and practices, abounding in hatred and enmity to all other men. Antiochus therefore abhorring this their contrariety to all other people, used his utmost endeavour to abrogate their laws. To that end he sacrificed a great swine at the image of Moses, and at the altar of God that stood in the outward court, and sprinkled them with the blood of the sacrifice. He commanded likewise that the sacred books, whereby they were taught to hate all other nations, should be besprinkled with the broth made of the swine's flesh: And he put out the lamp (called by them immortal) which was ever burning in the temple. Lastly he forced the high priest and the other Jews to eat swine's flesh. When Antiochus's friends had debated and considered of these things, they were very earnest with him to root out the whole nation, or at least that he would abrogate their laws, and compel them to change their former manner of living and conversation. But the king being of a generous spirit, and mild disposition received hostages and pardoned the Jews: but demolished the walls of Jerusalem, and took the tribute that was due.

2. The affairs of Sicily after the overthrow of Carthage having continued successful and prosperous for the space of sixty years; at length broke out the servile war upon the following occasions. The Sicilians (through the enjoyment of a long peace) being grown very rich, brought up abundance of slaves; who being driven in droves like so many herds of cattle from the several places where they were bred and brought up, were stigmatized with certain marks burnt in their bodies: those that were young, they used for

shepherds, others for such services as they had occasion. But their masters were very rigid and severe with them, and took no care to provide either necessary food or raiment for them, insomuch as that most of them were forced to rob and steal, to get necessaries: so that all places were full of slaughters and murders, as if an army of thieves and robbers had been dispersed all over the island. 3 The governors of the provinces (to say the truth) did what they could to suppress them: but because they durst not punish them, in regard to their masters, who had the sole command and power over their servants, were rich, and men in authority, every governor in his several province was forced to connive at the thefts and rapines that were committed. For many of the masters being Roman knights, and judges of the accusations (brought before the prætors) were a terror to the governors themselves. 4 The slaves therefore being in this distress, and vilely beaten and scourged beyond all reason, were now resolved not to bear any longer. Therefore meeting together from time to time as they had opportunity, they consulted how to free themselves from the yoke of servitude they lay under, till at length they really executed what they had before agreed upon. 5 There was a Syrian a servant of Antigenes of Enna, born in the city of Apanea a magician and conjuror: he pretended to tell future events, (or fortunes), discovered to him, as he said by the gods in his dreams, and imposed upon many by this kind of practice. Then he proceeded further, and not only foretold things to come, revealed to him in dreams, but pretended that he saw the gods when he was awake, and they declared to him what was to come to pass. 6 And though he thus juggled, and played the fool, yet by chance many things afterwards proved true. And whereas those things which never happened, were by none censured, but those which did come to pass were every where applauded, he grew more and more into esteem. At length by some trick of art or other, he would breath flames of fire out of his mouth as from a burning lamp, and so would prophecy as though he had been at that time inspired by Apollo. 7 For he put fire with some combustible matter to feed it, into a nut-shell or some such thing bored through on both sides, then putting it into his mouth, and forcing his breath upon it there would issue out both sparks and flames of fire. Before the defection this juggler boasted that the goddess Syria had appeared to him, and told him that he should reign, and this he declared not only to others but often to his own master. 8 The thing being become a common jest and subject of laughter, Antigenes was so taken with this jest, and ridiculous conceit of the man, that he took Eunus, (for so he was

with him to feasts and repasts, and several questions being put to him concerning the kingdom, he was asked how he would treat every one that was there present at the table: he readily went on with his story, and told them that he would be very kind to his masters, and like a conjuror using many monstrous magical terms, and expressions, he set all the guests a laughing, upon which some of them as a reward gave him large messes from the table, desiring him to remember their kindness when he came to his kingdom: but all this jesting came at length really to end in the advancing of him to the kingdom; and all those who at the feasts by way of ridicule had been kind to him, he rewarded in earnest.

But the beginning of the defection was in this manner. There was one Damophilus of Enna, a man by reason of his wealth, of a great spirit, but of a proud and haughty disposition. This man above all measure was cruel and severe to his servants; and his wife Megallis strove to exceed her husband in all kind of cruelty and inhumanity towards the slaves. Upon this, they that had been thus cruelly used, were enraged like wild beasts, and plotted together to rise in arms and cut the throats of their masters. To this end they applied themselves to Eunus, and desired to know of him whether the Gods would succeed them in their design. He encouraging them declared that they should prosper in what they had in hand, using, (according to his former manner), conjuring words and expressions, and charging them to be speedy in their execution. Whereupon they forthwith raised a body of four hundred slaves, and upon the first opportunity, on a sudden broke in armed into the city Enna, led by their captain Eunus, by his juggling tricks, flaming out fire at his mouth. Then entering the houses, they made so great a slaughter, as that they spared not even the suckling children, but plucked them violently from their mother's breasts and dashed them against the ground: it cannot be expressed how vilely and filthily, (for the satisfying of their lusts), they used men's wives in the very presence of their husbands. With these villains joined a multitude of slaves that were in the city, and first executed their rage and cruelty upon their masters, and then fell a murdering others.

In the mean time Eunus heard that Damophilus and his wife were in some orchard near the city, he sent therefore some of his rabble thither, who brought them with their hands tied behind their backs, loading them, as they passed along with scoffs and scorns; only they declared that they would be kind in every respect to his daughter, for her pity and compassion towards the servants, and her readiness always to be helpful to them. They that were sent for Damo-

philus and Megallis his wife to the city, brought them into the theatre, whither all the rabble that made a defection flocked. There Damophilus pleading earnestly for his life, and moving many with what he said, Hermias and Zexis loaded him with many bitter accusations, and called him a cheat and dissembler; and not waiting what would be determined by the people concerning him, the one ran him through with a sword, and the other cut off his head with an axe. Then they made Eunus king, not for his valour or skill in martial affairs, but upon the account of his extraordinary juggling, and that he was the head and author of the defection, and for that his name seemed to portend and to be a good omen, that he would be kind* to his subjects. Being therefore made general, (with absolute power), to order and dispose of all things as he pleased, an assembly was called, and he put all the prisoners to death except such as were skilful in making of arms, whom he forthwith set on work; as for Megallis he delivered her up to the will of the women slaves, to take their revenge of her as they thought fit: who after they had whipped and tormented her, threw her down a steep precipice. And Eunus himself killed his own master Antigenes and Pytho. At length putting the crown upon his head, and graced with all the ensigns of royalty, he caused his wife, (who was a Syrian, and of the same city) to be owned as queen, and chose such as he judged to be most prudent to be of his privy council. Amongst whom was one Achæus by name, and an Achæan by nation, a wise man and a good soldier: having therefore got together in the space of three days above six thousand men, armed with what they could by any ways or means lay their hands upon, and being joined with others, who were all furnished either with axes, hatches, slings, bills, or stakes sharpened and burnt at one end, or with spits, he ravaged and made spoil all over the country. And being at length joined with an infinite number of slaves, they grew to that height and boldness as to engage in a war with the Roman generals: and often in several battles got the victory, by overpowering them with number; having now with him above ten thousand men.

In the mean time, one Cleon a Cilician was the author of another defection of the slaves, and now all were in hopes that this unruly rabble would fall together by the ears one with another, and so Sicily would be rid of them through the mutual slaughters and destructions amongst themselves. But contrary to all men's hopes and expectations, they joined forces together; and Cleon was observant in every thing to the commands of Eunus, and served general under him as

* Eunus, signifying in Greek, kind.

his prince, having five thousand men of his own soldiers. Thirty days were now expired since the first beginning of this rebellion: and presently after a battle was fought with Lucius Hypsius, (who coming from Rome commanded eight thousand Sicilians), in which fight the rebels got the day, who were then twenty thousand, and in a very short time after, their army increased to two hundred thousand men. And although they fought with the Romans themselves, yet they often came off conquerors, and were very seldom beaten. This being noised abroad, a defection began at Rome by one hundred and fifty slaves, who conspired against the government; the like in Attica by one thousand; the like at Delos, and many other places. But those in the several places who had intrusted their concerns in their hands, to prevent the mischief from going further, made a quick despatch, and fell upon them on the sudden, and put them all to death, and so those that remained and were ready to break out into rebellion, were reduced to more sound and sober thoughts.

But in Sicily the disorders more and more increased: for cities were taken, and their inhabitants made slaves, and many armies were cut off by the rebels, until such time as Rupilius the Roman general recovered Taurominium, after the besieged had been reduced to that extremity of famine, (by a sharp and close siege), as that they began to eat their own children, and the men their wives; and at length butchered one another for food. There he took Comanus the brother of Cleon, who was endeavouring to escape out of the city while it was besieged. At last Sarapion a Syrian, having betrayed the citadel, all the fugitives fell into his hands, whom having first scourged, he afterwards crucified. Thence he marched to Enna, and by a long siege reduced them into such straits, as that there was no hope left to escape. Afterwards having slain Cleon their general, (who had made a sally from the city and fought like a hero), he exposed his body to open view; and not long after this city likewise was betrayed into his hands, which otherwise could never have been taken by force, by reason of the natural strength of the place. And as for Eunus, he like a coward fled with six hundred of his guards to the tops of certain high rocks, where those that were with him, (foreseeing their inevitable ruin, for Rupilius pursued them close), cut one another's throats. But Eunus the juggling king, out of fear, hid himself in some caves, he had found out for that purpose; whence he was plucked out with four others of his gang, viz. his cook, his barber, he that rubbed him in the bath, and he that in the midst of his cups was his jester. To conclude he was thrown into the gaol, and there eaten up of lice, and so ended his days at Morgantium* by a death worthy the former wickedness of his

life. Rupilius afterwards with a small body of men, marching all over Sicily, presently cleared the country of thieves and robbers. This Eunus king of the robbers called himself Antiochus, and all his followers Syrians.

BOOK XXXVI.

ABOUT the time that Marius in a great battle routed Bocchus and Jugurtha, the African kings, and slew many thousands of the Africans, and afterwards took Jugurtha himself, (delivered up to him by Bocchus, to gain favour and pardon from the Romans for his making war upon them), the Romans themselves were in great perplexity, by reason of the many losses they had sustained by the Cimbrians, who then ravaged and harassed all the country of Gaul*. And in further aggravation of what they suffered, at the very same time came some out of Sicily, who gave an account of many thousand slaves that were there risen up in arms. Whereupon the whole Roman commonwealth was in such straits, that they knew not which way to turn themselves, having lost sixty thousand men in Gaul, in the war against the Cimbrians, and they had not then soldiers sufficient for a new expedition. And besides, (before the rebellion of the slaves in Sicily), there were defections that disturbed —— —— the state in Italy: but they were short and inconsiderable, as if God had appointed these for omens and presages of the great rebellion in Sicily. The first rising was at Nusiæria†, where thirty servants entered into a conspiracy, but they were presently executed. The second was at Capua where two hundred were got up in arms, but they were in a short time suppressed. The third happened after a strange manner, which was thus, there was one Titus Minutius a Roman knight, who had a very rich man for his father, he chanced to fall in love with another man's servant who was very beautiful, and having enjoyed her, he was the more wonderfully inflamed, and even to madness, insomuch as he would needs buy her of her master; who being with much ado prevailed with to part with her, the lover at length bought her for seven Attic‡ talents, and limited a certain time for the payment

* Now France.

† In Campania in Italy nine miles from the sea.

‡ 1309*l.* 10*s.* sterling.

of the money, to which time the greatness of his father's estate procured him credit: but now, when the day of payment was come, he had not the money then ready, but prayed forbearance for thirty days longer. That time being run up, the creditor then demanded his money, but the lover knew not how to perform his word, and yet his love continued still as hot as ever. At length a wicked design came into his head, which induced him to lay a trap for them that demanded the money, and to that end to take upon him the state and dignity of a monarch. To which purpose he bought five hundred arms of all sorts, and appointed a day for payment; and being trusted, withdrawing himself privately into a certain field, he stirred up his own slaves to a defection, to the number of four hundred; and, putting on the diadem and purple, and assuming all the other badges and ensigns of royalty, declared himself king, the deliverer of the slaves. In the first place he caused all those who demanded the money he had given for the young woman to be scourged, and then cut off their heads. Then he entered the next towns with his armed slaves, and those that came readily to join with him he furnished with arms, and killed all that opposed him. Having in a short time got together above seven hundred, he divided them into companies*; and then fortifying and intrenching himself, he received all the slaves that ran away from their masters. The rebellion being noised at Rome, the senate (by the help of prudent advice) put a stop to the mischief, and happily suppressed it.

The care and management of the business for the reducing and punishing of the fugitive slaves was committed to Lucius Lucullus, who was the only general that was then in the city, who raised six hundred men in Rome, and with them the same day marched to Capua, where he listed four thousand foot, and four hundred horse. When Minutius heard with what speed Lucullus was making towards him, he possessed himself of a strong hill, having with him three thousand five hundred men. In the first engagement the fugitives, by the advantage of the higher ground, got the better: afterwards Lucullus bribed Apollonius, Minutius's general, to betray his confederates, withal promising him, upon the security of the public faith, that he should have his pardon: whereupon he began the work, and, seizing Minutius, he (to avoid the punishment he feared for his rebellion) ran himself through the body; the rest were all presently cut off, except Apollonius. And these were prologues to that great defection in Sicily, whose beginning was thus occasioned. In the expedition of Marius against the Cimbrians, the senate had given a

* A company consisted of one hundred men, of which the captain was called a centurion.

commission to raise men out of the countries beyond the seas: to which end Marius sent ambassadors to Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to help him with some men; but he returned answer, that most of the Bithynians were violently taken away for slaves by the publicans, and were dispersed here and there through the provinces. Upon which the senate decreed—That no freeman belonging to any of the Roman allies should in any province be forced to be servants or slaves, and that the pro-consuls should take care to see them all set free. In pursuance of this order Licinius Nerva, then prætor in Sicily, (having first consulted with the judges), manumitted so many that in a few days above eight hundred were set at liberty; so that all the slaves in Sicily were hereby presently encouraged, and grew high-crested, in hopes of liberty. The magistrates therefore addressed themselves to the prætor, or pro-consul, and desired him to forbear making any more free. Hereupon he (whether bribed, or to gain favour) laid aside the former determination of the judges, and with checks and foul words sent them that came to him to be made free back to their masters. Upon this the servants entered into a conspiracy; and, after they came from Syracuse, and were got together at the grove of Palicum, they consulted concerning their intended rebellion. This boldness of the slaves began to make a noise in many places of the island. Amongst others, thirty servants of two rich brothers in the country of the Anycillians were the first that appeared for their liberty, whose leader was one Varius. These in the first place killed their masters, when they were asleep in their beds: then they went away to the next towns, and stirred up all the servants and slaves there to appear for the gaining of their liberty, of whom came in flocking to them in that one night to the number of one hundred and twenty, and upwards. Upon this they possessed themselves of a place naturally strong of itself, which they endeavoured to make stronger by art and labour, where eighty more well armed came in to them. Licinius Nerva hastened out against them, with a design to put a stop to their ravages, but all his labour was in vain. Seeing therefore that the place was not to be taken by force, he sought how to gain it by treachery: for he had private correspondence with one Caius Titinius, surnamed Gadæus, whom he wrought upon to be the instrument of accomplishing his design, promising him safety and protection. This man had been condemned to die two years before, but had made an escape, and had robbed and murdered many freemen in that province, but never in the least injured any servant. Titinius, with a great body of slaves, came to this fort, where the rebels had posted themselves, as if he designed to join with them in making war upon the Romans; who being willingly and

received by them, and for his valour made their general, he at
rayed the fort; upon which some of the rebels were
a in , and the rest, out of fear of what they should suffer if
they were taken prisoners, threw themselves down headlong from the top of the rock. And in this manner was the first rising of the slaves suppressed.

But the soldiers had no sooner got to their quarters, than news was brought that about eighty slaves had caused a tumult to be raised, and had cut the throat of Publius Clonius, a Roman knight, and that now their number was much increased. And to aggravate the matter, the prætor, being ill advised, had disbanded most of his army, by reason whereof he was so slow, that he gave time to the rebels the more to strengthen themselves. However, he marched out against them with those he then had. As soon as he passed the river Alba, he turned aside from the fugitives, who were then lodged upon Mount Caprianus, and arrived at Heraclea. Upon this, a report being spread of the cowardice of the general, as if he durst not attack them, very many slaves were encouraged to join in the defection. Many therefore flocking in, (furnishing themselves as well as they could for a battle), there were above eight hundred in seven days time that took up arms: and presently after they amounted to two thousand. But the general at Heraclea, being informed that their number was increasing, sent Marcus Titinius as chief commander against them, inforcing him with six hundred men out of the forts at Enna. This Titinius fought the rebels, who (having the advantage both of place and number) routed him, and killed many of his men, and the rest threw away their arms, and with much difficulty saved themselves by flight. By this means the runagades on a sudden got such a great number of arms, that they were more firmly resolved to persist in their rebellion, so that now most of the slaves were in arms. The defection every day increasing, the number amounted in a short time to such a height as none ever suspected it could, insomuch that within a few days they were above six thousand; who, having now called a council of war, and debated on matters in reference to the management of affairs, in the first place they chose a king called Salvius, a fortune-teller, and one who in the women's sports and shews, with his pipes, acted the part of a fool and madman. But having now gained a kingdom, he waved living in cities, as being the nurseries of sloth and effeminacy. Afterwards, he divided the army into three bodies, over each of which he appointed a captain, and ordered them to make inroads up and down in the country, and at a certain time and place all to join again in one body. By these depredations they were so stocked with horses and other cattle, that

in a short time they had above two thousand horse, and no less than twenty thousand foot, but men very raw and ignorant in martial affairs. Among other attempts, they fell upon Morgantium with great fury, (which was a strong and well-fortified city), and made many fierce and continual assaults upon it.

The Roman general marching out in the night, as if he would relieve the city, (having with him about ten thousand men out of Italy and Sicily), surprised the rebels (busily employed in the siege) on a sudden; and, breaking into their camp, found a very slender guard, but a great number of prisoners, and abundance of plunder of all sorts, and with great ease made himself master of all; and, when he had rifled the camp, he marched away towards Morgantium: but the rebels turning back upon him with great fury, and having the advantage of the higher ground, soon routed him, and put all his army to flight. Whereupon the rebel king commanded proclamation to be made—That none should be killed who threw away their arms: upon which most cast them away, and fled. By this means Salvius both recovered what he had lost in his camp, and gained a glorious victory, and much spoil; but there were not killed of the Italians and Sicilians above six hundred, (which was occasioned by the moderation of the king), but four thousand were taken prisoners. Upon this victory, many coming in flocking to Salvius, his army became double to what it was before, and he was now absolute master of the field, so that he again sat down before Morgantium, and proclaimed liberty to all the servants that were there. But their masters promising the same to them, if they would be faithful, and join with them in the defence of the place, they chose rather to accept of what was offered by their masters, and fought with that resolution, that they forced the enemy to raise their siege. But the general afterwards, making void all that was promised (as to manumitting of the servants) occasioned many to run away to the rebels. After this, all the slaves and servants in the territories of Ægesta and Lilybæum were likewise infected with this desire of rebellion, whose leader was one Athenion, a valiant man, and a Cilician. This man, having the charge and management of the concerns of two rich brothers, and being an excellent astrologer, first wrought upon those to join with him over whom he had some sort of command, to the number of two hundred: afterwards those that were bordering round about, so that in five days time there were got together above one thousand, who made him king, and placed the diadem upon his head. This man resolved to order matters and affairs so as never any did before him: for he received not all promiscuously that came in to him, but only such as were of strong and healthful bodies, to bear arms; the rest he forced

ontinue in the stations they were in, and every one in his place ently to apply himself to the duty incumbent upon him: by ch means those that were with him had plenty of provisions.— pretended, that by the stars the gods foretold—That he should gain the whole kingdom of Sicily; and therefore he was to refrain from spoiling the country, or destroying the cattle and fruits of the earth, as being all his own. At length, having now got together above ten thousand men, he was so daring as to besiege Lilybæum, a city from its strength looked upon to be impregnable. But finding it a vain thing to proceed, he desisted from his design, pretending he did it by command from the gods, by whom he was told—That if they continued the siege, they would certainly fall into some sudden misfortune.

Accordingly, while he was preparing to draw off from the city, a fleet of Moors entered the harbour, who had been sent to the assistance of them of Lilybæum, under the command of one Gomon, who in the night surprising Athenion's army, now leaving the siege and marching off, killed a great number of them and wounded as many, and so got into the town. This was the occasion that his former prediction was highly admired and cried up by the rebels.

At the same time great disorders, and all sorts of calamities, overspread Sicily. For not only servants, but freemen that were reduced to poverty, committed all sorts of rapine and acts of wickedness: for they shamefully killed all before them, whether bond or free, that none might be left to tell tales; so that those who were in the cities scarcely enjoyed any thing that was their own, though it were with them within the walls: But as for that which was without, all was swallowed up and violently seized upon, as prey taken from a common enemy. Many other things against the laws of humanity were impudently committed by many persons throughout the whole of Sicily.

Salvius likewise, who had besieged Morgantium, after he had harassed all the country, as far as the territories of Leontium, there mustered his army, consisting of above thirty thousand fighting men. Then sacrificing to the heroes of Italy, he dedicated one of his royal robes, in gratitude for his victories. And now he caused himself to be proclaimed king, and was called by the rebels Tryphon*: having a design to possess himself of Tricala, and there to build a palace, he sent to Athenion, and as king commanded him as general to repair to him. Every man then thought that Athenion would endeavour to gain the sovereignty for himself, and by that means the rebels would

* Or Trophon, rather an antient soothsayer, who lived in a cave, into which whosoever descended, he never laugbed afterwards.

be divided, and so a speedy period would be put to the war. But fortune so ordered the matter, that the armies of the fugitives being thus increased, the two generals were unanimous, and agreed very well together. For Tryphon marched speedily with his army to Tricala, and Athenion came thither to him with three thousand men, in every thing observing the commands of Tryphon as king. Athenion had sent the rest abroad to harass and spoil the country, and to bring over as many as they could to join with them in the defection. But not long after, Tryphon suspected that Athenion had a design to supplant him, and therefore he caused him to be seized in time. The castle, which was well fortified before, he made still more strong, and adorned it likewise with many stately buildings. After which, they say, it was called Tricala, because it was remarkable and famous for three things—First, for springs of excellent sweet water; secondly, for vineyards, and olive plantations, and rich lands for tillage; and thirdly, that it was a place impregnable, built upon a high and inaccessible rock. After he had drawn a line of eight stages round about it, for the building of a city, and had encompassed it with a deep trench, he made it the seat-royal, being a place abounding in plenty and fatness of all things necessary for the life of man. He likewise built there a stately palace and a market-place, capable of receiving a vast number of men. He chose likewise a competent number of the most prudent men to be of his council, and made use of them for the administration of justice. Moreover, whenever he sat in the courts of justice himself, he put on a long gown * edged with purple, and a coat† studded with large spots of purple. Lastly, he appointed lictors with rods and axes to go before him, and took great care that all other ensigns and badges of royalty should be observed.

At length, Lucius Licinius Lucullus was chosen general by the senate of Rome, to go against the rebels, who had with him fourteen thousand Romans and Italians, eighteen thousand Bithynians, Thessalians and Acarnanians; and six hundred out of Lucania, under the command of Cleptias, an expert and valiant soldier; and also six hundred from other places; in the whole amounting to seventeen thousand. With this army he entered Sicily: whereupon Tryphon released Athenion, and advised with him how to manage the war against the Romans. Tryphon was of opinion, that it was the safest way to continue at Tricala, and there expect the enemy: but Athenion advised rather to draw out and fight in the field, than to suffer themselves to be besieged; whose counsel prevailing, they marched

* The Roman toga prætexta, which was white.

† The coat was the Roman tunic, embroidered with large studs of gold or purple, called nails; and the whole garment was called Tunica laticlavia.

out and encamped near Scirthæa, with no fewer than forty thousand men, twelve furlongs distant from the Roman camp. At first the armies employed themselves every day in light skirmishes; but at length they engaged, and while victory seemed to incline sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, and many fell on both sides, Athenion came on with two hundred choice horse, and covered the ground round about him with the bodies of his enemies. But being wounded in both knees, and then receiving a third, he was totally unable to fight, which so discouraged the rebels, that they fled outright. Athenion lay concealed, as if he were dead, and so feigned himself till night came on, and then stole away. The Romans having now gained a glorious victory, forced Tryphon himself to take to his heels, and in the pursuit killed at least twenty thousand men. The rest, by the advantage of the night, got to Tricala, though the general might easily have cut them all off, if he would have continued the pursuit. Upon this rout they were so much discouraged, that it was proposed amongst them that they should return to their masters, and submit themselves wholly to their power and pleasure: but those who advised to stand it out to the last, and not to give up their lives to the lusts of their enemies, prevailed over the other.

Nine days after, the Roman general besieged Tricala; but after several slaughters on both sides, he was obliged to draw off and leave the place. Upon this the rebels recovered their spirits, and the general on the other hand, either through sloth and negligence, or corrupted by bribes, neglected entirely the proper discharge of his duty, for which afterwards he gave an account to the Romans. Neither did Caius Servilius, who succeeded Lucullus, do any thing worth remembering; and therefore he was brought to judgment, as Lucullus was before, and banished. In the mean time Tryphon died, and Athenion enjoyed the kingdom. And what with taking of cities, and wasting and spoiling the country, without controul or any opposition from Servilius, he got together a great deal of rich booty and plunder. But the year after, Caius Marius being chosen at Rome the fifth time consul, and with him Caius Aquilius*, Aquilius was made general against the rebels; and his valour so far advanced his success, that he wholly overthrew them in a great battle; and, like a heroe, fought hand to hand with Athenion the king of the rebels, and killed him, but was himself wounded on the head. And now he resolved to prosecute the war against the remainder of them, who were about ten thousand; and though they fled to their defences, not being able to stand against him, yet Aquilius slackened not his

* Marcus Aquilius.

resolution in the least, but pursued his design till he had wholly broken them There remained now only a thousand, led by Satyrus, whom at first he determined to reduce by force; but when they made their submission by their commissioners, for the present he remitted their faults; but when they were brought prisoners to Rome, he ordered them to fight with wild beasts, where it is reported they ended their lives with great gallantry and nobleness of mind; for they scorned to fight with beasts, but thrust one another through at the public altars: and after they were all dead, Satyrus being the last, with a heroic spirit killed himself. And this was the tragical end of the servants' war, after it had continued for the space of almost four years.

FROM THE SAME.

ONE Battaces, a priest of the goddess Rhea, they say, came to Rome from Pessinus, a city of Phrygia; who declared he came thither by command of the goddess. He told the magistrates and senate, that their temple was prophaned, and that a public expiation ought to be made in the name of the Romans. His habit and other ornaments of his body were very strange, and altogether unusual at Rome; for he bore a crown or mitre of a vast bigness, and a flowered gown embroidered with gold, representing the state and dignity of a king. After he had spoken to the people from the bench, and instructed them in matters of religion, he was honoured with public entertainments, and large gifts and presents: but he was forbid to wear a crown by Aulus Pompeius, a tribune of the people. However, being brought by another tribune to the desk, and being asked how the expiatory sacrifices should be made, his answers were stuffed with nothing but superstitious rites and ceremonies. At length things were so managed that he was driven out by Pompeius's faction, with many scorns and scoffs: upon which he went to his inn, and never after appeared abroad: but only told them that he was disgraced, and that the goddess was reproached and dishonoured. Presently after Pompeius fell into a high fever, and then had a quinsey*, which took away his speech, and he died the third day. Upon which it was the general discourse and opinion among the common people, that he was thus punished by a divine hand, for his profane and impious

* Cynanchino morbo; or, a dog's disease.

s of oddess and her priest. For the Romans are addicted
more than any other nation. And therefore Battaces
noured with many presents, and liberty granted to him to
r his sacred vestments, with all their ornaments, the day he designed for his departure, he was conducted by multitudes, both men and women, out of the city.

FROM THE SAME.

was a custom among the Roman soldiers—That if any commander of an army fought a battle and killed above six thousand of the enemy, he was termed emperor, which is the same with king among the Grecians.

BOOK XXXVII.

THE Marsian war took its name from the authors of the defection, though the Italians generally made this war upon the Romans. It is said, the first occasion of this arose from the profuseness and luxury the Romans were fallen into, who were formerly frugal and sparing in their way of living. This alteration caused great heart-burnings between the commonalty and the senate: for when the senate prevailed with the Italians to supply the city with provisions, and upon their frequent addresses had promised to enfranchise them, and make them free citizens of Rome, and to ratify it by a law, and the Italians saw nothing performed that was promised, these were the sparks which at length broke forth into a flame at the time when Lucius Marcius Philippus, and Sextus Julius*, were consuls, in the hundred and seventeenth olympiad.

Many were the slaughters, sieges, and sacking of towns on both sides, during this war, victory hovering sometimes here and sometimes there, as uncertain where to fall, giving no assurance to either party which of them she favoured. But at length, after the shedding of much blood, the Romans with much ado got the better, and

* Julius Cæsar, Gr. 170th Olymp. Others say 172d.

regained their former power and sovereignty. There were engaged against them in this war the Samnites, Asculans, Lucanians, Picenians, them of Nola*, and other cities and nations: amongst which was Corfinium†, a large and famous city, greatly frequented, in which the Italians had a little before planted a colony. Here were all things necessary for the support and defence of so great a city, and the maintenance of the government; particularly a large market-place and court-house, with a vast treasure, and a plentiful stock of provisions of all sorts. They had likewise a senate consisting of five hundred members; out of which were chosen those reputed fit to execute the highest places in the magistracy, and to manage the weighty affairs of the commonwealth. These therefore they intrusted with the management of the war, and put the absolute power of disposing of all their concerns into the hands of the senators, who made a law that two consuls should be chosen every year, and twelve generals. At which time Quintus Pompœdius Silo, a Marsian, (a person of the highest quality in his country), and Caius Aponius Motulus, famous for his noble acts above the rest of his own nation, were chosen consuls. They divided all Italy into two parts, and took each an equal share for the executing of their consular authority. They allotted the region or tract from the Cercoli (so called) to the Adriatic sea, which lies to the north and west, to Pompœdius and six of the generals. The rest, which lay to the south and east, the Italians assigned to Motulus, with as many more of the military officers. Having put all things into this good order, and, to sum up all, having ordered all things according to the antient model of the Roman government, they set themselves more intently and earnestly to the prosecuting of the war, and called the city itself Italy. And they were so successful, that they for the most part came off conquerors, till Cneius Pompeius was made consul and general, who with Sylla, deputed by Cato the other consul, often routed them, and reduced them to those straits, that at length their power was broken in pieces. However, they still continued the war, but were often worsted by Caius Cossius general in Japygia‡. Being therefore distressed and harassed with so many and great mischiefs, one upon the back of another, and the Marsians and other nations falling to the Romans, they forsook their new city, and transplanted themselves to Æsernia, a city of the Samnites, under the conduct of five generals; of whom they made Quintus Pompœdius the chief,

* This town is still in being, situated about fourteen miles from Naples.

† Corfinium, in Italy; a city of the Peligni, it is now called Pienza, and is under the Duke of Florence.

‡ An isthmus in Italy, called Calabria.

for his valour and prudent management of the war; who with the consent of all the other captains, raised a great army, which with the old soldiers amounted to the number of thirty thousand. And besides, he got together at least twenty thousand foot, and one thousand horse, of manumitted slaves, and armed them as well as the time would allow. And coming to an engagement with the Romans, whose general was Mamercus, he killed a few of them, but lost upwards of six thousand of his own men.

About the same time Metellus took the famous city of Venusia in Apulia, which had in it a great number of soldiers, and carried away above three thousand prisoners. And now the Romans prevailed every day more and more against their enemies: so that the Italians sent ambassadors to Mithridates king of Pontus, who had then an excellent and well appointed army, to entreat him to march into Italy, with his army, to oppose the Romans; by which means, they told him, that their power would be easily broken. Mithridates answered, that he would march into Italy as soon as he had subdued Asia, in order to which he was then engaged. The rebels being therefore now frustrated in their hopes of assistance, and of supplies of money, were greatly disheartened: for there were but a few of the Samnites remaining; and the Sabelli kept themselves close within Nola, as did also Lamponius and Cleptius, who commanded what were left of the Lucanians.

The Marsian war being now almost at an end, there arose again a great seditiom in Rome, by reason of the contentious ambition of many of the Roman nobility, every one striving which should be general in the expedition against Mithridates, impelled thereto by the greatness of the rewards and riches to be reaped in that war. For Caius Julius, and Caius Marius, who had been six times consul, opposed each other; and the people on that occasion were divided, some for the one and some for the other. There were likewise other disturbances about the same time: for Sylla the consul went from Rome to the forces which lay near to Nola, and so terrified many of the neighbouring territories and cities, that he forced them to the obedience of the Romans. But when Sylla was engaged in the war in Asia against Mithridates, and Rome was filled with slaughters and intestine broils, Marcus Lamponius and Tiberius Cleptius, generals of those Italians who were left remaining in Brutia, not being able to take the strong city of Æsias, after a long time they had lain before it, left part of their army to maintain the siege, and fiercely assaulted Rhegium, in the expectation, that if they gained this place, they might with ease transport their army into Sicily, and so become masters of the richest island under the sun. But Caius Urbanus,

the governor of Rhegium, so terrified the Italians with the greatness of his army, and his vast preparations, that they drew off from the siege; and so the Rhegians were delivered. And afterwards, when the civil wars broke forth between Marius and Sylla, part of them sided with Marius, and the rest with Sylla; and most of them were killed in the war; and all those who survived, joined the conqueror Sylla. And thus ended the Marsian war, and the greatest home-bred sedition that had ever before occurred among the Romans.

2. And now that the Marsian war was at an end, a second great sedition was raised in Rome, stirred up by Sylla and Caius Marius, a young man, the son of Marius who had been seven times consul. In this commotion many thousands of men perished: at length Sylla prevailed; and being created Dictator, he called himself Epaphroditus*; which vain-glorious title did not altogether deceive him, for he prospered all his life long, and died a natural death after all his victories. But Marius, although he behaved with great gallantry in the war against Sylla, being at length routed, fled with fifteen thousand men to Præneste, where he was besieged a long time: at length, being totally deserted, and seeing no way of escape, he earnestly entreated one of his faithful servants to afford him his helping hand to extricate him from the present dangers and mischiefs that surrounded him. After much persuasion, the servant at one stroke put an end to his master's life, and then immediately killed himself. And so at length ended this civil war.—However, some relics of it still gave Sylla disturbance for some time, till those who joined in it, with some others, were suppressed.

But after these were all ruined and destroyed, there broke out such a flame of discord between Julius Cæsar and Pompey, who for the great and eminent services he had done the Romans, partly by the conduct of Sylla, and partly by his own valour, was sirnamed the Great, that the Romans were again involved in intestine slaughters and butcheries. And as soon as Pompey had lost all his army in a great battle, he himself was afterwards murdered near Alexandria. And the unbounded power of the consuls, being at length restrained and limited, fell wholly into the hands of Cæsar himself; and thus ended the sedition.

But after Cæsar's murder, another civil war broke forth against Brutus and Cassius, his murderers, which was managed by the consuls Lepidus Antonius, and Octavius Augustus. When this war was ended by dint of the sword, and Cassius and Brutus being dead, not long after the secret and private grudges and quarrels between

* Which signifies beautiful.

Augustus and Antony, for the supreme power, broke out into open war: and after much blood spilt on both sides, Augustus gained the empire, which he held during his life, having now waved his consular power and dignity.

FROM THE SAME.

CINNA and Marius*, calling together a council of the principal officers, consulted what ways and methods were best to be taken for the better settling and confirming the peace. At length they resolved to put to death the greatest persons of quality that were inimical to them, and who were most capable of making a disturbance and of overturning all their affairs; so that the factious party being purged out from among them, they and their friends might govern for the future with more security, according to their own will and pleasure. Hereupon all regard to former leagues and articles was wholly laid aside: persons were proscribed and butchered in every place, without being heard. At that time Quintus Luctatius Catulus who had had a glorious triumph for his victory over the Cimbri† and had more than an ordinary share in the affections of the people, was accused by a tribune of the people for a capital offence, who fearing the imminent hazard of the calumny, made his application to Marius, to entreat him to interpose for his deliverance, (for he had been his friend formerly, but through some suspicion he then entertained of him, he was become his enemy); but he answered him—Die you must. Upon this Catulus, perceiving there was no hopes of his preservation, studied how to die without disgrace; to which end he destroyed himself by a strange and unusual way: for he shut himself up in a house newly plaistered, and caused a fire to be kindled, by the smoke of which, and the moist vapours from the lime, he was there stifled to death.

* This was long before in time, and therefore comes in here with relation to some other matter before related, but now lost; for this sedition was in the 173d Olymp.

† Danes

BOOK XL.

being about to write of the war against the Jews, we esteem it
t of our province, before we proceed further, in the first place
y to relate the origin of this nation, and their laws. In antient
i there happened a great plague in Egypt, and many ascribed
ause of it to God, who was offended with them. For there be-
nultitudes of strangers of several nations who inhabited there,
made use of their foreign rites and ceremonies in the adminis-
n of public sacrifices, the antient manner of worshipping the
, practised by the ancestors of the Egyptians, was quite lost and
tten. Hence it was that the natural inhabitants concluded,
unless all the strangers were driven out, they should never be
from their miseries. Upon which they were all expelled, and
nost valiant and noble among them, under the conduct of skil-
ommanders, as some relate, after many great hardships, came
Greece and other places, of whom, amongst other leaders, the
famous and remarkable were Danaus and Cadmus. The great-
art of the people went into the country now called Judea, not
om Egypt, and at that time altogether desert and uninhabited.
leader of this colony was one Moses, a very wise and valiant
, who, after he had possessed himself of the country, amongst
· cities, built that now most famous city, Jerusalem, and the
ple there, which is so greatly reverenced among them. He
instituted the manner of God's worship, and the holy rites and
nonies; and made laws for the government of the common-
h, and reduced them into methodical order. He also divided
eople into twelve tribes, as the most perfect number, as he
eived; because of answering the twelve months, which make
ie whole year. But he made no representation or image of the
, because he judged nothing of a human shape was applicable
od: but that the heaven, which compasses the earth around, was
nly God, and that all things were in its power. But he so or-
l the rites and ceremonies of the sacrifices, and the manner and
of their conversations as that they should be wholly different
all other nations: for, by reason of the expulsion of his people,
ommanded a most inhuman and unsociable conversation. He
:d out likewise the greatest persons of quality, who were best
to rule and govern the people, (then embodied into one nation),
them he created priests; whose duty and office was continually

to attend in the temple, and employ themselves in the public worship and service of God. He likewise constituted them judges, for the decision of the most weighty causes, and committed to their care the keeping and preservation of the laws. Therefore they say that the Jews never had any king; but that the care and authority of governing the people was always submitted to him, who excelled the rest of the priests in prudence and virtue, whom they call the chief priest; and him they always supposed to be the messenger and interpreter of the mind and commands of God to them. And they say that he, in all their public assemblies and other meetings, declares what he has in command; and for that reason the Jews are so observant, that forthwith they prostrate themselves upon the ground, and adore him as the high priest, and interpreter to them of the oracles of god. But in the conclusion of the laws this is subjoined—"Moses, the Messenger* of God, thus saith to the Jews." This lawgiver likewise laid down many excellent rules and instructions for martial affairs, and inured the youth to hardships and difficulties, and to exercise patience in all miseries and distresses. Moreover, he undertook many wars against the neighbouring nations, and gained many large territories by force of arms, and gave them as an inheritance to his countrymen, in such manner as that every one shared alike, saving the priests, who had a larger portion than the rest, that having more, they might continually attend upon the public worship of God without interruption. Neither was it lawful for any man to sell his inheritance allotted to him, lest, by the covetousness of those that buy, others should become poor, and so the nation become depopulated. He ordered likewise the inhabitants to be careful in the education of their children, who are brought up with very little cost or charge; and by that means the Jewish nation was always populous.

As to their marriages and funerals, he appointed them laws much different from all other people. But under the empires which have risen up in these later ages, especially in the fourth monarchy of the Persians, and in the time of the Macedonian empire, which overturned the former, through a mixture with foreign nations, many of the antient laws among the Jews have been changed and become obsolete.

* Or, who heard these things from God.

THE FRAGMENTS

OF

DIODORUS SICULUS,

AS

PUBLISHED BY HENRY VALESIUS.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

FRAGMENTS.

TO THE READER.

THESE fragments of Diodorus Siculus, were first collected by Constantine the seventh, one of the eastern Emperors, the son of Leo the sixth. He began to reign about the year of our Lord 911.—He got together from all parts, books of all sorts of learning, in order to make up a complete library. Out of the several authors, he collected such observations as were most remarkable, and marshalled such of them as concerned one and the same subject, under their several distinct heads. The heads or common places of his historical collections were fifty-three in number; and made up a hundred and six volumes. For he divided each head into two books; in the first of which was contained what was said of that particular subject by the most antient authors, or such as wrote universal histories from the beginning of time. In the second are collections out of those authors who wrote of the acts and affairs past, in the time of the Cæsars. That common place wherein are these fragments of Diodorus, is one of the fifty-three, intituled thus—Of Virtues and Vices. It was brought out of Cyprus to Paris by Nicholas Fabricius, not long before the fragments were published by Valesius, as appears in his epistle to Fabricius, as well as in that to the reader. The rest of the fifty-three heads of this emperor are lost, save only one, intituled thus—Of Embassies, which is divided into two volumes. The first, published by Fulvius Ursinus, where collections are again made out of Diodorus; and the other by David Hœschelius. This account of the preservation of these fragments, and how they came to light, I conceived was needful to satisfy the reader, to the end he may be assured that he is not imposed upon by any thing fictitious or spurious.

BOOK VI.

1. CASTOR and Pollux, who were also called Dioscuri, are said to be eminent above others for valour, and remarkable in their assistance in the expedition with the Argonauts; and afforded considerable help to them that were but otherwise very weak: and to say all in a word, they gained in all places exceeding great honour and reputation for their valour, justice, piety, and martial skill and discipline, and were always ready in every hazardous exploit with such as were most forward: and therefore, for the eminence of their valour, they were reputed the sons of Jupiter; and after their deaths, were honoured with divine honours.

2. Epopeus, king of Sicyon, challenging the gods to a combat, to that end destroyed their temples and altars.

3. Sisyphus is said to excel all others in craft and cunning, and by looking into the entrails of beasts, declared future events.

4. Salmoneus, king of Elis, was proud and profane, contemned the gods, and preferred his own, above the acts of Jupiter himself; and therefore, out of an engine* which sent forth a mighty sound, he used to thunder, and never offered any sacrifices, or observed any solemn festivals to the gods.

5. Tyro, they say, was Salmoneus's daughter, who was so called from her beauty and comeliness of person.

6. Admetus, for his justice and piety, was so approved and beloved of the gods, that when Apollo fell into the displeasure of Jupiter, he was ordered to be a servant to Admetus. They say likewise, that Alceste the daughter of Pelias, who was the only daughter that was innocent as to the murder of her father, was married to Admetus on account of her piety.

7. Melampus was beloved by Apollo, for his eminent virtues and piety.

8. When Troy was taken and entered, Æneas, with some others of the citizens, possessed himself of part of the city, and defended it bravely and valiantly against the assaults of the enemy. When the Greeks, upon the terms made, agreed that each of them should carry away as much of their goods as they could, all of them but Æneas took away gold and silver, and whatever else was esteemed precious

* A brasen bridge, over which he drove a chariot, to imitate thunder.
Virg. Æneid. lib. 6.

and valuable; but he carried away only his old father upon his shoulders. The Grecians so much admired this, that they permitted him to make choice of what part of his wealth and his household goods he pleased; upon which, taking only his household gods, the virtue and piety of the man astonished them more than before; for they perceived, that in the height of his dangers and troubles, his chiefest care was to discharge his duty to his father, and his due and pious regards to the gods: and therefore, it is said, that both he, and the rest of the Trojans that remained, had liberty given them, with assurance of safe passage, to go from Troy to whatsoever place they pleased.

9. Romulus Sylvius was exceeding proud all the days of his life, and a contemner of the gods. When Jupiter thundered, he used to command his soldiers, upon a sign given, all at once to strike on their shields with their swords, and vaunted that it was a greater noise than the other, and therefore he was struck dead with a thunderbolt.

10. About this time, one Malachus became king of the city of Cuma, by ingratiating himself with the common people, and accusing and calumniating great men: for afterwards, putting to death the richest of the citizens, he seized their estates, and with the wealth thus got, hired a strong guard, and inspired the Cumani with dread and terror.

11. Such was the eminent virtue of Lycurgus, that once when he came to Delphos, the oracle saluted him with these verses. Seek in the fragments of sentences.

While the Lacedæmonians observed the laws of Lycurgus, from a mean and low condition, they became very powerful, and held the sovereignty of Greece for above four hundred years. But when by degrees they neglected and disregarded one law after another, and degenerated into sloth and voluptuousness, and began to accumulate money and wealth, they lost their sovereign authority.

12. Whereas the Elians were full of strong and useful men, and had a well-governed commonwealth, the Lacedæmonians, jealous of the increase of their power, endeavoured all they could to make them sacred, that so being at peace, they might gain no experience in matters of war; to that end, with the consent of all the Grecians, they devoted them to Jupiter; and therefore, neither when Xerxes broke into Greece, were they compelled to raise soldiers, but, as the priests of Jupiter, and overseers of the games, were free. Nor in the civil wars of the Greeks did any molest them, all endeavouring to preserve their country as a city sacred and inviolable. But in after times, the Elians betook themselves to arms of their own accord.

13. The two brothers, Romulus and Remus, being thus exposed in a cradle, when they grew up to men's estate, far excelled their equals in strength and comeliness of their persons; and secured all the shepherds and their flocks, by freeing them from the thieves that used to make a prey of them, killing some in their attempts upon the flocks, and taking others. And besides the honour they gained by their valour, they were greatly beloved by the neighbouring shepherds, both for their familiar converse, and their civil and courteous behaviour to all that made their addresses to them. The security therefore of them all being lodged in them, most persons submitted to them of their own accord, and were observant of their commands, went wheresoever they were orde ed by them.

4. Polychares the Messenian, a man of noble birth, and very h, entered into a strict bond of familiarity and friendship with ephnus the Spartan, who taking upon him the protection of the flocks and shepherds, began to covet what they had; but his treachery was soon discovered: for having sold some oxen, together with the herdsmen themselves, to foreign merchants, and pretending that robbers had carried them away by force, it happened that the merchants sailing by the coasts of Peloponnesus towards Sicily, by a sudden storm were cast upon the land. Hereupon the herdsmen, taking advantage of the night, got ashore; and being well acquainted with the place, fled and made their escape; and when they came to Messena, they declared the whole business to their master: whereupon Polychares concealed the herdsmen, and sent for Eucephnus from Lacedæmon; who, when he came, swore, and impudently stood it out, that the shepherds and herdsmen were some of them forcibly carried away by robbers, and the rest were killed: upon which Polychares forthwith produced the herdsmen. At which Eucephnus was amazed; and thus plainly convicted of falsehood, presently began to beg pardon, and promised to restore all the cattle, and used many words to regain his favour. Polychares therefore, out of regard to the sacred ties of friendship, concealed the fact, and sent his son with Eucephnus to Lacedæmon to recover the cattle. But Eucephnus, disregardful of his promises, murdered the young man that was sent along with him to Sparta. Polychares, enraged at this bloody act, required the Spartans to deliver up the murderer. But the Lacedæmonians, not willing to comply with his demands, sent the son of Eucephnus with letters to Messena, wherein Polychares was ordered to come to Sparta, and there to abide the judgment of the ephori and the kings, concerning the matters whereof he complained; but Polychares, by way of retaliation, killed the son of

Eucephnus, and drove away a prey of cattle out of the country of Sparta.

15. Archias the Corinthian falling in love with Actæon, first courted the youth with presents and fair promises; but not being able to prevail by reason of the honesty of the boy's father, and the sobriety and modesty of the young man himself, he got a company of his friends together, resolving to do that by force which he could not obtain by entreaty and fair means. Having therefore made himself drunk, with those he had brought along with him, he was hurried on to that degree by his love-passion, that he broke forcibly into the house of Melissus, and took away the boy by force; but his father with his household servants laying hold of his son to detain him, and both parties earnestly striving to get him one from the other, the poor child was pulled to pieces among them, so that his sufferings, and manner of them, occasioned both grief and admiration at one and the same time: for the youth came to the like end with him that bore the same name*, both of them being destroyed much in the same manner, by those that came in to their assistance.

16. Agathocles, to whom was committed the care of building a temple to Minerva, paid the money out of his own purse; but he selected the best and largest of the stones, and built for himself a sumptuous and stately house: but the power of the goddess made itself evident, in destroying Agathocles with a thunderbolt, and burning his house; and the Geomorians confiscated his goods, although his heirs proved clearly that he had not embezzled any of the sacred treasure. They consecrated likewise the carcass of his house, and made it a place inaccessible, which is now called Embrontæum.

17. Pompilius, king of Rome, lived peaceably all his days, and some say he was a hearer of Pythagoras, and that he had his laws concerning religion from him, and many other things which much advanced his reputation; and therefore, though he was a stranger, he was sent for to take upon him the crown.

18. Diocles, king of the Medes, when all sorts of wickedness abounded, was eminent for justice and all other virtues.

19. The Sybarites were addicted to gluttony and voluptuousness, and such was their strife and study to be luxurious, that they loved the Ionians and Thuscians above all other strangers, because those among the Greeks, and these among the barbarians, were most luxurious and effeminate. It is said that Mindyrides was the most voluptuous of any of the Sybarites; for when Clisthenes, king of Sicyon, was victor in the race with chariots drawn by four horses, and

* Actæon was torn in pieces by his own dogs.

d proclaimed by the crier—That whosoever would marry his daughter, a most beautiful lady, should come to Sicyon at a certain day appointed, this Mindyrides set out from Sybaris in a vessel of above fifty oars of a side, and furnished it with rowers out of his own family, of whom some were fishermen, and the rest were fowlers.—And when he came into the haven of Sicyon, he not only far surpassed all his rivals for state and grandeur, but likewise the king himself, although the whole city, out of vain glory, profusely contributed their wealth to Clisthenes. And being presently after his arrival entertained at supper, and asked by one who should sit next him, he caused it to be proclaimed by the voice of an herald—That he would sit next the bride, or by himself alone.

20. Hippomenes, archon of Athens, when his daughter had played the whore, punished her after a most cruel and inhuman manner; for he shut her up in a stable with a horse kept some days without meat, which through want of food at length eat up the miserable and unfortunate lady.

21. Arcesilaus, king of Cyrene, being grievously afflicted with many pressing calamities, consulted the oracle at Delphos; to whom Apollo answered—That the gods were angry because none of the succeeding kings since Battus governed so justly and righteously as he did, for he reigned mildly and gently, content only with the name of a king; and that which was most commendable of all was, that he carefully kept and maintained the worship of the gods; but his successors have ever since reigned tyrannically, and converted the public treasure to their own private use, and neglected the service of the gods.

22. Demonax of Mantinea, was the arbitrator to allay the sedition among the Cyreneans, a person of great honour and esteem for his wisdom and justice. When he arrived at Cyrene all their differences were referred to him, and he reconciled the cities upon these terms and conditions — — —

23. Lucius Tarquinius, king of the Romans, being carefully educated from a child, and much addicted to the liberal sciences, was greatly admired by all for his virtuous qualifications; and therefore, when he attained to man's estate, he was in great favour and esteem with Ancus Martius then king of Rome; and, together with the king, he ordered and managed many of the weighty affairs of the kingdom. Being very rich himself, he liberally supplied the wants of others, and was courteous and obliging to all, and therefore cried up greatly for his wisdom.

24. Solon was the son of Exechestides; he was an Athenian, and his ancestors inhabitants of the island of Salamis; for wisdom and

learning he far exceeded all of his time: being virtuously inclined in his youth, he applied himself to the study of the best arts and sciences: and having long inured himself to all sorts of learning, he became the great master and champion of every virtue. For, being under the care of the best tutors from a child, when he grew up to man's estate, he associated with such as were esteemed the greatest philosophers; upon the account of which converse, he was esteemed one of the seven wise men, and was not only preferred before all the rest, but likewise before all others that were eminent for their wisdom. He was in great honour for making of laws, and admired by all for his singular prudence in his private discourses and answers, and in giving counsel and advice. When the Athenians became Ionians in their manners, and in a high degree luxurious and effeminate, Solon by degrees gained them to the love of virtue and honourable actions: for Harmodius and Aristogiton, principled by his laws and discipline, overturned the tyranny of Pisistratus.

25. There was one Myson of Malea, living in a town called Chena, who lay most commonly in the fields, obscure, unknown almost to every one, upon the expelling of Periander the Corinthian for his tyranny and cruelty, was taken into the society of one of the seven wise men.

26. Chilo lived according to his doctrine, which is a thing rare to be found: for we may see many philosophers in our age, who talk at a great rate, yet their manners and course of life are filthy and abominable, who look and speak like grave wise men, yet by their actions give themselves the lie. But Chilo, besides his virtuous life all his days, conceived and uttered many excellent things worthy of remark.

27. Pittacus Mitylene, was a man not only to be admired for his wisdom, but was such a citizen as Lesbos never before produced the like, nor is ever likely to do, as I think, till it produce plenty of sweet wine. For he was an excellent law-maker, and civil and courteous towards all his fellow citizens in their various meetings and public assemblies, and freed his country from the three most grievous calamities, tyranny, sedition, and war. He was a most prudent and courteous man, ever ready to excuse other men's faults, and therefore seemed to be a person perfectly virtuous in every respect; for in making of laws, he was prudent and politic, faithful to his word, valiant in war, and one that scorned corrupt lucre and gain.

28. The Prienians say—That Bias having redeemed from the hands of robbers some captive Messenian virgins, persons of considerable quality, he took them into his own house, and honourably entertained them as his own daughters: and when their relations

and kindred came to Priene to look after them, he restored them to their friends, without taking any thing either for their diet or redemption; but on the contrary presented them with many gifts out of his own estate. And therefore the ladies loved him as their own father, both for his noble entertainment, and the largeness of his bounty; so that when they returned home, they were still mindful of his kindness to them: and therefore, when the fishermen of Messena drew up a brazen tripod with their nets, whereon were inscribed these words—To the wisest! they procured it to be given to Bias. He was the most rhetorical and eloquent man in his time; but far different from all others in the use he made of his eloquence; for he was not mercenary, nor aimed at gain, but practised it for the relief of men in distress, which is rare now to be found.

29. Cyrus, the son of Cambyses and Mandane, nephew to Astyages king of the Medes, for valour, prudence, and other virtues, excelled all others in the age wherein he lived; for his father gave him a royal education, encouraging him to every thing that was high and brave. And even while he was a boy he gave evident tokens of his attempting great things at one time or another; his virtue and valour appearing now beforehand so evidently while he was but a child.

30. Astyages, king of the Medes, being beaten in a battle, and forced to a dishonourable flight, was enraged at his soldiers, and disbanded all his officers, and placed others in their stead; but as for those that were the occasion of the flight, he picked them out of all his troops and put them to death, thinking by this example to make the rest more careful in the discharge of their duty when they came to fight; for he was naturally cruel and implacable. But his soldiers were so far from being terrified by his severity, that, in hatred of his cruelty and inhumanity, every one of them were ready to revolt, and to that end began to meet in great companies, and talk treason, stirring up one another to revenge the deaths of their fellow soldiers.

31. Cyrus, they say, was not only valiant against the enemy, but mild and gentle towards his subjects; and therefore the Persians call him their father.

32. One Adrastus a Phrygian, by casting a dart at a boar in hunting, accidentally killed Atys the son of Crœsus, king of Lydia; and though he slew him unintentionally, yet he said that he himself who killed him was not worthy to live, and therefore entreated Crœsus not to spare him, but forthwith to cut his throat at his son's sepulchre. Crœsus was indeed at first in a rage with Adrastus for the death of his son, and threatened to burn him alive; but when he [illegible] that the young man did not seek to avoid punishment, but

rather voluntarily offered his life as a sacrifice for the deed, his anger was appeased, and he pardoned him, complaining of his own misfortune, and not of any purpose or design in the young man: however, Adrastus went privately to the sepulchre of Atys and there killed himself.

33. Crœsus, king of Lydia, pretending to send Eurybatus the Ephesian to Delphos, sent him in truth with a great sum of money into Peloponnesus to hire soldiers; but Eurybatus fled to Cyrus, king of Persia, and discovered to him all Crœsus's designs: and therefore this treachery of Eurybatus was so remarkable among the Grecians, that when they would upbraid any man with a base action, they call him Eurybatus.

34. Cyrus believing that Crœsus was a religious man, because a sudden storm of rain from heaven extinguished the fire in the pile whereon he was burnt, and calling to mind the saying of Solon; carried Crœsus along with him, using him with all honor and respect, and made him one of his privy council, conceiving him to be a prudent man, who had familiarly conversed with so many and such eminent persons for wisdom.

35. Servius Tullius king of Rome reigned forty-four years, and out of his own virtuous disposition ordered many things for the good of the commonwealth.

36. When Thericles was chief magistrate at Athens in the sixty-first olympiad, Pythagoras the philosopher flourished, having attained to the highest pitch of wisdom; a man worthy to have his memory eternized, if ever any philosopher deserved it; he was born at Samos, though some say at Tyrrhenum. His speeches were uttered with so much grace, and force of persuasion that almost the whole city gazed upon him daily, as if some god had been before them, and a great concourse of people came from all parts to hear him. And he was not only eminently eloquent, but very sober and grave, and was a wonderful example for young men to imitate in the course of their lives in that respect: and all whom he conversed with he dissuaded from vain pomp and luxury; all the inhabitants of that country (through plenty and fulness of all things among them) being given to effeminacy and filthiness both of body and mind.

This Pythagoras, when he heard that Pherecydes once his master was very sick in the island Delos, forthwith sailed out of Italy thither; where after he had for some time cherished the old man, and used his utmost endeavour to restore him to health, at length, through old age and the violence of his distemper, he died, and Pythagoras carefully buried him; and so having performed the office and duty of a son, as to a father, he returned into Italy.

37. The Pythagoreans (if any of their society fall into decay) divide and contribute proportions of their goods to him that is so in want, as if he were their brother; and this they do, not only as to them that are daily conversant with them, but likewise to all others of the same sect and profession wherever they be. And therefore one Clinias of Tarentum when he understood that Proxus a Cyrenian and a Pythagorean, by some misfortune or other had lost all his estate, and was become exceeding poor, passed over out of Italy to Cyrene with a considerable sum of money, and made up the loss of his patrimony though he had never seen him before, but only understood by hearsay that he was a Pythagorean. And it is reported that many others have done the like. And they have not only supplied their companions with money in their wants, but have hazarded their persons with them in the most dangerous times. For in the reign of Dionysius the Tyrant it is reported that one Phintias a Pythagorean, when by the contrivance of the tyrant he was to be led to execution, desired of Dionysius but a few days to settle his household affairs, and promised that in the mean time he would leave one of his friends to suffer in his stead, if he returned not. Dionysius hereupon wondering whether any such friend could be found, who would be willing to be cast into gaol for his friend, Phintias presently called Damon a Pythagorean, one of his scholars, who forthwith without any hesitation became his hostage to die in his room.

Many there were that commended this singular demonstration of love and kindness to his friend, others condemned it as a foolish and rash act. But at the day appointed, all the people flocked together, very earnest to see whether he that had left his pledge would perform his word. But the day drawing near to an end, every body began to despair, and Damon was led forth to execution, and then on a sudden, at the very last moment of the day, Phintias came running in! This wonderful friendship and kindness for each other was admired by all; and Dionysus pardoned the condemned person, and desired that he himself might be taken into the society.

38. The Pythagoreans had a great art in improving their memories, and to that end employed their utmost care and diligence. For the first thing they did constantly after they rose from their beds in a morning, was to recollect and call to mind every thing they had done the day before, from the morning to the evening: and if they had time and leisure, they would go back to examine the actions of the second, third, and fourth days, and sometimes farther, conceiving it very helpful and advantageous for improving the memory, and increasing knowledge.

39. These philosophers inured themselves to abstinence by this

means. They prepare all sorts of delicacies and rarities, such as tables are furnished with at solemn feasts; and after they have gazed on them for a considerable time, on purpose to whet their appetite, which naturally desires in such cases to be gratified, on a sudden the table is ordered to be whipped away, and thereupon they withdraw, without tasting any of the dainties.

40. Pythagoras commanded his disciples to forbear taking an oath as much as they could; but when they had once taken it, to be careful to keep it. Having likewise regard to what was convenient, even in the acts of Venus, he advised to abstain from women in the summer time, and to be moderate and sparing in winter: for he looked upon all carnal copulation to be hurtful; but if it were frequent, he said, it impared the strength, and was destructive.

He advised likewise, that the sacrificers should not make their addresses to the gods in rich and gaudy habits, but only in white and clean robes; and should not only bring before them bodies free from gross and outward wickednesses, but pure and undefiled souls. Commanding these and many such like things, and stirring men up to sobriety, valour, constancy, and all other virtues, he was adored by the Crotonians as if he had been a god.

41. One Cylo of Crotona, the most wealthy and eminent man of all the citizens, being desirous of being received into the society of the Pythagoreans, was rejected, because he was naturally a fierce and stubborn man, seditious and ambitious. At which he was so enraged, that he got together a number of factious persons against the Pythagoreans, and began to rail and do all the mischief he could to them.

42. Lysis the Pythagorean, going to Thebes in Bœotia, became tutor to Epaminondas, and instructed him in all the ways of virtue; and by reason of his excellent endowments adopted him to be his son: and Epaminondas, from those sparks of knowledge he had gained from the Pythagorean philosophy, excelled not only the Thebans, but all the rest of the Grecians of his time, in patience, frugality, and all other virtues.

43. To write the lives of persons in former ages is indeed a difficult and troublesome task to the historians, but very profitable to others, for their direction in the course of their lives. For this kind of history, by recording good and bad actions, graces the memory of the good, and fixes a stain upon the name of the wicked, by sharing out praise and disgrace to each of them according as they deserve it. "For praise is a certain reward of virtue without cost; and disgrace "is the punishment of vice without a wound." And therefore it is very fit that every one should understand, that according to the course

of life men lead here, such will be the account and remembrance of them afterwards when they are dead; so that they need not employ all their thoughts upon marble monuments, which are set up only in a little corner, and decayed and gone in process of time; but rather apply their minds to learning, and other virtuous qualifications, which would render their names famous over all the world.

For time, which consumes all other things, preserves these to perpetual generations; and the older they grow, the more fresh and flourishing it presents them. For they that have gone long ago, are still in every man's mouth, as if they were now at this very day alive.

44. Cambyses was naturally furious and even a madman, and the more fierce and insolent on account of his large dominion.

Cambyses the Persian, puffed up with the success of his arms, after the taking of Memphis and Pelusium, insolently demolished the sepulchre of Amasis, an antient king of Egypt; and finding his body embalmed with odoriferous spices, basely and inhumanly cudgeled it and abused it with all manner of contempt, and afterwards ordered it to be burnt to ashes. For, because the Egyptians never burnt their dead bodies, he thought by this means he sufficiently revenged himself of the man who was dead long before.

Cambyses, when he prepared for his expedition against the Æthiopians, sent part of his army against the Ammonians, and commanded his officers to rob the temple of Jupiter Ammon, set it on fire, and make all the people around captives.

45. Certain Lydians flying away to avoid the tyrannical government of Orœtes, the governor of the province, went to Samos with a vast treasure of gold, and humbly addressed themselves to Polycrates for relief; who at first courteously entertained them, but not long after cut all their throats, and robbed them of their money.

46. Thessalus the son of Pisistratus, a wise and prudent man, voluntarily abdicated the sovereignty, and acted only as a private man, contented merely to share in the common rights and liberties of the citizens, for which he was held in high esteem and reputation.

But his brothers Hipparchus and Hippias, being rigid and cruel, ruled tyrannically over their citizens. After they had for some time grievously oppressed the Athenians, Hipparchus falling in love with a beautiful boy, plunged himself into perilous circumstances: for Harmodius and Aristogiton joined in a conspiracy against the tyrant, in order to free their country from slavery: but Aristogiton was the chief man for a brave and resolute spirit, in enduring all sorts of torments with patience and constancy, who in the most perilous times,

was especially famous for two things, faithfulness to his friends, and just revenge to his enemies.

47. Zeno of Elis, being seized upon for a conspiracy against Nearchus, who tyrannically oppressed the country, was put to the rack. When the tyrant asked him who were his fellow conspirators; he replied, I would to God I had as much command of the rest of my body as I have of my tongue.

Hereupon the tyrant screwing him up, and tormenting him the more, Zeno for some time courageously endured the pain, but afterwards, to free himself and be revenged on the tyrant, he had this contrivance—The rack being extended to the utmost, he feigned as if he could no longer bear it, and therefore cried out to release him and he would discover all; the rack being thereupon loosed, he desired the tyrant would come to him himself, for he had many things to discover, which required secrecy. Upon which he came readily to him, and put his face close to Zeno's ear; upon which he took fast hold of the tyrant's ear with his teeth: whereupon the guards came running in, and racking him to the utmost they could, to force him to let go his hold, he fastened his teeth the more fiercely; so that the guard not being able to baffle the resolution of the man, they were forced to entreat him to let go: and by this trick, he was released from his torments, and at the same time had his revenge upon the tyrant.

48 Sextus, the son of Lucinius Tarquinius, king of the Romans, took a journey to the city of Collatia, and there lodged at the house of Lucius Tarquinius, the king's nephew, whose wife was called Lucretia, a most beautiful lady, and renowned for her chastity. Sextus rose up in the night and broke down her chamber door, when she was in bed, and attempted to force her, her husband being then in the camp at Ardea, and with his drawn sword in his hand threatened to kill her unless she yielded, and told her he had a slave ready, whom he would lay naked in bed with her, and kill them both, that it might be said she was justly killed in the act of adultery, and that he had done it in revenge of the injury done his kinsman.—And therefore it was better for her quietly to gratify him in what he desired, promising her likewise many large and rich rewards, and to marry her, and so from a private condition, she would be advanced to the state and dignity of a queen. Lucretia, amazed at the strangeness and suddenness of the thing, and fearful lest it should be thought she was killed really in the act of adultery, was quiet at that time. The next day, when Sextus was gone, she sent for all her servants and household, and desired they would not suffer the wickedness of the man to go unpunished, who had violated all the laws of

friendship and hospitality: and as for herself, she said, it was not honourable longer to survive the violation of her chastity. And having thus spoken, she stabbed herself with a dagger, and so breathed her last.

49. Hippocrates, king of Gela, after his victory over the Syracusans, when he encamped near the temple of Jupiter, took the chief priests, and some of the principal citizens of Syracuse, who had spoiled the temple of some of the consecrated golden vessels, and carried away other things, especially Jupiter's cloak, which was made of massy and solid gold, sharply rebuked them as sacrilegious persons, and commanded them forthwith to return to the city. He himself touched none of the things devoted, both to advance the credit and reputation of his own name, as likewise judging it unfit for him, who had undertaken so great a war, to act so great a piece of impiety against the gods. Besides, he conceived by this means he should stir up the people against the governors of Syracuse, who ruled the commonwealth with rigour, beyond all bounds of moderation or equity.

50. Theron of Agrigentum, for wealth and nobility of birth, and his courteous carriage, towards even the meanest of the people, was not only highly honoured amongst the citizens, but even among all the Sicilians.

51 Cimon the son of Miltiades, when his father died in the common gaol, because he was not able to pay the fine imposed upon him, gave up himself into custody, to abide in prison for his father's mulct, that he might have the body of his parent to bury it.

52. Cimon was very eminent when he was a civil magistrate, and afterwards became a famous general in the wars, and performed such actions by his valour, as are worthy an everlasting remembrance.

53. Those of Thermopylæ died fighting courageously, whose valour, &c — — — Which are published in the 11th book of Diodorus's history, page 369, of the present edition.

What is further contained in the manuscript, I have purposely omitted, to the amount of twelve folios, because they are included in the history.

FROM THE SAME.

1. ANTIGONUS, from a private man, advanced to the state and dignity of a king, was the most potent prince of any of his time; but not contented with his condition, without the least colour of right, was prompted by his ambition to grasp at the dominions of other princes, and by that means both lost his own, and his life at the same time*.

2. When Agathocles heard that the Ligurians and Tyrrhenians had mutinously fallen upon his son Archagathus, in his absence, for their pay, he put them all to the sword, to the number of almost two thousand.

3. The Thracians, who had taken Agathocles, the son of king Lysimachus, in a battle, sent him back to his father with several gifts; by this means hoping, in case of misfortunes, to shelter themselves under his protection, and hereby likewise to induce him freely to restore their territory, which he then possessed: for they were out of all hopes of victory, seeing so many potent kings confederated with Lysimachus.

4. Dromichœtes, king of Thrace, having taken Lysimachus prisoner, treated him with every kind of civility; and kissed and embraced him, calling him his father, and brought him with his children into the city of Helis. And when the Thracians came in a body together, and demanded that the captive king should be brought forth and put to death, for it was but just and equal that they who had adventured their lives, should dispose of the captives as they thought fit; Dromichœtes making a speech against putting the king to death, told the soldiers that it was for the public good to preserve the king: for if they killed him forthwith, some others would take possession of his kingdom, who perhaps might become more formidable to them than Lysimachus. But on the other hand, if they preserved him, that favour would work so much, as in gratitude to produce a favourable respect to the Thracians, and to procure, without running any risk, the restitution of all those forts and castles which formerly belonged to the Thracians.

The army then agreeing to what he said, he brought forth all the friends and servants of Lysimachus whom he could find among the captives, and delivered them to him. Afterwards, when he offered a solemn sacrifice to the gods, he invited Lysimachus and all his

* At the battle of Issus.

friends, with the chief officers and commanders of the Thracians to supper. And having prepared two apartments, he covered the beds whereon Lysimachus and his friends were to sit, with rich carpets, part of the spoils taken in battle; but for himself and the rest of the Thracians, the coverings were but poor and mean. He prepared likwise two sorts of suppers; that for Lysimachus and his friends consisted of all sorts of rarities and noble dishes, set upon silver tables; but for the Thracians, he ordered herbs and flesh meanly dressed, to be set on a table uncovered, in wooden platters. To conclude, the first were served with wine in gold and silver bowls; but for himself and his Thracians, he ordered cups of wood and horn, after the manner of the Getæ. Afterwards, in the height of the feast, he filled up the greatest horn with wine, and calling Lysimachus father, asked him which of the two seem'd to him more princely, a Thracian or a Macedonian supper? When Lysimachus replied, a Macedonian.—See the rest in the fragments of sentences.

5. King Demetrius, after he had forced the rest of the cities to a submission, conducted himself nobly towards the Bœotians: for besides the fourteen persons, that were at the head of the defection, he pardoned all the rest.

6. Archagathus was valorous and courageous, beyond his age: for he was very young.

7. Timæus was a bitter censurer of former historians, yet in other parts of his history, very careful to declare the truth; but his hatred of Agathocles was such, that he forged many things concerning his actions; for, being banished by Agathocles out of the island, he could not be revenged of the tyrant while he lived: but after his death, he loaded him with reproaches in his history, to make his memory odious to all posterity. For besides the vices this king was really guilty of, he imputed many others to him, invented by himself, and always lessened his prosperous successes, and aggravated his misfortunes which were merely casual, and turned them upon himself as the cause of them, through his own miscarriages. For whereas all knew that Agathocles was a prudent and expert soldier and commander, and was bold and courageous in the greatest difficulties, he is all along in his history continually calling him a weak-headed coward. And yet who is there that is ignorant that none were ever under meaner circumstances who afterwards attained to such a degree of sovereignty and dominion? for his poverty and low birth was such, that from his childhood he was a mean artificer*; but afterwards by his valour, he not only gained the sovereign power over all Sicily, but conquered a great part of Italy and Africa. And

* A potter's son.

any one may justly wonder at the vanity of Timæus, who almost in every page extols the valour of the Syracusans, and yet affirms him who conquered them to be the greatest coward of any man living.—From these contradictions and inconsistencies it is clear and manifest, that out of a private pique and disgust he betrayed the trust of a faithful historian: and therefore his last five books, wherein are set forth the acts of Agathocles, for very good reason, were never approved by any.

8. Callias, likewise a Syracusan, deserves as much to be censured as the other, who being enriched and advanced by Agathocles, never ceases praising him far above his desert, and so dishonouring history, which should be the herald of truth. For whereas Agathocles in many things violated both the laws of God and man, he cries him up as the most pious and righteous man in the world. To conclude, as Agathocles took away the goods of the citizens by force, and most wrongfully bestowed them upon this writer, so this admirable historiographer, by way of requital, loads him with praises of all sorts and sizes. But in my opinion it were no difficult task, by way of grateful return, to repay favours received from princes, by moderate and due praises and commendations.

9. After the mercenary soldiers* had agreed with the Syracusans, they marched off, and were received by the Messanians as friends and confederates: and being thus kindly entertained by the citizens, in the night they murdered all their hosts, and took their wives as their own, and possessed themselves of the city.

10. When Demetrius was a prisoner at Pella, Lysimachus sent an ambassador to Seleucus, to caution him not to suffer him upon any terms to get out of his hands, being, as he said, an insatiably ambitious man, and one continually plotting against the kings; and promised he would give him two thousand talents if he would put Demetrius to death. But Seleucus sharply rebuked the ambassadors, for endeavouring to persuade him not only to violate his faith, but to commit so horrid a piece of wickedness against one so nearly related to him. But he wrote a letter to his son Antiochus, who was then in Media, to ask his advice what should be done with Demetrius; for he had resolved to release him, and restore him honourably to his kingdom; but was willing likewise to have the favour acknowledged by his son Antiochus†, who had married Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, and had several children by her.

* The Mamertines. † Soter.

BOOK XXII.

1. WHEN a garrison was put into Rhegium by the Romans, Decias, a Campanian, a covetous and impudent fellow, acted the base and treacherous part of the Mamertines; for as they were received as friends by the Messanians, and seized upon their city, and cut the throats of all the Messanians their landlords, in their own houses, and married their wives, and possessed themselves of the estates of those they had murdered; so the Campanian soldiers, to whom, with Decius, the garrison of Rhegium was committed by the Romans, with the like perfidiousness killed all the Rhegians, and dividing their goods among themselves, possessed themselves of the city.—But Decius the governor, after he had sold the goods of those miserable people, and shared the money he had treacherously raised, was expelled from Rhegium by the Campanians, his co-partners in this wicked act. But every one of these perfidious villains at length met with their just reward: for Decius being seized with a grievous pain in his eyes, sent for an eminent physician of Rhegium, who, to revenge the wrong done to his country, anointed Decius's eyes with cantharides, and by this means having made him stark blind, forthwith quitted Messana.

2. Phintias having tyrannically oppressed his citizens, and put to death many of the wealthy men, began to be hated by his subjects for his cruelty; and therefore all being ready for a general defection, and he himself reduced to great straits, on a sudden changed his former course, and ruling more moderately, kept his subjects within the bounds of their duty and obedience.

3. Ptolemy Ceraunus, king of Macedonia, being indeed very young, and altogether unexpert in military affairs, and naturally rash and weak-headed, made no provision for any thing as he ought: and therefore, when he was advised by his friends to wait for the auxiliary forces, who were not as yet come up to him, he disregarded their counsel.

4. Apollodorus affecting the sovereign power, and desirous to confirm the conspirators in what they had undertaken, sent for a young man, one of his friends, under colour of coming to sacrifice; and when he came he offered him up to the gods, and gave his entrails to be eaten by the conspirators, and drank to them in his blood mixed with wine.

5. The same Apollodorus armed some Gauls, and engaged them with large gifts, and made use of them for his life-guard, because they were naturally cruel, and ready to execute any villany. He raised likewise a great sum of money, by confiscating, and exposing to public sale, the goods of the wealthy citizens. He became very powerful in a short time, by increasing the pay of the soldiers, and distributing money among the poorer classes.

Being wholly given up to cruelty and covetousness, he squeezed money from the citizens, and forced both men and women, by racks and torments, to bring forth all their gold and silver; for he made use of one Calliphon, a Sicilian for his adviser, a proficient in tyranny, who had been long bred up a courtier among many of the tyrants in Sicily.

6. When Pyrrhus had plundered Ægeas, the seat-royal of the kings of Macedonia, he left there a garrison of Gauls; who being informed by some persons that there were great treasures, according to antient custom, hid in the sepulchres of the kings, dug up all the tombs and divided the wealth among themselves, but scattered abroad the bones and ashes of the dead.

However, Pyrrhus, though he was railed at for this piece of inhumanity, yet he punished not the barbarians, because he made use of them in his wars.

BOOK XXIII.

1. I LOOK upon it as the duty of an historian diligently to observe the stratagems and management of affairs by generals on both sides: for by laying open, and criticising other men's faults, the like miscarriage may be prevented in them that come after. And on the other side, by commending things which are done well, others are stimulated to virtuous actions. For who can but utterly condemn the pride, folly, madness, and insolence of Attilius*? who, not able to bear the weight of his prosperous fortune, both lost his own reputation, and brought many great mischiefs and calamities upon his country. For when he might have concluded a peace with the Carthaginians, honourable and advantageous to the Romans, but

* Attilius Regulus.

base and dishonourable to the other, and his name might have been for ever renowned amongst all men for his clemency and humanity, he had no regard to any of these things: but proudly insulting the distresses of the afflicted, stood upon such terms as not only provoked the Gods to anger, but forced the conquered, by reason of these unreasonable conditions, to stand it out resolutely to the utmost extremity: so that the face of affairs was suddenly changed, insomuch, that the Carthaginians, who but a little before were in great terror and amazement, on account of their late rout, and despaired of any relief, gathered courage, and routed and cut off their enemy's army: and upon this misfortune, such was the distress and amazement of the city of Rome, that they who were before esteemed the best soldiers in the world, durst not engage the enemy in that kind any more; and therefore this is the longest war we read of in former times.— And the matter was now to be decided by sea-fights, in which a vast number of ships, both of the Romans and their confederates, were destroyed; and a hundred thousand men perished in these battles. And it is easy to conceive how vast a treasure must be expended, sufficient to maintain so great a fleet for the continuance of a war for fifteen years. But he who was the author and occasion of so many miseries, had himself no small share in the calamity, since his present dishonour and disgrace far over-balanced his former glory and reputation; and by his misfortune others are taught not to be proud in prosperity. And that which was most cutting and grievous was, that he was now forced to endure the scoffs and scorns of those over whom he had before exulted in the time of their calamity; having entirely debarred himself from that pity and commiseration which is usually shewn to those that are in affliction. But as for Xantippus, he not only delivered the Carthaginians from the present evils which hung over them, but altogether changed the face of affairs; for he utterly routed the Romans, who were but just now conquerors, and, after a prodigious slaughter, raised the Carthaginians to such a height of prosperity, who were expecting their last doom, that for the future they slighted and contemned their enemy.

The report of this famous action being circulated over almost the whole world, every one admired the valour of this general. For it appeared like a miracle to every one, that there should be such a sudden change of affairs, by one man only joining with the Carthaginians, and that they who were but lately so closely besieged, should on a sudden besiege the enemy: and that they who by their valour were a little before lords both of sea and land, should be now cooped up in a small town, expecting every day to become a prey to

their enemies; but it is not to be wondered at, since the prudence and wisdom of the general overcame all difficulties.

2. Amilcar the Carthaginian, called Barcas, and Hannibal his son, the great Carthaginian generals, are reputed the greatest captains that ever appeared either before or after them, and by their victories greatly enlarged the dominions of the Carthaginians.

BOOK XXIV.

1. CLODIUS coming into Sicily, as soon as he had received the charge of the army, which then closely besieged Lilybæum, called the soldiers together, and began bitterly to inveigh against the consuls from whom he received the legions, declaring they had negligently managed the war, giving themselves up to wine, luxury, and voluptuousness, and that they were really more besieged than the enemy. But this man being naturally hot and fiery, and somewhat crack-brained, acted many things rashly and like a madman. For in the first place, imitating the indiscreet actions of those he had before censured, he attempted to raise up a mole in the sea to block up the haven, with so much the more imprudence, as the fault is the greater not to learn to profit, by before seeing the mistakes and miscarriages of another, than to run into an error upon the first attempt. Being likewise naturally cruel and severe in the infliction of punishment, after the manner of his ancestors, he was inexorable in punishing the soldiers, and scourged the Roman confederates with rods. To conclude, he was so swelled with pride on account of his noble birth, and the renown of his ancestors, that he despised every body else.

2. Amilcar, before he was chosen general, was noted to be a man of a magnanimous spirit; and after he was advanced to that honour, he deceived not their expectation, but behaved himself as a noble Carthaginian, in every thing aiming at fame and renown, and despising dangers. He was both prudent, valiant, and industrious, the best king and the most valiant general.

3. Hanno was naturally of an aspiring spirit and thirsting after

glory, and having a great army which lay idle, hoped by this expedition both to train and exercise the soldiers, and likewise to maintain them, and by that means to ease the city of a great charge; and besides, to perform some considerable service, which might prove both honourable and profitable to the commonwealth.

4. When Hanno had taken Hecatompylos*, and the elders of the city addressed themselves to him, and begged and entreated him to shew them pity and compassion, being something vain-glorious at this time, he preferred mercy to severity, and took three thousand hostages, and preserved the city and the estates of the citizens entire and untouched: for which he was highly honoured by the poor people, and the soldiers were splendidly and liberally entertained by the inhabitants with all manner of rich provisions.

5. But the mother† of the young men grievously laid to heart the death of her husband, and conceiving that through their carelessness and neglect he had lost his life, she incited her sons to use the captives most cruelly and inhumanly, for they were thrust into a little close room, by reason of which they were forced to throng upon one another like beasts; and after they had been kept without meat for five days, Bostar‡ died, through vexation of mind and famine. But Amilcar, being a man of a great spirit, held out still, though he saw no hopes of relief: but told her how careful he had been of her husband, and entreated her with tears to compassion; but she was so far from being touched with the least sense of humanity, that this cruel woman shut up the carcass with him for five days together in that close hole, and gave him meat only to keep him alive, that he might be the longer sensible of his miserable condition. Amilcar now despairing by entreating or begging to move her to pity, began to call upon Jupiter, and cry out to the rest of the gods who took care of mankind, to revenge him upon the woman, and repay her with just and due punishment.

However, in the midst of all these torments he was kept alive, till, through the mercy of the gods, or some good fortune, he was wonderfully and unexpectedly delivered. For even when he was upon the point of death, through the stench of the dead body, and other miseries he laboured under, some of the meaner servants belonging to the house told it to some others abroad, who, in indignation to such cruelty and wickedness, forthwith informed the tribunes of the people of this horrid fact. Whereupon, when it was discovered, the magistrates sent for the Attilii, who, for branding the Roman name with such a dishonourable mark of barbarous cruelty,

* A city of Thebes in Egypt. † The wife of Attilus. ‡ Gr. Bodostor.

very narrowly escaped being put to death: but the magistrates threatened the Attilii severely to punish them if they did not for the future use their prisoners civilly, and take due care of them. They imputed most that was done to their mother; and burning the body of Bostar, sent the ashes back to his own country, and freed Amilcar from the distress and calamity he groaned under.

BOOK XXV.

1. THE Carthaginians, who had been at war with the Romans for the possession of Sicily now four-and-twenty years, suffered not so much by that war as they did by their mercenary soldiers whom they had injured: for designing to defraud them of their pay, they were in a fair way of losing both their sovereign authority and their country together; for the mercenaries resented the injury to that degree, that they forthwith revolted, and brought the Carthaginians into miserable distresses.

2. The Carthaginians sent a trumpet to the revolters, to desire liberty to bury them that were slain in the battle. But Spondius, and the rest of the captains of the revolters, with barbarous cruelty not only denied that, but warned them upon their peril not to send any more messengers to them on any account whatever; for if they did, they should suffer the same punishment. And they then made an order, that every Carthaginian they took prisoner should be put to death in the same manner they before mentioned were, and that their confederates who happened to be taken should have their hands cut off, and so sent back to Carthage. This cruelty of Spondius was the reason that Amilcar was forced to cast off his former lenity, and retaliate the same cruelty upon the prisoners taken by the Carthaginians: and therefore, after he had first racked and tormented the captives, he then cast them to the elephants, who trod and trampled them under foot, so as they died most miserably.

3. The Hippacrineans and Uticans revolted from the Carthaginians, and killed the Carthaginian garrison, and threw them over the walls, and would not suffer them to be buried, though it was desired by the Carthaginians.

Amilcar, sirnamed Barcas, performed many great and excellent services to the advantage of his country, both against the Romans in Sicily, and in Africa against the mercenaries and the Libyans, who

revolted from the Carthaginians, and straightly besieged Carthage itself. For in both these wars he performed noble actions with great valour and prudence, and therefore was highly honored by all the citizens. But after the war was ended in Africa, he got together a body of lewd fellows; and having enriched himself with the spoils of his enemies, and by his actions gained a great interest and the love of the people, he prevailed so far as to be created generalissimo of all Libya for a short time.

BOOK XXVI.

1. HANNIBAL was naturally of a warlike spirit, and trained up in martial affairs from a child; and having been for many years together in several expeditions with the greatest captains, he acquired much experience in matters of war, so that being by nature prompt in feats of arms, and improved likwise by daily exercise for a length of time in the wars, he plumed himself upon it, in expectation of doing great things.

2. Minutius, being overcome by Hannibal, it was evident by the event, that he ruined all by his imprudence and unskilfulness; but Fabius, by his valour and policy, preserved the commonwealth.

3. Dorimarchus, the provincial governor of the Ætolians, committed a most notorious act; for he robbed the famous temple of Jupiter Dodonæus, and afterwards burnt the whole of it except the treasury.

4. Hannibal's army having for a long time together glutted themselves with the riches and pleasures of Campania, became wholly degenerated: for their luxury, soft beds, ointments, and all sorts of delicate fare, lessened their courage, rendered them unfit to endure hardships, and caused both their bodies and souls to sink into effeminacy.

5. When Hannibal had spoken much against the cruelty and malice of the Romans, or rather their pride and arrogance, he put the sons of the senators to the sword, and their relations, which he picked out from the rest of the captives, in this manner revenging himself upon the senate.

6. Hannibal being possessed with an implacable hatred against the Romans, picked out from among the captives such as he thought fittest for single combat, matched them one with another, and com-

manded them to fight, brothers with brothers, fathers with children, and kinsmen with kinsmen. In this barbarous injunction, who can refrain from abhorring the cruelty of the Carthaginians, and admiring the piety, patience, and constancy of the Romans, in the midst of their most grievous sufferings! For though they were tormented with fire-goads and cruel stripes, yet none could be brought to lift up their hands against their friends and relations, but all resolutely died in the anguish of their sufferings, preserving themselves pure and unspotted from the guilt of destroying one another.

7. When Gelon and Hiero, kings of Sicily, were dead in Syracuse, and Hieronymus, who was very raw and young, succeeded, the kingdom was but ill supplied with a governor; for, being flattered and soothed up by his friends, he fell into luxury, debauchery, and tyrannical cruelty. For he ravished many men's wives, murdered his friends that advised him, confiscated the goods of many without hearing them, and gave their estates to the flattering informers; which first stirred up the hatred of the people against him, then put them upon plotting, which broke out at last, and ended in his destruction, the common lot of tyrants in such cases.

8. When Hieronymus was killed, the Syracusans called a senate, where it was decreed that all the kindred of the tyrant should be put to death, both man and woman, and that none of his race or family should be left alive.

9. When the dead body of Sempronius Gracchus was sent by Mago to Hannibal, the soldiers, seeing it lie upon the ground, cried out to have it cut in pieces, and to be hurled away, piece by piece, out of slings. But Hannibal, having an object before his eyes to instruct him in the uncertainty and inconstancy of fortune, and honouring and admiring likewise the valour of the man, said it was an unworthy thing to wreak a man's anger upon a speechless carcass; and afterwards celebrated his funeral with all the marks of honour and respect, and civilly sent his bones and ashes in an urn to the Roman camp.

9. When Syracuse was taken, all the citizens went forth to meet Marcellus with olive-branches in their hands; and he told them he would spare all the lives of those that were freemen of the city, but all their goods should be a prey for his soldiers.

10. The Carthaginians, after they had made an end of the Libyc war, severely punished the Micatanian Numidians, with their wives and children; for they crucified all their captives, insomuch as their posterity, ever since keeping in remembrance the cruelty executed upon their forefathers, are most implacable enemies to the Carthaginians.

ıe valour of Asdrubal is not to be passed over in silence.
ıe son of Amilcar Barcas, the bravest captain of his age,
ıicilian war was the only general that often overcame
and having put a happy end to the civil war, was the
sed over with an army into Spain: and this Asdrubal ap-
IV. lf a son not unworthy the honour and dignity of such a
he was generally owned to be the best soldier, next to
brother, of all the Carthaginian commanders, and he
was therefore by Hannibal left general of all the forces in Spain,
where he fought many battles; and frequently freeing his army from
difficult straits, he often ran himself into great dangers: and being
at length forced up into the heart o the country, far from the sea,
on account of his valour he got to her a mighty army, and at last
came unexpectedly into Italy.

12. Nabis, king of Lacedæmon, murdered Pelops, the son of Lycurgus the former king, when he was but a very child; for he was afraid when he was grown up to man's estate, he would endeavour to free and rescue his country, on account of his being of the blood-royal. And for this reason he put to death the nobility of Sparta, and hired the basest and most abject fellows, wherever he could find them, to be his life-guard, and protect him in his dominion. So that robbers of temples, thieves, highwaymen, and condemned persons, flocked from all places to Sparta. For, stepping into the throne by wickedness, he had no expectation of preserving what he had so wickedly got, but by the help of such profane and impious fellows.

13. The Cretans fitted out seven ships for piracy, and robbed many vessels at sea; whereupon the merchants being altogether discouraged, the Rhodians looking upon it to belong to them to redress this mischief, proclaimed war against the Cretans.

14. Pleminius was left governor of Locris by Scipio; and being a profligate wretch, he forced open the treasury of Proserpina, and carried away all the sacred valuables. The Locrians, enraged at the fact, addressed themselves to the people of Rome, and entreated their relief according to their usual good faith; whereupon, two military tribunes seem much offended with the impious act committed, and sharply rebuked Pleminius; not that they were really angry at what was done, but because they themselves had no part of the money.— But in a short time after, the goddess revenged their impiety. For this was reported to be the most famous temple of all that were in Italy, and in all ages before that time, through the care of the inhabitants, had remained safe and unviolated. For at the time when Pyrrhus transported his troops out of Sicily to Locris, and his soldiers were

pressing upon him for pay, he was forced to make use of this sacred treasure; but in returning back, they say, he suffered much, his whole fleet being dispersed, shattered and torn to pieces by a fierce and violent tempest, and therefore Pyrrhus himself, out of a religious reverence for the goddess, endeavoured to pacify her, and returned every penny of the money before he left the country. But the tribunes before mentioned, pretending to abhor the sacrilege, sided with the Locrians, and rebuking Pleminius for the crime, threatened severely to punish him. The quarrel growing hotter and hotter, it came at length to blows, and the tribunes threw Pleminius upon the ground, and bit off his ears and nose, and sliced off both his lips. But afterwards Pleminius caused the tribunes to be seized, and whipped them to death with rods. In the mean time the senate and people of Rome, through a religious awe of the gods, were in great concern about this sacrilegious act; and upon this occasion the enemies of Publius Scipio having got an opportunity to cast dirt upon him, accused him as if he had been the adviser of Pleminius, and that he had done all by his order and command. Whereupon, by a decree of the senate, two tribunes of the people and an ædile were sent into Sicily, with orders to bring Scipio forthwith to Rome, if they found that the sacrilege had been committed by his command or contrivance; but if they could not discover any such thing, that then they should suffer him to transport the forces into Africa. While they were upon their journey, Scipio sent for Pleminius, and cast him into gaol; and every day with great care and diligence exercised the soldiers; of which the tribunes of the people so much approved, that they highly commended him. But Pleminius being brought bound to Rome, the senate forthwith committed him to prison, and a short time after he died there in custody. His goods were all devoted to Proserpina, and what they were deficient in making satisfaction, was decreed by the senate to be supplied out of the public treasury; and that it should be death for any soldier to withhold any goods or money whatsoever he might have in his hands, which had been taken from the treasury of Proserpina's temple; and further decreed, that the Locrians should be free.

15. Scipio, when he saw Syphax among other prisoners led up to him in chains, at the first fell a-weeping, to consider the former royal state and dignity of the person: resolving therefore to use his fortunate success with moderation and humanity, commanded that Syphax should be freed from his chains, and gave up his tent to him, for the reception of himself and the royal family; and retaining him still as a prisoner, yet with all the liberty imaginable, often courteously conversed with him, and entertained him at his table.

16. Sophonisba, who was the wife of Masinissa, and afterwards of Syphax, but being taken prisoner was afterwards recovered by Masinissa, was a woman of admirable beauty, and by her cunning tricks and charming devices could obtain whatever she pleased: and being confederated with the Carthaginians her countrymen, plied her husband every day to fall off from the Romans; which when Syphax was assured of, he acquainted Scipio with the design, and cautioned him to have a special care of that woman. All which being confirmed by Lælius, Scipio commanded the lady to be brought to him, which Masinissa refusing, he threatened him severely; at which Masinissa was so alarmed, that he ordered that some persons should be sent from Scipio to fetch her away. But in the interim he went into his tent, and forced Sophonisba to drink a cup of poison.

17. Scipio, through his clemency and compassion towards all the prisoners he took, for ever after was secure of Masinissa, as a faithful and constant confederate.

18. Hannibal called together his confederates, and told them that he must of necessity pass over into Africa, and that he had provided shipping for all those that were willing to go along with him; some agreed to the thing; but as to those that chose rather to continue in Italy, he compassed round with his army, and gave his soldiers liberty to pick out as many of them as they pleased to be their captives; and the rest, to the number of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse he put to the sword, together with a vast number of cattle.

19. Four thousand horse of those that went over to Masinissa after the rout of Syphax, deserted him and came in to Hannibal: but he, enraged at them, compassed them round with his army, and shot them all to death with darts and arrows, and divided their horses amongst his soldiers.

20. Scipio sent ambassadors to Carthage, but the common people were on the point to have knocked them all on the head: but the sober men of the city preserved them from that imminent danger, and got them on ship-board, in order to send them back to Scipio's camp: but those who were popular, and sided with the people of Carthage, ordered the master of the vessel, that when the ship wherein the ambassadors were began to sail, he should throw all overboard, which he performed accordingly.

However, the ambassadors swam to land and got safe to Scipio: but the gods within a short time after, by a remarkable instance, evidenced their power to punish those who designed so wicked an act. For it happened about that time the Carthaginian ambassadors were returning from Rome, and were driven by a storm into the midst of

the Roman fleet, and brought to Scipio; and when all cried out to retaliate the wickedness of the others upon the heads of the ambassadors that were then taken, Scipio utterly refused, saying—That they themselves ought not to do that for which they blamed the Carthaginians. They were therefore all discharged, and came safe to Carthage, and highly extolled the piety of the Romans.

21. Philip, king of Macedon*, persuaded Dicœardus the Ætolian, a daring man, to become a pirate, and to that end delivered to him twenty ships, with orders to exact tribute from the islands, and assist the Cretans against Rhodes. Hereupon, according to his orders, he robbed and spoiled the merchants; and wasting the islands, screwed abundance of money from them.

22. Philip the Macedonian king†, had with him one Heraclides a Tarentine, a wicked fellow, who in private was constantly buzzing calumnies and false accusations against his best friends in his ear, and incited him at length to that degree of impiety, that he put five of the senators to death; so that the king's affairs declined, and became worse and worse: for undertaking wars frivolously and unnecessarily, he was in danger of having lost his whole kingdom to the Romans; for none of his friends durst speak freely to him or advise him, all dreading his stubborn and haughty temper. He also made war upon the Dardanians without the least provocation, and slew ten thousand of them in battle.

23. This king Philip of Macedon, besides his rooted covetousness, was so lifted up with his prosperous successes, that he put his friends to death without any legal trial or just cause, and robbed and spoiled the temples and sepulchres. In like manner Antiochus attempting to rob the temple of Jupiter in Ælymais‡, there received a just overthrow, with the loss of his life and the total ruin of his army. And both of them conceiting that their armies were invincible, lost all in one battle, and were forced to receive laws imposed upon them by others; and imputed their misfortunes to their own miscarriages, and acknowledged themselves beholding to the humanity and generosity of the victors, for the pardon of their offences; and, according to the desert of their own wicked actions, they saw their kingdoms, through the anger of the gods, grievously plagued and afflicted. But the Romans then, and ever after, beginning no wars but upon just and honourable principles, and having a sacred regard to their leagues and oaths, were always deservedly assisted by the gods in all their counsels and designs.

* This was Philip the father of Perseus, the last king of Macedon.

† The same Philip.

‡ In Persia.—See this story in 1 Mac. c. 6, v. 1, 2, 3.

24. The same Philip being in extreme want of provision, continually wasted and spoiled the country of Attalus, up to the very gates of Pergamena*. He ruined likewise the temples in the suburbs of Pergamus, especially Nicephorus, which was exceeding rich: besides several other sumptuous fabrics; for out of hatred to Attalus, because he could not catch him, he vented his rage upon these places.

25. Philip entering into Attica, encamped at Cynosarges, and afterwards burnt Academia, demolished the sepulchres, and robbed the temples of the gods; and gratifying his rage and fury, as if he had been only incensed against the people of Athens, and not against the gods themselves, as he was evil spoken of before, so he was now hated of all, and in a short time he was overtaken by the vengeance of the gods, for he was nearly being ruined by his own imprudence, but preserved by the clemency of the Romans.

26. Philip perceiving he was hated by almost all the Macedonians, for his kindness to Heraclides, put him in prison. This Heraclides was a Tarentine, a notorious wicked fellow, who from a mild and gentle prince, changed Philip into a fierce and cruel tyrant, and for which he† was exceedingly hated by all the Grecians, as well as the Macedonians.

27. The name and fame of Hannibal, was circulated over all the world, and therefore in every city and town wherever he came, they assembled in great multitudes to see him.

28. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, for some time reigned with great commendation: but afterwards corrupted by parasites, he began to form a dislike towards his tutor Aristomenes, for the freedom he took in telling him of his faults, who had all along managed every thing with great prudence, and whose advice Ptolemy had before followed as his father; but at length he sent him out of the world, by forcing him to drink a cup of poison‡. From that time increasing in ferocity, and making use of tyrannical cruelty instead of regal authority, he was hated by the Egyptians, and not far off from the loss of his kingdom.

29. There is a temple not far from Chalcis, called Delium, where a considerable number of Roman soldiers who were carelessly walking about to indulge their curiosity, were suddenly cut off by Antiochus§, in a time of peace, and before any war was proclaimed. For which the king was greatly condemned and censured by the Grecians, as occasioning a war with the Romans. And therefore Titus Fla-

* Or Pergamus, one of the seven churches of Asia.
† Heraclides. ‡ Hemlock. § Antiochus Magnus.

minius, who was then in Corinth, called gods and men to witness, that it was the king who first began the war.

30. Antiochus wintered at Demetrias*, where he laid aside all care of warlike affairs, being then above fifty years of age. But he fell in love with a young lady†, and married her, and set forth most magnificent shews and public games; by which means he not only weakened his own body, and effeminated his mind, but enfeebled the courage of his army; and therefore his soldiers, who had passed the winter in luxury and voluptuousness, when they were drawn out, could neither endure hunger nor thirst, nor any other hardship; but some of them fell sick, and others straggled about here and there far from their colours.

31. King Antiochus seeing the cities of Thessaly inclining to the Romans, and the slow motion of the forces he expected out of Asia, and the carelessness and sloth of the Ætolians, continually framing and pretending one excuse after another, was in great anxiety, and very uneasy; so that he was highly incensed at those who advised him to begin the war, at a time when he he was unprepared, and had no confederates, but only the Ætolians. But he greatly admired Hannibal for his prudence, who advised him to the contrary, and therefore now reposed all his confidence in him; and whereas he suspected him before, he made use of him as his most trusty friend and counsellor.

32. Antiochus, wholly disheartened by his late rout, determined to leave Europe, and in Asia to act only on the defensive. He therefore ordered all the Lysimachians to quit the city‡, and pass over into Asia: for which every body censured him as being guilty of a very imprudent act, whereby, without an effort being made, he gave up into the hands of the enemy a city so advantageously situated, as might have proved a check to the passage of his troops out of Europe into Asia, which afterwards proved to be the case; for Scipio seizing on Lysimachia thus deserted, made great advantage of it in transporting his army.

33. Marcus Fulvius the prætor§, was deservedly punished for his abuse of the Roman confederates in Liguria: for he disarmed the Cinomani, (who received him as a friend and ally), although he could find nothing against them; which matter reaching the ears of the consul, he ordered him to restore the arms, and imposed a mulct upon him.

34. King Antiochus being in want of money, and hearing there

* In Thessaly. † Of Chalcis, daughter of Cleoptolemus.

‡ Lysimachia in the Hellespont.

§ Chief justice, or governor of a province; or chief commander in an army.

were vast treasures of gold and silver, and other precious jewels, offerings made in the temple of Jupiter Belus, in Ælymais, resolved to rifle it. Coming therefore into the province of Ælymais, and pretending that the inhabitants of that place had raised a war against him, he robbed the temple, and got together a great sum of money; but in a short time after, the gods executed vengeance upon him for this sacrilege.

35. Philopœmen, governor of Achaia, was both an excellent soldier and a statesman, who all his life long was of a blameless conversation, and had been frequently prætor. Having governed the commonwealth for forty years together, he much advanced the affairs of Achaia, and was always affable and courteous even to the meanest persons, and though for his virtue he was admired both by the Grecians and Romans, yet he came to an unfortunate end: but by a divine providence his unhappy exit was recompensed after his death with divine honours; for besides what was publicly decreed by the Achaians in honour of him, the citizens built a temple in remembrance of him, and appointed a bull for a yearly sacrifice to him, and ordered young men to sing hymns in praise and commendation of his noble acts.

36. Hannibal was the most expert general, and performed the greatest enterprises of any of the Carthaginians: he was never troubled with any mutinies in his army, but by his prudent conduct kept them in their duty and orderly discipline, although they differed as much from one another in their several humours, as they did in their various languages.

For whereas those of his own nation were accustomed upon very slight occasions to desert and fly over to the enemy, none under him dared ever attempt any such thing.

And though he marched from place to place with very great armies, yet he never wanted either money or provisions. And that which is most remarkable is, that the foreigners and mercenary soldiers loved him as well, if not more, than his own countrymen did. Keeping therefore his army in exact discipline, he performed the greater and more renowned actions. For he made war on the most potent nations, and wasted and harassed almost all Italy, for the space of seventeen years. He was so victorious in every battle he fought, and made such terrible slaughters among them who were reputed the lords of the world, that, on account of the prodigious multitudes that were cut off by him, none durst look him in the face, or engage him in battle.

He likewise laid many cities in ashes, which he had taken by storm, and almost depopulated Italy, which was before full of people: all

which, as they were accomplished by the strength and wealth of his own fellow-citizens, so likewise by great numbers of foreign auxiliaries and confederates, those who by their unanimity were unconquerable, he overcame by policy and warlike stratagems; and so made it evident, that as the soul governs the actions of the body, so a general rules and directs all to a right end in an army

37. P. Scipio, when he was but very young, performed great and wonderful things in Spain, beyond the expectations of all; and having beaten the Carthaginians, delivered his country from imminent perils, and compelled Hannibal, who was not to be overcome by force of arms, to leave Italy without fighting a stroke; and at last, by his valour and military conduct, overcame Hannibal in a great battle, and brought Carthage under the Roman yoke.

38. Leocritus, general of king Pharnaces, after he had often assaulted the city of Pius*, at length forced the mercenary soldiers who defended the place, to surrender the town on the condition — That they should be safely conducted to what place soever they pleased to go: who, when they were marched out of the city, and brought on their way according to the capitulation, Leocritus, (who was ordered by Pharnaces to put them all to the sword, because they had formerly incensed him), against the faith of the articles, as they were upon their march, fell upon them with darts, and slew them every man.

39. Seleucus having raised a great army, and on his march to assist Pharnaces, was now ready to pass mount Taurus, but calling to mind the league the Romans had made with his father, by which it was not lawful — — —

40. But they who had committed such a notoriously wicked act, and had murdered Demetrius†, escaped not divine justice. For those who contrived the false accusations from Rome, within a short time after incurred the king's displeasure, and were put to death. And as for Philip himself, he was restless all the days of his life after, and so much troubled in mind for the murder of so hopeful a son, that he did not survive above two years, but pined away with extreme grief. And Perseus, the author and contriver of the whole, being conquered by the Romans, and flying to Samothracia, by reason of the wickedness of the act perpetrated by him in the murder of his brother, could find no sanctuary in that holy temple.

41. Tiberius Gracchus being sent lieutenant-general into Spain, vigorously managed the war: for though he was very young, yet for valour and prudence he excelled his equals in age, and gave such

* Rather Teios.

† The son of Philip, king of Macedon, the father of Perseus.

evident signs of doing great things, that he was universally admired.

42. Paulus Æmilius, the consul and patron of the Macedonians, was a man eminent for nobleness of birth, prudence, and comeliness of person, and therefore all marks of honour were conferred on him by the Romans his countrymen. Every one echoed forth his praise while alive, and when dead his fame and renown, (together with the profit and advantage procured by his valour to the commonwealth), survived him.

43. Antiochus*, now recently advanced to the throne of Syria, began a new course of life, unusual with kings and princes. For at first, he would steal out of his palace unknown to any of his attendants, and walk about the city, calling one or another to him where he came as he thought fit. Then he took a pride in being familiar and drinking with ordinary fellows, and mean and poor travellers and strangers; and if perchance he discerned any young men met together to celebrate a festival, he would presently join them, with his cup in his hand, and become one of the choir; so that many were often so startled with the strangeness of the thing, that they would run away; and others through fear were struck with amazement, not able to say a word. Lastly, he would lay aside the royal robes, and put on a Roman gown†; and in imitation of the candidates at Rome, who were soliciting preferment, would salute and hug every ordinary fellow he met in the street, sometimes desiring they would make choice of him to be ædile, and at other times to be a tribune of the people.

Having at length obtained the office he desired, he would seat himself upon an ivory tribunal, and, after the manner of the Romans, hear causes; and was so earnest and diligent in the decision of controversies, both between foreigners and citizens, that the most prudent and serious among them knew not what to think of him, or at what he aimed or designed; for some gave a favourable construction of it, others accounted it folly, and some no other than downright madness.

44. After Eumenes was way-laid, and news came to Pergamus that he was dead, Attalus, rather too rashly, married the queen: but Eumenes returning a little time after, took no notice of it, but embraced his brother, and behaved with the same respect towards him as he did before.

45. Cotys, king of Thrace, was valiant in war, and prudent in his counsels, and highly to be commended for his care and diligence in all other respects: besides all which he was of singular temperance

* The Third. † Called Tebenna.

and sobriety; and that which was most remarkable for his honour and commendation was—That he was altogether free from the natural vices of the Thracians.

46. Perseus having taken Chalestra by storm, put all that were able to bear arms to the sword; and whereas five hundred of the garrison soldiers threw themselves into a fort, and treated for their lives, the king, upon their laying down their arms, gave them quarter, and liberty to be gone. But when they were out of the town, and on their march, according to the terms granted them, the Macedonians, whether at their own instigation, or by order from the king is uncertain, pursued them and slew them every man.

47. Charopes the Epirot, and son of that Charopes who in the war against Philip sent a guide to Titus Flaminius, to direct him through the strait and difficult passes in the mountains, by which means the Romans unexpectedly passing those places, possessed themselves of the straits; this Charopes, I say, being bred up at Rome, upon the account of the good services of his grandfather to the Romans, had great interest with the most eminent persons of quality, and being a fellow of most extraordinary malice and impudence, was continually at Rome accusing and slandering the chiefest persons of quality at Epirus, so that by terrifying all that were in a capacity to oppose him, he became as it were absolute lord and master of all Epirus. "Cephalus* therefore, and others who were oppressed by his ca-"lumnies, were forced to confederate with Perseus," and to that end sent messengers to him into Macedonia, and by them promised to deliver Epirus into his hands.

48. King Eumenes being out of all hopes of taking Abdera, which he then besieged, dealt underhandedly with one Python, a chief man among the Abderites, who by his servants and freemen, to the number of two hundred, guarded the strongest part of the city. This man, being corrupted by bribes, and won by fair promises, let him in at the gates, and so Eumenes gained the city. But Python, receiving but a poor and mean reward for his treason, and seeing before his eyes the utter ruin and destruction of his country, repented of what he had done, and pined away with grief.

49. When an opportunity was put into the hands of Perseus to cut off the whole army, he loitered not far off, about Dium in Macedonia, careless and negligent in the very nick of time, wherein only by a shout and sound of trumpet he might have surprised and taken all the forces of the enemy, who were then shut up and enclosed within steep and craggy rocks; and, as the king was negligent, so

* This is omitted in the Greek.

the Macedonian guards that were placed upon the tops of the mountains were in like manner as careless in their watch at their several posts.

50. Perseus, looking upon all to be lost, and being altogether discouraged, commanded Nico, his lord-treasurer, to throw all the money and treasure at Phocis* into the sea.

He sent away likewise Andronicus, the squire of his body, to Thessalonica, with orders forthwith to burn his whole fleet; who came accordingly to Thessalonica, but with a design to act more prudently; for he forbore to execute his orders, hoping, by preserving the shipping, to ingratiate himself with the Romans.

51. Perseus in the mean time pulling down all the golden statues at Dion†, ordered all the inhabitants, with their wives and children, to remove along with him to Pydna‡, than which (a man may justly say) nothing was more imprudently done by Perseus during this war.

52. At this time the Cydoniates§ committed a most impious act, against all the laws and customs of Greece; for, being received by the Apolloniats‖ into the city as friends, in time of peace, they seized upon the place, and put all the men to the sword, and divided their wives and children among themselves, and took possession of the whole territory.

53. King Antiochus, when he had routed the Egyptians, and might have cut them off every man, rode about and called out to his men to forbear killing them, but rather to take them prisoners; from which counsel he reaped considerable advantage in a short time; for, upon the account of his humanity, he presently gained Pelusium, and not long after all Egypt.

54. But we cannot (observing the method we have proposed to ourselves) pass by the cowardice of Ptolemy; for who can but judge him of a most effeminate spirit who would, without a stroke struck, give up so great and rich a kingdom, when there was not the least danger at hand, and the enemy at so great a distance from him: which effeminacy, if it had been natural, would perhaps have been more excusable; but, it being apparent from the things he afterwards did that he was a prince inferior to none for industry and resolution, this sloth must needs be imputed to his education under the eunuch Eulaius, who, breeding him up from his childhood in pleasures, and womanish recreations, emasculated the vigour of his spirit.

* Phocion, or Phocus, a town in Thessaly. † In Thessaly. ‡ In Macedonia.
§ The inhabitants of Cydonia, an island near Lesbos.
‖ Apollonia, a city in Asia, upon the sea-coasts; another in Thrace. This Apollonia is in Crete.

55. King Antiochus seemed to all to be a prudent and active prince, and worthy of the kingdom in every respect, excepting that one miscarriage at Pelusium.

56. When Perseus understood that a choice body of Gauls had passed the river Ister, in order to assist him, he greatly rejoiced, and sent messengers into Mædica to hasten their march with all speed. But the general of the Gauls demanded present pay according to the agreement, to the value of about five hundred talents, which Perseus through his natural covetousness, refusing to pay, though he had before promised it, the Gauls returned back into their own country.

57. Paulus Æmilius, as soon as he had received the legions, called them together, and put life and spirit into the hearts of his soldiers; for he was now above sixty years of age, and a man of great repute and authority among the Romans, for his noble services to the state: and he had invented many new and subtile stratagems in that war, and by his valour and policy had overcome the Macedonians.

58. Perseus desirous to have many to go along with him, when he fled by sea, brought out to them money and rich furniture, to the value of sixty talents, to take and carry away with them. Afterwards, when he arrived at Galepsus, he told his companions that some of those things that he had suffered them to carry away, were formerly the goods of Alexander the Great, and desired they would forthwith restore them to him, and he would repay them to the value in money; to which all readily consented, and he received every thing back again, but never made good his promise.

59. Alexander was of a far different temper from Perseus, for the former was of a brave and noble spirit, and gained an empire like to the greatness of his mind. On the contrary, the other through his sordid covetousness, lost the assistance of the Gauls, and by such like gross miscarriages, utterly ruined an antient flourishing kingdom.

60. After the flight of Perseus, Lucius Æmilius began to seek for his younger son Publius Africanus, who was the natural son of Æmilius, but the adopted son of Scipio, who overcame Hannibal. At that time he was a youth about seventeen years of age, and under the care and tutorage of his father, in that great and perilous war, so that afterwards he became as famous a general as his father. Being at length found out, and brought safe into the camp, the consul was at rest, and freed from that anxiety of mind he laboured under; for he loved him with more than a paternal affection.

61. Æmilius, by his civil and courteous usage of Perseus, entertaining him at his table, and receiving him into all public councils,

[a] A province of Thrace near Macedonia.

gave evident demonstrations, that as he was a terror to his enemies in the open field, so he was mild and merciful to them that were subdued: which course being followed by others, Rome became mistress of the world, without envy, and so continued as long as it made use of such noble generals.

62. For in former times when the Romans had overcome those two potent kings Antiochus and Philip, they not only forbore inflicting punishment, but restored them to their kingdoms, and took them into the number of their allies. And in these later times, after many battles fought with Perseus, and overcoming many great hazards and difficulties, and after they had possessed themselves of all Macedonia, beyond all men's hopes and expectations, they proclaimed liberty to all the cities; which favour neither the Macedonians nor any body else could ever expect should have been granted by the Romans, because they were very conscious to themselves how much they had injured the Roman state. For they judged (and that most justly) that there was no room left for mercy, being that they had before been pardoned former wrongs and injuries.

But the senate forgot all that was past, and carried themselves towards them with great clemency and generosity. For they suffered Perseus to go at large, only with a keeper, a punishment less than his demerit, who, against the faith of his league, and the obligation of his kindred and alliance to the Romans, had most unjustly made war upon them; and they set free all the people of Macedonia, (whom by the law of arms they might have made perpetual slaves), and with that readiness and nobleness of mind, beyond all that the conquered themselves could have desired. The Illyrians, likewise, whom they had subdued, they suffered to use their own laws; for they made it more their concern to do what became the majesty and grandeur of the Romans, in carrying it nobly towards others, without pride and insolence in prosperity, than that they looked upon the barbarians any way worthy of such favour.

63. The senate decreed the Macedonians and Illyrians to be free, and that they should pay but half of that tribute to the Romans which they paid to their own kings.

64. Perseus thus thrown into the gaol, miserably ended his days in such sad and uncomfortable circumstances.

The rest is to be found in the Fragments, Book 31, in Photius's Bibliotheca, at the end of Diodorus Siculus, Fragment 2.

65. The general of the Gauls being returned from the pursuit of the enemy, gathered the captives together, and committed a most horrid piece of wickedness; for he picked out the choicest and strongest young men amongst them, and sacrificed them to the gods,

as if the immortal deities are pleased with such sacrifices. The rest he shot to death with darts, most of whom, of antient acquaintance, he well knew; however, former friendship was no argument to spare a man of them. Thus are barbarians puffed up with prosperous successes.

66. Eumenes, far different from Perseus, not only paid his soldiers what was their due pay, but bestowed on them several gifts besides, with promises of more afterwards, whereby he gained all their hearts, and held them fast to his interest. But Perseus, when twenty thousand Gauls were near at hand ready to assist him, through his niggardliness refused their aid and assistance; but Eumenes, though he was nothing near so rich as the other, obliged his mercenaries and all others that might be helpful to him by his bounty and liberality. And therefore Perseus, sinking below the generosity of a king, and enslaving himself to a covetous and sordid parsimony, lived to see all the wealth he had heaped up together, with his whole kingdom, fall into the hands of the conqueror. But the other, preferring victory before any thing else, not only freed his own kingdom from the imminent dangers it laboured under, but brought the whole nation of the Gauls into subjection.

67. Some of the counsels and acts of Antiochus were both princely and admirable, others so poor and mean, that they were justly despised and ridiculed. For when he celebrated public games, he first acted contrary to the manner and practice of all other kings; for they, when they were strengthening themselves all they could with men and money, it was their greatest care to keep all private and secret, out of fear of the Roman greatness: but he, on the contrary, invited to his sports the most eminent persons from all parts of the world, and most magnificently adorned every part of his palace; and thus bringing together all the riches of his kingdom into one place to be exposed, as it were, upon a stage, to the view of all, he occasioned every thing he did to be known and blazed abroad.

68. And in the state, grandeur, and variety of those famous games, Antiochus far excelled all the princes that ever were before him; but that part which he himself acted in those may-games, was very despicable and contemptible. For he would ride up and down among all that solemn assembly upon a little nag, meanly accoutred, bidding some go on, others to stop, and commanding this and that, as best pleased his own fancy; so that if his diadem had been off, none would have believed him to have been a king, who scarce represented the garb and mien of a common officer*. All the time of the public entertainment he stood at the door, and introduced

* A lictor.

some, and ordered others to sit down, and ushered in the servants that brought in the dishes. Sometimes, also, he would go to some one of the guests, and sit down by him, and at other times lay himself along on the floor, and then would start up on a sudden, and hop up and down, sometimes placing dishes of meat upon the table, and other times washing the drinking cups, and diligently observing every thing round the room, would pledge those that drank to him standing, sporting and jesting with those that were merrily disposed. When it drew towards evening, and most were gone, he was wrapt up in linen, and brought in by the anticks, and laid upon the ground; and presently after (as if he were called) he started up on a sudden naked, and in a jocund humour danced in most ridiculous gestures with the mimics and stage-players; insomuch as all being put out of countenance through shame withdrew and left the place. Every one indeed that came to the solemnity, as often as they cast their eyes upon the sumptuous furniture, and the stately and magnificent order and disposal of the whole, in the celebration of the sports and games, admired both the king and the riches of his kingdom; but when they looked upon the king himself, and his irregular actions, they scarce believed it was possible that so many vices and virtues could be found to concentre in one and the same person.

69. When the solemnity was ended, Tiberius Gracchus arrived as an ambassador sent to inspect the affairs of Syria, whom the king received and entertained with so much kindness and civility, that Gracchus did not in the least suspect any ill designs in the king, nor discerned that he took any thing amiss in relation to what was done in Egypt. But Antiochus in truth was far from such a temper, but was altogether a mortal enemy to the Romans.

70. Ptolemy being driven out of his kingdom, and on his journey to Rome by land, it was made known to Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, who, surprised with his misfortune, gave an instance of his royal and generous disposition. For forthwith, attended with his servants, and taking with him a royal robe, a diadem, and a horse adorned with trappings of gold, he went to meet Ptolemy, and came up to him at the twenty-sixth stone* distant from the city, whom (after he had courteously embraced him) he advised to put on the royal robes, and to make use of the other ensigns of royalty, and so enter into the city as became the dignity of his person, lest he should be despised: Ptolemy was much taken with him for his extraordinary kindness, but was so far from accepting what was offered, that he entreated Demetrius he might rather stop, and take up his abode at some small village in the way.

* Every stone was a mile: two hundred furlongs.

71 Antipater having breathed out his last in the midst of these torments, they bring Asclepiades, governor of the city, crying out that Timotheus was the contriver of the whole scene of this mischief, and that it was through his persuasions that the young man so impiously and unjustly put his brother to death. Hereupon when all the great men and commanders began to smell out the whole design and contrivance, and to commiserate the sad condition of those that suffered such cruel torments, Timotheus was in a great fright, and loosed the rest that were condemned from their torments, and afterwards put them privately to death.

72. Philopater, surnamed Ariarathes, being now come to the crown after the death of his father, the first thing he did was the celebrating his father's funeral in great pomp and state; afterwards, caressing his friends, great officers, and commanders, and the rest of his subjects, he gained the good will of all sorts.

73. When Ariarathes had restored Mithrobuzanes to his father's kingdom, Artaxias king of Armenia, still infected with his old vice of covetousness, sent an ambassador to Ariarathes to solicit him to join with him, and kill one of the brothers that were then in his hands, and divide Sophene* between them. But Ariarathes greatly abhorred such a piece of cruelty and treachery, and smartly rebuked the ambassadors, and wrote a letter to Artaxias, wherein he advised him to forbear such wicked practices; which carriage of Ariarathes much advanced his fame and reputation; and Mithrobuzanes, through the faithfulness and integrity of him to whom he fled for shelter, regained his father's kingdom.

74. Lucius Æmilius, who conquered Perseus, and was a consul and censor, and the bravest man of his age of all the Romans, died about this time; whose death, when it was generally known, especially at the time of his funeral, caused such a general sorrow and lamentation, that not only artificers and other sorts of common people flocked together, but the senate and all the magistrates of the city prepared every thing that was necessary for the gracing of his funeral. And all persons of the free towns and cities bordering upon Rome, that could possibly attend at the day, came in flocking together, both to see and honour the solemnity.

75. Such as Æmilius was reported for his wealth while he lived, such he appeared to be when he was dead. For though he was the only person in his time that enriched the treasury at Rome with plenty of gold, brought with him out of Spain, and had the command of all the riches of Macedonia, and was clothed with absolute

* A country in Asia, bordering upon the Greater Armenia.

authority in all those places, yet he was so far from converting any thing to his private use, that when his two adopted sons after his death, possessed themselves of his estate, out of all his goods they were not able to raise so much as would be sufficient to render to his wife her just dowry, without selling some of his lands; and therefore some have preferred him for his abstemiousness and freedom from covetousness before Aristides and Epaminondas, who were so famous and eminent among the Grecians upon that account: for they only refused money that was offered them by such as thereby designed and aimed at their own advantage; but this man meddled not with any thing, where he had possession of all, and might have taken to his use as much as he pleased.

And if any look upon this as a thing incredible, let such consider that they must not judge of the sobriety and moderation of the antient Romans by the griping covetousness of those at this day: for in truth in this our age the Romans exceed all other nations in their insatiableness after riches. But, since we now revive the memory of so excellent a person, we shall briefly say something of Scipio, his son, he who afterwards razed Numantia, lest ignorance of his care and diligence in the study of the most excellent and commendable arts and sciences should occasion incredulity that he should attain to such an eminency in all virtuous qualifications. Publius Scipio, therefore, was the natural son of Lucius Æmilius, who conquered Perseus, as we have before declared; but was the adopted son of Scipio, who conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and so by adoption Scipio Africanus, the most eminent of all the Romans that ever were before him, was his grandfather.

Scipio thus nobly descended, and taken into so famous a family, approved himself not the least unworthy the glory and renown of his ancestors. For he was brought up and instructed from his childhood in the learning of the Greeks; and, when he was eighteen years of age, applied himself to the study of philosophy, under the inspection of Polybius of Megalopolis, the historian, his tutor, with whom he continued a considerable time; and, increasing in all manner of virtue, he not only excelled his equals in years, but those far older than himself, in sobriety, affability, generosity, and all other virtuous qualifications. But before he began to study philosophy, it was every body's opinion that he was but dull and blockish, and very unworthy to be heir to so great a family. In the first place he made it his chief care and business to be sober, as conducing much to the commendation of his youthful age, which was then, at his years, a very difficult task. For the youth at that time were hurried away by filthy lusts, and an excess of intemperance, with an impetuous current, some to

sodomy, others to whores, gluttony, drunkenness, revellings, and such like luxurious and voluptuous courses: for the Romans presently learnt the effeminate manners of the Greeks in this kind through the long continuance of the Persian war; and besides, having gained abundance of wealth, they were plentifully supplied with fuel to feed their luxury.

76. But Scipio followed another course of life, and combating with all his natural corrupt lusts, as with so many wild beasts, within the space of five years attained to a fixed and habitual state of sobriety and temperance. To which all giving their testimony, and generally crying him up upon that account, he then put forth himself in acts of bounty, generosity, and liberality, in distributing his money for the good of others: for which sort of virtue he had an example in his father Æmilius, under whose instruction he was long bred up, and now exhibited, as it were, a perfect copy of his virtue: but fortune likewise presented him an eminent occasion of expressing his liberality. For when Æmilia the wife of the great Scipio, the sister of Æmilius who conquered Perseus, died, and left a great estate behind her, of which Scipio was heir; he first gave an instance of his generous disposition upon this occasion. For his mother Papiria being cast off long before the death of his father, had lived a considerable time separate from her husband, in a far meaner condition than became one of her noble birth: but Æmilia the mother of his adopted father leaving behind her a great inheritance, besides other riches, had a rich robe and woman's gown, together with a splendid retinue of household servants, as being the wife of the great Scipio, and so sharer with him in his estate and fortune: all these Scipio nobly bestowed upon his mother, in which stately habit, when she appeared in public amongst the ladies of quality, the bounty and generosity of the young man, and his piety towards his mother, were highly applauded, first among the women, and then among all companies and societies of men, throughout the whole city. This piece of liberality was looked upon by the whole city, not only as a thing commendable, but even wonderful, especially at Rome, in which city none easily part with any thing they have to another. After this there being a great sum of money owing to the daughters of the great Scipio, as their dowries*; and whereas by the Roman laws the party that was to pay such portions, had liberty to pay them in three years time, by a certain proportion every year, he paid the whole down at once. Afterwards, when his natural father Æmilius was dead, and he and his brother Fabius were constituted joint heirs of his estate, Scipio did another honourable act,

* Portions.

well worthy to be remembered. For when he knew that his brother had far less than himself, he freely bestowed upon him his own share of the inheritance, amounting to above sixty talents, and so made his brother as rich as himself: which act being generally cried up, he did that which was further remarkable; for when Fabius was resolved to exhibit single combats by gladiators at the funeral of his father, yet was not well able to bear the great charge it would require, Scipio bore half of the cost and expense out of his own purse. A little time after, when his mother died, he was so far from taking again what he had before bestowed upon her, that he gave not only them, but all the rest of his mother's inheritance to his sisters, although no part of her estate by the laws belonged to them. Thus Scipio being cried up by the unanimous consent of all persons, for his generosity, he grew every day more and more famous and renowned, which he attained unto, not so much by greatness of expense, as by choice of fit opportunities to express his kindnesses, and an art of conferring his gifts and benefits upon proper objects.

He gained likewise a just reputation for his chastity without any cost or charge, but only by his moderation and sobriety, from whence likewise he reaped the great benefit of health and strength of body, and following this course during his life, he enjoyed a reward of his temperance with great pleasure and delight. And as for all the parts of valour, which is a virtue absolutely necessary every where, especially among the Romans, he was not in the least wanting or negligent, in that respect fortune affording him a special opportunity to approve himself; for the Macedonian kings being much given to hunting, Scipio by far surpassed them all.

77. After the Romans had conquered Perseus, (or rather Charopes), they put some of them to death who had sided with the Macedonians, and others they sent to Rome. But Charopes being cloathed with an absolute power and authority in Epirus, because he seemed to be a great favourer of the Romans, at first dealt with the Epirots something gently and mildly, but afterwards growing every day more proud and insolent, he turned every thing in Epirus upside down. For by false accusations against the richest men, he banished some, put others to death, and confiscated their goods: and he not only squeezed money from men, but from women, by the help of his mother Philota; who was more than a woman in cruelty and wickedness. Many likewise, who were accused to be plotting against the Romans, he gave up into the hands of the people, who were all condemned to die.

78. Orophernes having deposed his brother Ariarathes, when he ought to have managed his affairs with the greatest prudence imagi-

nable, and ingratiated himself into the hearts of his people by kindness and acts of grace and favour, intended no such matter: but being wholly intent on scraping up money together, he wickedly put many to death; he gave to Timotheus fifty, and king Demetrius seventy talents, and promised in a short time to pay other four hundred talents; and besides, to add to them, six hundred more: at which, discerning that the Cappadocians were greatly incensed, he began to rob and spoil every body, and confiscate the goods of the nobility; and having treasured up a vast sum of money, he intrusted four hundred talents with the Pirenians, to serve him at a turn and change of fortune, which were afterwards faithfully repaid him.

79. Ptolemy the elder, having presently by the multitude of his forces penned up his brother*, by a close siege†, and reduced them to the utmost extremity, yet pardoned him; induced thereunto, both by his natural clemency, and the nearness of relations, and his awe and fear of the Romans: and he did not only pardon him, but entered into a league with him, according to which, he was to be content as the younger brother with Cyrene, and with a certain proportion of wheat every year. And thus a war between brothers, which had wholly alienated their affections one from the other, and was continued to the utmost hazard of them both, was on a sudden ended upon moderate terms and conditions.

80. When Orophernes discerned that his affairs declined much to the worse, he resolved to satisfy his mercenary soldiers as soon as he could, lest they should mutiny for want of their pay: but being at present straitened through scarcity of money, he was necessitated to rifle Jupiter's temple, situated at the foot of Mount Ariadne, which before had been ever preserved sacred and inviolable, and by this means he paid his soldiers all their arrears.

81. Prusias king of Bithynia, being altogether disappointed in his design of taking Attalus, destroyed and laid waste the sacred grove called Nicephorius, which lay under the walls of the city‡, and rifled the temple itself, and took away the statues, and the images of the gods; and among the rest, the famous statue of Æsculapius, said to be one of the curious pieces of Phipomachus, and robbed the place of all its sacred and consecrated goods and treasure. For which sacrilege, the gods in a short time after, inflicted upon him deserved punishment: for most of his land-army perished by the bloody flux; and the like calamity happened to his naval forces, for by a sudden storm in the Propontis, most of his ships with their soldiers and rowers together were sunk; and some few were cast upon

* Evergetes. † In the city. ‡ Pergamus.

the land, and shipwrecked. And these were the first punishments inflicted upon Prusias for his impiety.

82. The Cretans arriving at Siphnos, besieged the city, and the inhabitants partly through fear, and partly through feigned and deceitful promises admitted them into the city; the Cretans first promising that none of the inhabitants should receive the least prejudice; but when they were entered, according to the usual treachery and perfidiousness of the Cretans, they both carried them all away captives, and rifled and robbed all the temples of the gods; and so loaded with spoil, hoisted up sail, and made back for Crete. But in a short time after, they paid dear for this treachery, the gods presently executing vengeance upon them for their impiety; for out of fear of some enemies that overpowered them in shipping, they were forced to loose out of harbour in the night, and most of their ships by a sudden storm were sunk at sea, and others were cast upon land, and dashed in pieces upon the rocks, where all in them miserably perished; some few that consented not to this perfidious dealing escaped.

83. Philip the son of Amyntas, coming to a kingdom then subject and tributary to the Illyrians by his arms and skill in martial affairs, restored it to its former liberty, and by his mild and gentle usage of those he subdued, he enlarged his kingdom above any that was in Europe. For having beaten the Athenians in a great battle, (who contended with him for the principality of Greece), he buried all their dead that fell in the fight, whom they had left in the open field, and sent back above two thousand prisoners to their own country, without any redemption: so that they who before had contended with him, hearing of his generous usage of their fellow citizens, voluntarily yielded up to him the sovereignty of Greece; and so what he could not accomplish by so many battles and hazards, merely by his mildness and humanity he obtained with the free and unanimous consent of his enemies. But what he had got, he afterwards maintained, by striking a fear and terror into the hearts of his enemies, for he razed the populous city of Olynthus to the ground. In the same manner his son Alexander, by the ruin of Thebes, deterred the Lacedæmonians and Athenians (who were plotting against him) from their designed revolt. And his civil and generous usage of the prisoners in the Persian war, was such, that he gained the hearts of the Asiatics, not so much by his valour, as his mildness and humanity. But in later times, the Romans thirsting after a universal monarchy, in a great measure obtained their ends, by the force of their arms, but their clemency toward such as they had conquered, added much to the increase and enlargement of their con-

quests. For they were so far from cruelty, or being rigorous in executing punishment upon those they had subdued, that they seemed to carry it towards them rather as friends than as enemies. For when the conquered expected the utmost severity of revenge from the conquerors, they left no room for any others to exceed them in humanity, and clemency: for some they made free of the city, with others they joined in affinity by marriages, others they set free to govern according to their own laws; and to sum up all, none underwent any severity by being conquered, further than what was fit. And therefore, upon the account of this extraordinary clemency, kings, cities, and countries, generally sheltered themselves under the protection of the Romans. But when they were lords almost of the whole world, then they strengthened and confirmed themselves in their dominions, by severity, and razing of towns and cities, to strike a terror into their enemies. For they utterly destroyed Corinth in Achaia, Carthage in Africa, Numantia in Spain, and rooted up the kingdom of Macedonia, in the ruin of Perseus, and became a terror to many.

84. The Romans make it their great care, that the wars they begin, be upon just grounds, and therefore never resolve upon any thing rashly, or inconsiderately.

85. Publius Scipio, (who was afterwards sirnamed Africanus, and was then a tribune*, when almost all the rest of the Romans made light of their terms and articles made with their enemies, though confirmed by their solemn oaths), most religiously observed and kept his promises with the besieged, and used them with all humanity and clemency when they fell into his hands. His faith and integrity therefore being noised abroad all over Africa, none surrendered up themselves into the hands of the Romans, unless Scipio joined in signing of the articles.

86. When there were only three Romans killed in the skirmish, and were left lying upon the ground unburied, all were very much troubled and concerned at it. But Scipio with the consent of the consul wrote a letter to Asdrubal, to desire him to bury those Romans: who presently ordered the thing to be done; and when all was performed sent their ashes to the consul, which added much to the honour of Scipio, as one whose authority was prevalent even with the enemies themselves.

87. The counterfeit Philip, having beaten the Romans in a great battle, became proud, cruel, and tyrannical; there was not a wealthy person which he put not most wickedly to death, upon false accusations: he spared not his own intimate friends, but despatched

* Colonel.

many of them out of the way; for he was naturally fierce and cruel, proud and haughty in all his familiar intercourses, and at last deeply engaged in covetousness, and all manner of vice.

88. The Romans had such a kindness for Publius Scipio, that though neither his age nor the laws did qualify him, yet they endeavoured with all their might to elect him consul.

89. Calphurnius the consul, after he had some towns delivered up to him upon articles, contrary to the terms agreed upon, and against his faith and engagements, razed them to the ground, and therefore in all his designs and contrivances afterwards, he was disappointed as a faithless and treacherous person, as if some deity set himself against him; for he attempted many things, but was never able to effect any thing.

90. King Prusias being both of an ugly visage, and a mean and effeminate presence, was mortally hated by the Bithynians.

91. After the taking of Carthage, Scipio gave liberty to the Sicilian ambassadors to search among the spoils, and ordered every one to carry back into their several cities such things as had formerly been taken away from them by the Carthaginians: upon which were found many statues and pictures of famous men, of exquisite workmanship, besides many things devoted and consecrated to the gods, some of silver and others of gold; among which, was the famous Phalarian bull of Agrigentum, made by Perillus, for the tyrant Phalaris, who caused the artificer himself to make the first experiment of his own art, by executing that sort of punishment upon him, which he had invented for the torturing of others.

92. In our time Caius Julius Cæsar, sirnamed for the greatness of his actions Divus*, when almost a hundred years after he saw the ruins and rubbish of Corinth, was so compassionately affected, and withal desirous to make himself glorious, that he put forth himself to the utmost to rebuild the city. And therefore it is but just that the humanity and clemency that was eminent in this man, should be allowed its just and due praises, and that his virtue should be recorded in history, for an everlasting remembrance to his eternal praise and honour. For when his ancestors were extreme in their severity against this city, he rectified their excesses by his own lenity and moderation, preferring mercy before cruelty. Besides, he far excelled all that were ever before him in the greatness of his actions, and upon the account of his virtuous qualifications, was sirnamed Divus. To conclude, this man was the most famous and renowned for eminency of birth, fluency of tongue, the art of war, and contempt of riches, of any whatsoever that was in his age.

* Divine.

93. Viriathus of Lusitania, the captain of the robbers, was just and exact in distributing the spoil, and those who had valiantly behaved themselves in battle, he would liberally reward according to their several merits, and he never converted any of the public monies to his own private use, and therefore the Lusitanians never shrunk or drew back from any hazardous undertaking, when he commanded them, and was their leader, honouring him as the common benefactor and saviour of their country.

94. Plautius the Roman prætor greatly misgoverned his province, being therefore condemned by the people, because he had dishonoured his government, he fled from Rome.

95. In Syria, king Alexander, being far unfit for so high a station, by reason of his sloth and meanness of spirit, gave up the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus*.

96. The kingdom of Syria†, being now brought low, and Demetrius being only the surviving branch of the royal stock, believing himself to be out of all danger, disregarded the deportment of the former kings, who studied to ingratiate themselves into the good opinion of their people, by their affable and courteous behaviour: but he growing every day more and more unsufferable, fell at length to downright cruelty, and all sorts of heinous enormities. The cause of all which is not only to be attributed to his own corrupt disposition, but to one of his friends, who had the management of all the affairs of the kingdom: for being a wicked and rash fellow, he incited by his flattery, the young man to all manner of wickedness. At first therefore, he put to death all that had sided against him in the war, with unusual sorts of punishments. Afterwards, when the Antiochians taunted and jeered at him, as they were wont to do, he got together a company of mercenary soldiers against them, and commanded that they should be disarmed, but the Antiochians refusing to deliver them; some he killed as they fell into his hands, others he murdered in their own houses, together with their wives and children; upon which a great uproar being raised in the city, he burnt down most of the town to the ground, and many that were accused to be heads of this commotion, were put to death, and their estates confiscated, and brought into the king's exchequer: and therefore many of the citizens, both out of fear and hatred to Demetrius, fled out of the city and wandered up and down all Syria, watching for a fit time and opportunity to be revenged. In the mean time Demetrius, hated of every body, raged notwithstanding in slaughters, banishments, and confiscations, far exceeding his fa-

* Ush. An. 470. before Christ, 140.

† In the Greek it is Ægypt, but mistaken I conceive.

ther in cruelty: for he was far from royal clemency and kindness; but exercising a tyrannical and arbitrary power, oppressed his subjects with most grievous and unsufferable calamities. Insomuch as the kings of this family, for their oppressions, were hated by all, those of the other*, were as much beloved for their moderation and clemency; so that through the mutual plots and circumventing contrivances of the heads of both these families, one against another, Syria was always full of stirs and commotions: and the common people themselves, through the flattery and fair promises of those kings that sought to succeed the other, were so led aside, as that they still delighted in change.

97. The Aradians† growing high crested and insolent, abused the Marathenian‡ ambassadors, who crying out against their impiety, challenged the sacred regard that ought to be had to suppliants, and the security and protection due to ambassadors, upon which, some of the audacious young fellows, presently knocked them on the head. Then these murderers and their co-partners got together in a general assembly, and adding one piece of wickedness to another, contrived an impious and vile design against the Marathenians; for taking the rings off the fingers of them that were murdered, they wrote letters to the Marathenians, as from the ambassadors, by which they informed them, that the Aradians would within a short time send them aid, to the end that the Marathenians might receive the Aradian soldiers into their city, and so be surprised, thinking they were really, and without fraud, sent to them as auxiliaries. But the Aradians failed in their wicked design, for when they had laid an embargo upon all the ships, that none might discover their treachery to the Marathenians, a certain seaman, a neighbour to the Marathenians commiserating their condition, and being accustomed to sail in the neighbouring sea, took a ship, and in the night passed over that narrow cut, about eight furlongs in breadth, and discovered the fraud of the Aradians to the Marathenians; the Aradians therefore, when they understood their plot was discovered, forbore sending the letters.

98. Ptolemy Physcon, the brother of Philometor, began his reign most wickedly; for charging many with plots against his life, he put them all to death, with most cruel torments, others for pretended crimes invented by himself, he banished and confiscated their estates: by which cruelties, in a short time, his subjects were

* Of Alexander Bala, who pretended to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes.—Josephus lib. 13. c. 3. 1. Mac. 101. Ush. An. 465.

† Of Aradus island. ‡ Of Marathos in Phœnicia.

so enraged, that they all hated him mortally; however, he reigned fifteen years.

99. Viriathus, when at his marriage many gold and silver cups, and all sorts of rich carpets of exquisite workmanship, were set forth to grace the solemnity, he held them all upon the point of a lance, not with admiration of such rich and splendid furniture, but rather in scorn and contempt. After, when he had upon this occasion spoken many things, with much wisdom and prudence, he concluded with many emphatical expressions, and with this one, very remarkable*, for by this saying he signified, that it was the greatest imprudence imaginable, to trust in goods of fortune, which are so uncertain; especially, since it was apparent, that all those highly esteemed riches of his father-in-law, were liable to be a prey to him that might carry them away upon his spear's point; further he added, that his father-in-law ought rather to thank him, for that nothing of his own was given by his father-in-law, to him who was lord and owner of all. Viriathus therefore at that time, neither washed nor sat down, although he was earnestly entreated so to do. And whereas the table was plentifully furnished with rich dishes of meat, he only distributed some bread and flesh amongst them that came along with him. After he had a little more than tasted the meat himself, he ordered his bride to be brought to him, and having sacrificed after the manner of the Spaniards, he mounted her on horseback, and forthwith carried her away to his apartments in the mountains: for he accounted sobriety and temperance the greatest riches, and the liberty of his country gained by valour, the surest possession. In his leagues and treaties he was very careful and exactly faithful to his word, and spoke plainly and sincerely what he intended, instructed therein (without any other arts) by his own natural principles of honesty and fair dealing.

100. Demetrius, while he staid at Laodicea, spent his time in banqueting, and such like luxury; and yet exercised his tyranny on many in the mean time, not at all bettered by his afflictions.

101. The Cnossians contended for the sovereignty of the island, which they alledged belonged to them, both upon the account of the antient dignity of the city, and the glory and renown of their ancestors in the heroic times. For some say that Jupiter was brought up amongst them, and that Minos, who had the dominion of the seas, was bred up by Jupiter, at Cnossus, and excelled all other men in virtuous accomplishments.

102. But in Egypt, king Ptolemy for his cruelty, was hated by all his subjects: for his manners were not to be compared with his

* Here something is wanting.

brother Philometor's; for he was of a mild and gentle nature, but the other fierce and cruel; and therefore the people longed for a change, and earnestly waited for a fit opportunity to revolt.

103. At the time when Ptolemy, (after the solemn manner of the Ægyptians), was enthroned at Memphis, his queen Cleopatra was delivered of a son, at which he exceedingly rejoiced, and called him Memphites, because he was born in the city Memphis, at the time of his solemn inauguration. But while he was celebrating his son's birth day, he forgot not his usual cruelty, for he ordered some of Cyrene, (who had brought him into Ægypt), to be put to death, because they rebuked him something too freely, upon the account of the strumpet Irene.

104. After Diegylis king of Thrace, came to the throne, he was so puffed up with his prosperity, that he began to rule over his people not as his subjects and friends, but to domineer over them, as so many slaves and bondmen: for he put many good and honest Thracians by tortures to death, and abused with the highest marks of disgrace many others: for he spared neither woman nor boy that were handsome and beautiful, and stuck not at stripping men out of all they had, by force and strong hand, but filled all his dominions with rapine and violence. He plundered and spoiled likewise the cities of Greece that bordered upon him, and abused some of the captives, and put others to death with exquisite torments. After he had taken the city Lysimachia, (which belonged to Attalus), he burnt it down to the ground, and picked out the greatest persons of quality from amongst the captives, and put them to death with strange and unheard of tortures: for he cut off the heads, hands, and feet of their children, and hung them about their parent's necks, and exchanged the members of men and women one from another. Of some he cut off their hands, and clove them down the small of the back, and sometimes would cause the members to be carried about upon the top of their spears, so that he far exceeded Phalaris himself, and Apollodorus the tyrant of the Cassandrians. His barbarity is most evident in this one instance following:—When he was celebrating his nuptials, after the ancient manner of the Thracians, he catched up two young men of Greece that were travelling, who were subjects to Attalus, and were brothers, both very beautiful. The one was fully attained to man's estate, and the other was near bordering upon it; Diegylis caused them both to be introduced crowned with garlands, after the manner of the victims: the younger being laid along and extended at length by the officer, as one ready to cut him off at the middle, the tyrant cried out, that kings a[illegible] a man, [illegible] not to offer the like sacrifices; hereupon the elder [illegible] ing great la-

mentation, out of endeared love to his brother, interposed himself between him and the sword; upon which Diegylis commanded he should be likewise laid along, and then doubling his cruelty, at one stroke despatched them both, the spectators all applauding so noble a piece of dexterity. Many such like wicked acts were committed by him.

105. When Attalus understood that Diegylis was hated by all his subjects for his cruelty and covetousness, he took a quite contrary course: and therefore, when he had taken many Thracian prisoners captive, and freely released them all, there were many that spread abroad his fame for his generosity and clemency: and when many of the Thracian nobility out of hatred to Diegylis, fled to him, and were kindly received, and the thing came to be known, Diegylis tortured the hostages of them that were fled with the most grievous torments. Many of whom that were very young, and of tender age, he pulled in pieces, limb from limb, and of others he cut off their hands, feet, and heads; some he crucified, and others he hung upon trees; many women likewise, who were persons of quality, he stigmatised before they were put to death, and prostituted them to the lust of every vile fellow, in a most barbarous manner giving up himself to all manner of filthiness. Which as it clearly evidenced his unparalleled cruelty, so it moved many of the spectators, who had but the least sense of humanity, with pity and commiseration.

106. When Pompey was preparing to besiege the city Lagnus, the Numantians willing to assist their countrymen, sent to them in the night four hundred soldiers; whom the Lagnetians at first readily received, and bountifully rewarded as their saviours. But in a few days after, dreading a siege, they treated with Pompey, to deliver up the town upon terms, insisting only upon sparing their lives. But when Pompey would admit of no conditions, unless the Numantians were delivered up to him, the Lagnetians at first shrunk at the thoughts of such a wicked act against their benefactors, and therefore resolved to stand it out to the utmost; but being afterwards reduced to the utmost extremity, they sent to Pompey to acquaint him they were ready to redeem their own lives by the destruction of their confederates; which the Numantians coming to understand, they set upon the citizens unexpectedly in the night, and made a grievous slaughter amongst them. Pompey having intelligence of this tumult and bustle in the town, forthwith set scaling ladders to the walls, and took the city, and put all the Lagnetians to the sword, but generously discharged all the Numantian auxiliaries, to the number of two hundred; both pitying the men that were so unworthily brought into such extremity and distress, as likewise hereby design-

to gain the good will and opinion of the Numantians towards Romans. Afterwards he razed the city to the ground.

107. Arsaces king of the Parthians being a mild and gracious prince, was exceedingly prosperous and successful, and greatly enlarged the bounds of his empire; for he conquered all before him, as far as to India, (where Porus reigned formerly), with a great deal of ease: and though he was advanced to that degree of power and authority, yet he inclined not in the least to pride and luxury, as is common with princes in such cases, but was kind to his subjects, and valiant in the field against his enemies: and having subdued several nations, gathered together a system out of the best of their laws, and imparted them to his Parthians.

108. Variathus was buried by the Lusitanians with great pomp and state; for two hundred gladiators were matched singly with as many more, and fought duels at his sepulchre, in honour of the remarkable valour of this man. For he was, as is agreed by all, valiant in dangers, prudent and careful in providing whatever was necessary, and that which was most of all considerable was, that whilst he commanded he was more beloved than ever any was before him: For in dividing the spoil he never served himself with any thing above any of the rest; and of those things which fell to his share, he often rewarded them that had behaved themselves valiantly, and relieved those soldiers that were most in want. He was likewise of incredible sobriety and vigilance, not sparing any labour, or drawing back from any hazard, not to be overcome in the least by ease or pleasures. The arguments of his virtuous qualifications are evident and demonstrable: for being general of the Lusitanians for the space of eleven years, during all that time his soldiers were not only peaceable without any mutinies, but remained unconquerable: but after his death the forces of the Lusitanians in a short time after were broken and dispersed, being deprived of such a general.

109. Ptolemy for his cruelty, murders, filthy lusts, and deformed body, (whence he was called Physco,) was hated by all. But Hierax his general being an expert soldier, and popular in all general assemblies, and a man of a great spirit, took upon him the government: for when Ptolemy wanted money, and the soldiers for want of pay were ready to revolt to Galæstes, he put a stop to their mutiny by paying off their arrears out of his own purse.

110. The Ægyptians altogether condemned Ptolemy when they saw him so childish in his speeches, drowned in filthy lusts, and his body emasculated by his intemperance.

111. Æmilius* the consul being of a heavy and unweildy body,

* Marcus Æmilius.

by reason of his bulk, and too much pampering of himself, was very unfit for martial affairs.

BOOK XXXIV.

1. ABOUT this time there arose so great a mutiny and sedition of the slaves in Sicily, as no age before could ever parallel, in which many cities suffered, were miserably ransacked, and innumerable multitudes both of men, women, and children, fell into most grievous calamities; and the whole island was now upon the point of falling into the hands of the slaves, who designed no other bounds should be put to their exorbitant power, than the absolute destruction of their masters.

And these things fell out when none in the least suspected them; but those who were accustomed to pierce deep into the grounds and causes of all events, concluded that this was not a thing that happened merely by chance.[16] For the inhabitants of this rich island growing wanton with too much plenty, fell into luxury and voluptuousness, and then into pride and insolence. For those reasons the cruelty of the masters towards their servants, and the hatred of the servants towards their masters raging and increasing more and more every day, at length a fit opportunity offering itself, their hatred broke forth, and many thousand slaves on a sudden, without any sign or appearance of any such thing before, got in a body together to cut the throats of their masters.

And the same thing happened in Asia, almost about the same time. For when Aristonicus*, without any colour of right, sought to gain the kingdom of Asia, all the slaves, by reason of the cruelty of their masters, joined with him, and filled many towns and cities with blood and slaughter.

2. In like manner those that had large possessions in Sicily bought up whole gaols to till their lands—some they shackled, others they overcharged with hard labour, and branded and stigmatized every one of them: so that such a multitude of slaves, even like a deluge, overflowed all Sicily, that the excessive number may seem incredible to all that hear of it; for all the rich men of Sicily vied with the Italians for pride, covetousness, and vicious practices; for many of the Italians who had great numbers of servants, accustomed their

* Base brother to Attalus king of Pergamus.

shepherds to that degree of rapine and licentiousness, as that they suffered them to rob and steal for want of necessary subsistence from them themselves.[24] Which liberty being once granted to those men who had strength of body sufficient to enable them readily to execute any villany, together with time and leisure, and through want of subsistence were reduced to the utmost extremity of attempting any thing for their supply; these unruly fellows in a short time were ripe and complete in wickedness. At first they used to murder travellers upon the highway, when only one or two were together: afterwards they would in bodies enter into little villages, in the night, and pillage poor men's houses, and forcibly carry away whatever they found, and kill all that opposed them.[1] At length growing every day more and more audacious, there was neither security in the roads in Sicily for travellers in the night, nor safety in their houses for them that dwelt in the country, but all places were full of rapine, robberies, and murders. And because the shepherds and herdsmen were furnished with arms, and inured to lie night and day in the open fields, they every day grew more bold and daring: for carrying clubs and lances and long staves, and covered with the skins of wolves and wild boars, they looked with a most dreadful and terrible aspect as the children of Mars. Besides, every one had a guard of great mastiff dogs to attend them, and guzzling down milk, and glutting themselves with flesh, and all sorts of other food and provision, they resembled beasts both in souls and bodies. So that the whole island seemed as if it had been full of soldiers roving up and down in every place, or as if all the daring slaves were let loose by their masters to act the part of madmen.[2] It is true indeed that the Roman pretors and governors did what they could to suppress this insolence of the slaves; but because they durst not punish them, by reason of the potency of their masters, they were forced to suffer the country to be infested with robberies; for whereas most of their masters were Roman knights, who had judicial authority at Rome, and were used to choose judges out of the equestrian order in the causes of the pretors and the proconsuls, who were summoned to appear before them after their provincial authority was determined, the magistrates were upon good grounds afraid of them.

3. The Italians, who had large possessions in Sicily, and therefore bought many slaves, every one of whom they stigmatized with marks on their cheeks, and oppressed them with hard labour, and yet defrauded them of their wages and subsistence.

4. There was one Damophilus of Enna, a wealthy man, but very proud and arrogant; this man tilled a large compass of land, had a vast stock of cattle, and initiated the luxury and cruelty of the

Italians towards their slaves. For being carried in a coach drawn by stately horses, he traversed the country up and down, guarded with a company of armed slaves; he carried likewise about with him continually many beautiful boys, flatterers and parasites; and in the city and villages had his silver vessels curiously wrought, and all sorts of purple carpets of very great value; and made magnificent feasts and entertainments, after the state and grandeur of a king, in pomp and expense far surpassing the Persian luxury, and as much as all other men in pride and arrogance. For being rude, and never bred up with learning, or any liberal education; and having heaped up a great deal of wealth, and himself left to a licentious liberty, without controul; he first, from fullness and plenty became insolent, and at last was a plague to himself, and the occasion of bringing many miseries and calamities upon the country. For having bought many slaves, he abused them in the highest degree; and those that were free born in their own country, and taken captives in war, he stigmatized in their cheeks with the sharp points of iron pins, some of whom he sent bound in fetters to the gaols; and to others that were ordered to look after the cattle in the fields, he neither allowed clothes nor food sufficient to satisfy nature.

5. The barbarity and cruelty of this Damophilus was such, that never a day passed wherein he scourged not his slaves, without the least cause or occasion. And his wife Megallis was as cruel as himself, towards the maid servants, and other slaves that fell into her hands. The slaves therefore being thus provoked by the cruelty of their master and mistress, concluding they could not be brought into a worse condition than they then were, rose up all on a sudden.

6. In Sicily Damophilus had a young daughter of a very gentle and courteous disposition, who made it her business to relieve and heal those slaves that had been abused and scourged by her parents, and to bring meat to them that were in prison; so that she was wonderfully beloved by all the servants, insomuch, as in remembrance of her former kindness, all had compassion of her, and were so far from offering any violence or injury to the young maid, that every one of them made it their business to preserve her chastity unviolated; and chose some out of their own company, the most expeditious amongst them, to conduct her to Catana to some of her friends.

7. After Eunus was declared king, he put many to death, and spared only those that for the sake of his prophecies commended him at their feasts, to which his master Antigenes used to bring him to make sport; those likewise that were so kind as in a jest to give him part of the dainties with them, he preserved; so that the strange turn of fortune was to be admired, and that kindness shewed to

such mean and inconsiderable pers[illegible] loc[illegible] o great favour and respect, at a time when it was so welco[illegible] and seasonable.

43 8. About the same time broke out another rebellion of the slaves; one Cleon a Sicilian near Mount Taurus, inured to robberies from a boy, being appointed to look to the horses in their pastures in Sicily, beset the highways, and committed heinous murders up and down the country. This fellow hearing of the good fortune of Eunus and his followers, having persuaded some of the neighbouring slaves to join with him, on a sudden revolted, wasted and spoiled the city of Agrigentum, and all the neighbouring country round about.

9. In Asia, Attalus being newly come to the crown, began to manage affairs in a way quite different from all the former kings; for they by their clemency and kindness to their subjects, reigned prosperously and happily themselves, and were a blessing to the kingdom; but this prince being of a cruel and bloody disposition, oppressed his subjects with many slaughters, and grievous calamities: suspecting that some of his own relations that were potent and men of interest, were plotting against him, he resolved to rid himself of them. To that end he picked out some of the most covetous and bloody fellows from among his barbarian mercenary soldiers, and hid them in certain vaults in the palace; and then sending for such of his friends and kindred as he was most jealous of, when he had them there, he cut all their throats by those bloody executioners of his cruelty, and forthwith ordered their wives and children to be put to death after the same manner.

The rest of his father's friends that either had command in the army, or were governors of cities, he either caused to be treacherously assassinated; or seizing them, murdered them and their families together. Being therefore hated not only by his subjects, but by all the neighbouring nations, all within his dominions, endeavoured as much as they could to bring about a revolution and change of government.

10. Tiberius Gracchus was the son of Tiberius who had been twice consul, and a man very famous, both as to the sword and gown. He was likewise the grandchild of Publius Scipio by his daughter, that Scipio who conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Being nobly born on both sides, he excelled all his equals in age, in sound judgment and elocution, and indeed in all manner of learning, so that he was not afraid to enter the lists with any that dared to oppose him.

11. The Syrian slaves cut off the hands of those they took prisoners, not at the wrists, but hands and arms together.

12. The senate dreading the anger of the [illegible] onsulted the Sibyl's books, and sent ambassadors into Sicily, [illegible] ssed through

the whole island, erected altars to Jupiter Ætneus, and offered solemn sacrifices to him, enclosing the altars round with stone walls to exclude all but those of the several cities, who after the customs of their own country, were used to offer sacrifices to him.

13. Gorgus was of Morgantium*, surnamed Cambalus, a principal man for wealth and authority in the city. Going abroad to hunt, and falling in amongst a company of robbers, he took to his heels to get into the town, who being by chance met by Gorgus his father on horseback, the father forthwith leaped off his horse, and desired his son to mount, and make away with all speed into the city; but as the son was not willing to prefer his own preservation before that of his father, so the father could not bear the death of his son by avoiding the danger himself. And thus while they were with tears entreating one another, and striving to exceed each other in endearing natural affections, the love of the father in contest with the love of the son, they were overtaken by the thieves, and both killed upon the place.

14. Zibelmius the son of Diegylis following his father's steps in cruelty, enraged at what the Thracians had done, proceeded to that degree of implacable severity, and height of wickedness, that he put to death all that had displeased him, with their whole families, and upon most slight and frivolous occasions cut some in pieces limb from limb, crucified others, and sawed several asunder. He killed likewise little children before their parent's faces, and infants at their mother's breasts, and having cut them in pieces, dished up their members as curiosities for their kindred to feast upon, reviving as it were those antient repasts and entertainments of Tereus† and Thyestes.‡ At length the Thracians seized upon his person; but it was scarce possible to punish him according to his deserts. For how could one body suffer the punishment justly due for the cruelties and injuries committed against a whole nation? However, to the utmost of their power they repaid him with all the scorn and contempt, and extremity of torture upon his body, they could invent.

15. Ptolemy Physcon, when he saw his sister Cleopatra was so great an enemy to him, and could not revenge himself otherwise upon her, contrived a most notorious piece of villany for that purpose. For he imitated the cruelty of Medea, murdering her son Memphites, begotten by himself, who was then in Cyprus, and a

* Now Georgeto in the kingdom of Naples.

† Tereus a king of Thrace. See the story of Tereus Progne and Philomela—Ovid, Met. lib. 6. His punishment by his own subjects.

‡ Thyestes feasted by his brother Atreus king of Mycenæ, with his own sons begotten upon Atreus's wife—Ovid, Met.

ery young boy: and not content with this, he committed a far more wicked act: for, cutting off the child's limbs, he put them in a chest, and delivered them to one of his guard to be conveyed to Alexandria; and whereas Cleopatra's birthday was then near at hand, he commanded that in the night next before that day, he should set down the chest at the palace gates; which being accordingly executed, Cleopatra made great lamentation, and all the people were in a great rage against Ptolemy.

16. Athenæus, Antiochus's general, in a short time met with a just and due reward for his insolencies and abuses in all places wherever he quartered in his march: for being the first that fled, and forsook Antiochus in the heat of the fight, coming to some of the towns where he had abused his quarters, all shut their doors upon him, and every one refused to help him, either with meat or drink, so that he wandered up and down the country, till at length he was famished to death.

17. Hegelochus, general of Ptolemy Physcon, sent against Marsyas the Alexandrian general, took him prisoner, and cut off all his army. When Marsyas was brought before the king, and all concluded that he would forthwith put him to some cruel death, Ptolemy pardoned him, beyond all men's expectation: for now he began to repent of his former cruelties, and endeavoured to regain the people's love and favour by acts of clemency.

18. Evemerus, king of Parthia, born in Hyrcania, exceeding all other princes in cruelty, omitted no sorts of torments he could invent. For many of the Babylonians, upon slight grounds, with their whole families, he made slaves and sent them into Media to be sold. He burnt likewise to the ground the market-place, and some of the temples in Babylon, and razed the fairest and most beautiful parts of the city.

19. Alexander surnamed Zabinas, when those renowned captains Antipater, Ponius, and Æropus, revolted from him*, and seized upon Laodicea, he at length took the city: however, he generously spared them all. For he was of a mild and gentle disposition, and pleasing temper, and of a wonderful affability in his converse or discourse, and was therefore greatly beloved of every body.

20. When Caius Sextius had taken the city of the Gauls, and sold the inhabitants for slaves, one Crato who was led in chains with the rest, came up to the consul, as he sat upon the tribunal, and told him he had ever been a friend to the Romans, and for that reason had suffered many injuries, and had undergone many stripes and scourgings from his fellow citizens: upon which Sextius forthwith, with

* To Seleucus Demetrius, son of Nicanor.

all the demonstration of kindness, as of a kinsman, released him from his bonds, and restored him his goods; and for his good will to the Romans, gave him power to set free nine hundred of the citizens, such as he himself thought fit. For the consul was more generous and bountiful to Crato than he expected, to the end the Gauls might see how exactly just the Romans were, both in their punishments and rewards.

21. Alexander not being very confident of the multitude, both in regard of their rawness in martial affairs, and their natural inconstancy, and hankering after innovations, would not adventure upon a pitched field; but having got together as much money as he could, out of the public treasuries, and pillaged the temples, resolved by night to steal away into Greece. But whilst he attempted, by the help of some of his barbarians, to plunder Jupiter's temple, he was seized upon, and himself and whole army had like to have been cut off: but he soon escaped out of their hands, and made towards Seleucia. But the Seleucians having heard beforehand, of his savage sacrilege, shut their gates against him; and failing there of his purpose he went to Pusidium, and never after departed from the sea coast.

22. After Caius Gracchus was killed by the hands of his own servant, Lucius Vitellius who had been one of his particular friends, was the first that got his body; and was so far from being troubled at his death, that he cut off his head, and carried it to his own house, thereby giving a remarkable instance of his cruelty and covetousness. For when Lucius Opimius*, the consul by proclamation, promised to reward him that should bring to him Gracchus's head, with the weight of it in gold, Vitellius bored a hole in the neck, and drawing out the brains, poured in melted lead in the room. Then he brought the head to Opimius, and returned with the promised reward; but was afterwards hated by all to the day of his death, as a betrayer of his friend. The Flacci were also all put to death.

23. In Libya the two kings drew up their armies one against another, and Jugurtha routed the Numidians in a great battle, slaying many of them; whereupon Adherbal his brother fled to Cirta, where being straitly besieged, he sent ambassadors to Rome to entreat them not to suffer a king that was their friend and ally to be utterly ruined: whereupon the senate forthwith sent messengers into Numidia with orders to Jugurtha to raise his siege: which he disregarding, they sent another embassy vested with power and authority: but that was as fruitless as the other; and at length Jugurtha, straitly blocking up the city round, through extremity of famine forced it to surrender, and most unnaturally slew his brother as he was going

* Vid. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 33. c. 3.

out of the city with his children, and leaving the kingdom, beseeching him only to spare his life, neither regarding the laws of nature and consanguinity, nor of arms, in sparing those that beg for quarter: he likewise scourged all the Italians to death that sided with his brother.

24. Publius Scipio Nasica, the consul, was a man renowned both for his virtue and nobleness of birth; for he was of the same family with Africanus and Hispanicus; of whom the first conquered Africa, the other Asia, and the third Spain; and from thence gained the several surnames before mentioned: and besides the eminency of his birth, his father and grandfather were the most eminent men of the city; for both of them were presidents of the senate*; and the first that gave their votes, and delivered their opinions in all public matters, to the time of their deaths. His grandfather upon an occasion was judged by the senate the best man of all the Roman citizens. For it being found written in the Sybil's books—That the Romans should build a temple in honour of the great mother of the gods, and should bring her image from Pessinus in Asia, and meet it out of the city with all the orders and degrees of the citizens in solemn pomp and state, and that the best man should lead the men, and the best woman be at the head of the women, when they received the image of the goddess: the senate performing all that was prescribed by the Sybil's writings, judged Publius Nasica to be the best man, and Valeria the best woman. For he was not only eminent for his piety towards the gods, but of singular prudence in governing and ordering matters of state, and of a piercing judgment. For when Marcus Cato who was surnamed Demosthenes, in delivering his opinion in the senate, was ever and anon affirming—That Carthage must be razed, though nothing was in debate concerning it, but the senate was consulting of other matters; Publius Nasica was ever of a contrary opinion, that Carthage was to be preserved; in which difference of opinions it seemed a matter of great difficulty to the senate which of the two was most advisable; but those that were accounted the best statesmen amongst them, preferred the opinion of Nasica. For they conceived, that the power and grandeur of the Romans was not to be judged of by the ruin and destruction of other cities, but rather by its sovereign power and authority over such as are accounted the most potent. Besides, if Carthage stood, out of fear of that city the Romans would be kept within the bounds of their duty, and in peace and concord among themselves, and the commonwealth would be forced to carry it towards their subjects with more moderation and clemency; which things usually strengthen, and enlarge all

* Chairmen, or speakers.

sorts of governments: but if Carthage the rival city be once destroyed, what can be expected but civil wars among the Romans themselves, and the hatred likewise of all their allies for the pride and covetousness of the Roman magistrates; all which accordingly happened to the Romans after the destruction of Carthage. For turbulent factions, Agrarian laws, grievous revolts of confederates, continual and destructive civil wars, and all the other mischiefs which Publius Scipio foretold, came to pass: his son Nasica afterwards, when he was well in years, ordering the senate to follow him, killed Tiberius Gracchus with his own hands, when he was contriving to set himself up and take upon him the government. At the commission of which act, the commons being in an uproar and exasperated against the authors of the murder, and the tribunes of the people asking every one of the senators man by man, being brought before them, who it was that killed Gracchus: every one out of the fear of the rage of the people, denied the fact, and made use of shifting and impertinent answers: but when it came to Nasica, he owned, that he killed him with his own hand; and further declared, that the designs of Gracchus in aspiring to be absolute monarch, was a secret to all other persons, but very well known to him and the senate. Whereupon the people, though they were much troubled at the fact, yet being moved by the boldness and authority of the man, from thenceforth rested quiet and said no more. This Scipio Nasica likewise, (son of the former Nasica), who died consul this year, was of an unspotted conversation all his days, never tainted or corrupted with bribes: and being endowed with philosophical principles, he was not only a philosopher in words, but in truth; so that he inherited both the glory and virtues of his ancestors.

25. Antiochus Cyzenicus, as soon as he got into possession of the kingdom, applied himself to revellings and luxury, and courses altogether unbeseeming kings. For being extremely addicted to antics, stage players, and all sorts of jugglers, he learned their arts with a great deal of vehemency; he applied himself also to puppit-playing, and placed his chiefest delight in making the images of living creatures in bulk five cubits, covered over with gold and silver, to move of themselves, and other engines of that nature. But as for warlike engines and testudoes, called helepoles, whose preparations and magnificence belonged to princes, and were commonly of great use, he was altogether wanting in them. Moreover, he was much addicted to unseasonable huntings, and oftentimes would steal out privately by night, with a servant or two, to hunt boars, lions, and leopards; so that many times he was in danger of his life by hi rashly encountering these wild beasts.

26. Micipsa, son of Masinissa king of Numidia, had many children; but above them all he loved Adherbal his eldest, and Hiempsal and Micipsa; the last of which was the mildest prince of all the kings of Numidia, and sent for the most learned men out of Greece he could hear of, and spending his time with them in improving himself in all sorts of liberal sciences, and especially in philosophy, he enjoyed his kingdom, together with his study of philosophy to his old age.

27. Contoniatus, the petit prince of Jontora in Gaul, was eminent for his prudence and skill in martial affairs: he was a friend and an ally of the Romans, being formerly brought up in Rome, and so seasoned with virtue and civility; by the help of the Romans he gained that principality in Gaul.

28. Caius Marius, one of the ambassadors, was slighted by the proconsul, as one of the meanest of them. The rest who were of eminent birth, and in high place, were honoured and respected by the proconsul. But as for the other who was said to have been but a publican, and had much ado to get into the lowest form amoogst the magistrates*, Metellus made no account of him. Though in truth, all the rest loved their ease and avoided the camp, yet Marius, having been often employed in the wars in desperate adventures, seemed highly to resent the injury and affront. But addicting himself with great application of mind to martial affairs, he became a most expert soldier; and being naturally of a warlike spirit, in a short time he grew very famous; and for his generosity and courteous deportment, and his affable carriage in all meetings towards all that were under his command, he gained the hearts of all the soldiers, who studying to make grateful returns for his kindness, fought the more cheerfully and courageously, to the end they might advance the honour and reputation of their general: and if any other at any time happened to be sent to command them, the soldiers on purpose in the very height of the battle would fight more carelessly; so that most commonly things miscarried and came to nought when any other commanded the army; but when Marius was general, the Romans were ever conquerors.

* The proconsul.

BOOK XXXVI.

1. THE rebellious slaves did not only waste and destroy Sicily, but those that were free, who had neither lands nor goods, betook themselves to rapine and robberies, and ravaged up and down in the country in flocks and droves; they drove away whole herds of cattle; robbed the barns in the towns and villages, and carried away the corn and other fruits of the earth, and killed every one they met, without distinction of either bond or free, that none might be left to tell tales of their murders and cruelties. For as there was at this time an anarchy in Sicily, having no Roman pretor that exercised any jurisdiction, all ran headlong and committed many and great enormities with impunity; so that all places were full of rapines and robberies, and the goods of the rich made a prey to force and violence: and they who a little before were noted and eminent amongst their fellow citizens for their wealth, by a sudden change of fortune were not only treated with the greatest contempt and scorn imaginable, and robbed of all they had by their slaves, but were forced to bear unsufferable abuses from them that were freemen of the same country. And therefore none could scarcely call any thing his own within the city gates; but what was without, they looked upon as quite lost, and to be an irrecoverable prey to the robbers. To conclude, confusion and utter subversion of law and justice, raged throughout all the cities and towns in the country. For the rebels after they had wasted the country, out of hatred to their masters, and insatiable covetousness, beset the high ways and made them impassable. And those slaves that were yet within the cities sick, but in their hearts longing for an opportunity to rebel, were a dread and terror to their masters.

2. Saturninus the tribune being a man of profuse life, and questor in the province of Ostia, ordering all the corn to be carried away to Rome, for his mal-administration of the government was rebuked by the senate, and divested of his authority, and the province committed to the care of another. But afterwards leaving off his former luxurious course of life, and growing sober in his conversation, he was chosen tribune of the people.

3. Whereas for two years together in every public assembly Q. Metellus's restoring from banishment was taken into debate—His son traversing the market-place with his beard and hair overgrown,

and in a nasty garment, with tears in his eyes, prostrated himself at the feet of every citizen, entreating them to recal his father. But the people, though they were very backward to make a precedent for exiles for the time to come to hope for return, against the laws, yet, in compassion to the young man, and being moved with the importunity of his entreaty, they recalled Metellus from banishment, and surnamed the son Pius, for his singular affection and care he had of his father.

4. The Romans formerly, being governed by good and wholesome laws and constitutions, by degrees grew to that height of power, that at length they gained the greatest empire of any that history makes mention of. But of later times, after they had conquered many nations, and had so long indulged themselves in the enjoyment of an uninterrupted peace, they declined from their antient manners, to wicked and destructive courses. For the young men, enjoying rest and ease from war, with plenty of all things to be fuel to their lusts, gave themselves up to luxury and intemperance; for in the city prodigality was preferred before frugality, and living at ease before the service of the camp: and he that wasted all his time in voluptuousness, and not he that was of a virtuous and sober conversation, was accounted by all to be the only happy man. And therefore sumptuous feasts, most fragrant ointments, flowered and embroidered carpets, rich and stately furniture for their banqueting rooms, curiously wrought with gold, silver, ivory, and such like materials, were then cried up every where. Wine that was but of an ordinary quality they would not touch, but only Falernian* and Chian, and such like pleasant wines: the choicest fish likewise, and every thing of the best sort, was provided to gratify their shameless luxury. The young gallants likewise wore garments of the finest and softest wool, woven so fine, as that they were even transparent, and, for their slender webb, altogether like unto women's gowns. All these things, serving to nourish luxury and voluptuousness, (to their ruin and destruction), being generally coveted by all, in a short time grew to excessive rates: for a hogshead of Falernian wine was sold for a hundred drachmas, and a hogshead of salted fish from the Pontic sea for four hundred. Skilful cooks were sold for four talents a-piece, and delicate and beautiful boys for many talents. And whereas all with full swing gave themselves up to this luxurious course of life, some of the governors in the provinces used their utmost endeavour to reform these enormities; and to that end, being in high places, and so most observable, by reason of the eminence of their stations, they

* Of Falernus, in Campania, in the kingdom of Naples, now called Terra di Lavaro.

framed their own lives so as to be examples of virtue and liberal education to others.

5. Quintus Mutius Scævola used his utmost endeavour to reform other men's corrupt manners by his own virtuous example. For, when he was sent proconsul into Asia, he made choice of Quintus Rutilius*, his most intimate friend, for his legate, and ever took his advice in the management of his government, and making of laws. All the costs and expences both of himself and his retinue he ordered to be defrayed out of his own purse; and by his moderation and frugality, together with his just and upright dealing, he freed the province from its former miseries and oppressions: for the proconsuls of Asia that were before him confederated with the publicans, (in whose hands at that time was the administration of justice at Rome) and filled the whole province with the pressures of their illegal exactions.

6. Mutius Scævola, managing his government with all possible diligence and integrity, did not only suppress all false accusations, but restrained the injuries and oppressions committed by the publicans. For as often as any who had been oppressed by those tol-gatherers made their address to him, he commissioned upright judges, by whom he condemned them wheresoever he came, and forced them to pay the mulct imposed upon them to the persons they had injured: but for offences that deserved death, he gave sentence of death. One of the chief of these publicans, who had contracted with his master for his freedom for a great sum of money, before he was manumitted, he condemned to die, and crucified him.

7. Those that were condemned by the judges, he delivered over to the persons injured, to be by them carried away to prison; so that they who before, through their insolence and covetousness, committed all manner of injustice, were unexpectedly hurried away to the gaol by those whom they had injured. Moreover, by discharging his own expenses and the expenses of his retinue out of his own private purse, he soon inclined the hearts of all the province towards the people of Rome.

8. Lucius Asellius (whose father was a questor) being sent pretor into Sicily, finding in the province great havock and devastation; by his prudent management of things in a short time restored it to its former state and condition. For, after the example of Scævola, he made choice of his intimate friend Caius Sempronius Longus for his legate, and joined with him Publius, the famous Roman knight, for his counsellor, who then resided at Syracuse, and, besides the goods of fortune, was eminent for the virtues of his mind. His piety to-

* Publius Rutilius Rufus.

wards the gods is sufficiently testified by his sacrifices, gifts, and adorning of the temples: and the quick and lively use of all his senses to the last moment of his life was an evident argument of his sobriety and temperance: and his learning and courteous disposition are apparent from the great value and esteem he ever had of learned men, and his bounty and liberality out of his own purse towards them that applied themselves to the study of the liberal arts and sciences. Asellius, assisted with the advice of those two men, who continued with him under the same roof, and sat with him in judgment upon the bench, made it his daily care to reform and set all things right again in the province.

9. In the courts of justice, he aimed at the public good, and cleared the court of all sycophants and false accusers; and it was his chief care to relieve the poorest man, and those that were less able to help themselves: for whereas the other pretors committed the care of orphans and widows that were destitute of friends to tutors and guardians that were strangers, he looked after them himself, and decided their causes with all the care and diligence imaginable, and was a great relief to the oppressed. And as long as he was governor of Sicily, continually using his utmost endeavour to suppress both private and public injuries, he at length settled the province in its former state of happiness and prosperity.

10. Marcus Livius Drusus, though he was very young, yet was adorned with whatever was commendable, either in reference to his body or mind: for he was the son of a renowned father, who was singularly beloved of the people of Rome, both upon the account of his noble birth and virtuous qualifications. And he himself for eloquence excelled all his equals in age, and all his fellow-citizens in wealth and riches: and upon the account of his faithfulness to his word, he gained a very great interest and authority among the citizens; and, being likewise of a great spirit, seemed to be the only patron of the senate.

BOOK XXXVII.

1. POMPŒDIUS, general of the Marsi*, attempted indeed a great, but a most rash and inconsiderate act: for he picked out ten thou-

* A people in Italy.

sand soldiers from amongst those who were afraid of suffering due punishment for their offences, and, commanding them to hide their swords under their coats, marched with them towards Rome, with a design to beset the senate round with this rabble, and to demand the freedom of the city, and, if he could not prevail, to lay the city waste with fire and sword. Being by chance met upon the road by Caius Domitius, he asked him—"Whither goest thou, Pompœdius, with so great a company?" who answered—To Rome, for that he was sent for by the tribunes of the people, to be received into the freedom of the city. But Domitius replied, saying—"Thou mayest obtain what thou seekest for with far more ease, and much more honesty, if thou didst not make up to the senate in a hostile manner: for the senate will not be compelled, but entreated and petitioned, to bestow that grace and favour upon the Latins, who are their allies and confederates." The man being taken with this, as with a divine admonition from heaven, and over-persuaded with what Domitius had said, forthwith returned home. And thus Domitius, by his seasonable and prudent advice, delivered his country from dreadful mischiefs that threatened it, addressing himself to Pompœdius, much better than Servilius the proconsul did to the Picentians: for he spoke not to them as to freemen and allies, but as to slaves, and insulted them with the greatest scorn and contempt imaginable, and threatened and terrified them to that degree, that he stirred up the confederates, to the ruin and destruction both of himself and others. But Domitius on the contrary, by his mild and calm discourse, allayed the fury and violence of the enraged multitude.

2. There was one Agamemnon, a Cilician, for his many wicked pranks and slaughters of the confederates, was committed to prison in Asculum* by the Romans. This man being released by the Picentians, in gratitude for the kindness shewn him, fought resolutely on their side; and, being inured to robberies from a boy, joining with others of the like gang, he wasted and spoiled the enemy's country.

3. The inhabitants of the city Pinna†, for their constant fidelity to the Romans, fell into most dreadful calamities: for, being obstinately resolved not to desert the Romans, (without any touch or sense of natural affection), were forced to see their children knocked on the head before their eyes.

4. Lucius Sylla bravely and gallantly performed most noble actions, and his fame and renown was blazoned all over the city; and the people of Rome judged him worthy of the consulship, looking

* A city in Apulia, in Italy. † In Italy.

upon him as a man eminent both for valour and conduct in martial affairs: to conclude, it was apparent that he was likely to arrive at the highest pitch of glory.

5. Mithridates having conquered the Roman generals in Asia, and taken many prisoners, sent them all home clothed, and with provisions in their knapsacks. This mild passage was cried up every where, and all the cities generally came flocking in to him; insomuch that ambassadors came to him from all cities, inviting him by their public decrees to come in to them, calling him their god and deliverer: and, upon notice of the king's approach, the people came huddling out of the several cities in white garments, to salute him, and received him with great joy and acclamation.

6. Mithridates's party sweeping all before them in Asia, as they went without control, all the cities strangely revolted from the Romans; and as for the Lesbians, they resolved not only to yield up themselves to the king, but to deliver up Aquilius also, who flew away to Mitylene, and lay there to be cured of a disease. Whereupon they sent to his lodgings a company of choice youths, stout and resolute, who came rushing into the room where Aquilius was, and took him and bound him, supposing he would be a most rare present, and very acceptable to Mithridates: but Aquilius, though he was but as yet a youth, performed a most noble and heroic act; for, preferring death before disgrace, and the punishments of a slave, he prevented them that were ready to hurry him away, and killed himself: with which desperate act those that came to take him along with them were so terrified, that they durst not approach him. His valour* and resolution, therefore, was cried up every where, who, by the putting an end to his own life, had rescued himself with an undaunted courage from the torments designed to be executed upon him.

7. In order to a sea-fight, the Rhodians were overmatched in nothing but in the number of ships; and in all other respects they were far superior, as being the better pilots, knew better how to order their ships and ply the oars, had the more sprightly soldiers, and the more expert commanders: whereas, on the contrary, the Cappadocians were but fresh-water soldiers, seldom exercised at sea-fights, and, which commonly proves the bane of all, did all tumultuously and without any order. It is true, indeed, they were as cheerful and ready to engage as the Rhodians, because they were to fight just under the king's eye, and therefore desired to approve their loyalty and

* But Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 33, c. 3, says, Mithridates poured melted gold down his throat, for his covetousness.—Ush. Ann. 518.

affection to him; and, in regard they only overpowered their enemies in number of ships, they used all the arts and contrivances they could devise to surround and hem them in.

8. Caius Marius was the most renowned person of any of his time, when he was young: he was ambitious of honour and glory, free from covetousness, and performed many noble acts, both in Europe and Africa, so that his name was famous, and cried up in all places. But when he grew old, and coveted the riches of king Mithridates, and the wealth of the cities of Asia, and sought, against the laws, to have the province which was allotted to Cornelius Sylla transferred to him, he fell justly into many calamities; for he not only missed those riches which he coveted, but lost all that were his own, the questors, by reason of his extraordinary covetousness, being sent to seize upon all his goods for the public use. He was, moreover, by the judgment of the people condemned to die; but escaped that punishment by flight, and wandered solitarily and alone up and down Italy, and at length got into Numidia, poor and destitute of all things. Afterwards, when the civil wars broke out in Rome, he joined with those that were judged enemies to the Romans, and, being victorious, he was not contented with his return into his own country, but raised great commotions in the commonwealth. But at length having gained the seventh consulship, and by his own misfortunes learned the inconstancy of fortune, he was unwilling to put things to a hazard any more: and therefore, foreseeing the dreadful war Sylla was bringing upon his country, he murdered himself; but, leaving behind him the seeds of a most grievous war, he involved his son and country in most dreadful calamities: for his son being forced to contend with an enemy more potent than himself, he most miserably perished (upon taking of the city) in a vault, whither he fled to hide himself. And the people of Rome, and cities of Italy, having been now long engaged in a cruel war, fell under many dreadful calamities. For two principal men of the city, Scævola and Crassus, without any course of legal proceedings, were murdered in the senate; whose cruel murder plainly evidenced the greatness of those miseries that then threatened both the city and all Italy: for the greatest part of the senate, and the most eminent men of the city, were slaughtered by Sylla, and no less than one hundred thousand soldiers were slain, either in mutinies or battles; and all these miseries were at first occasioned by the covetousness only of Marius.

9. Lucius Cornelius Merula, who was chosen consul in the room of Cinna, when Cinna agreed to peace, upon condition that he might be restored to the consulship, approved himself a good citizen, and

evidenced his extraordinary love to his country: for, addressing himself to the senate and people, and, discoursing concerning what might most tend to the public good, he promised that he would be the procurer of peace: and whereas he was chosen consul much against his will, he declared he would now freely, of his own accord, give up his authority into the hands of Cinna; upon which he forthwith surrendered his consulship, and became a private man. The senate hereupon sent ambassadors to Cinna, and, having agreed with him upon the terms of peace, introduced him into the city.

10. Lucius Sylla, being greatly straitened for want of money, rifled three temples that were full of devoted gold and silver, that is, the temple of Apollo at Delphos, of Esculapius at Epidaurus, and the famous temple of Jupiter at Olympus; out of which last he carried away a vast treasure, for it had never before been violated. But as to the temple at Delphos, the Phocions, in the time of the sacred war, had drained it of its wealth. When Sylla, therefore, had thus heaped up a mighty mass of gold and silver, and other treasure, he was sufficiently furnished with money to carry on the war in Italy. But having, without all fear or sense of religion, thus robbed the temples, he consecrated a piece of land to the gods, for the maintaining of yearly sacrifices, in lieu of the money; and would often, in a joke and jest, say—That he was sure to be victorious in all encounters, who had the gods for his assistants, and for that end had helped him with money.

11. Fimbria, having out-run Flaccus, and got a long way before him in his march, thought he had now gained a most convenient opportunity for some commotion or other; and therefore, that he might endear the soldiery to him, he permitted them to make incursions into the countries of their allies, and make what havock they pleased therein, and to take captive every one they met with. The soldiers very readily embraced the license, so that within a few days they had scrambled together abundance of wealth by their plundering. But those that had been spoiled of their goods went to meet the consul, and made bitter complaints to him of the injuries they had received, who being much troubled at the business, commanded them to follow him, and he himself would see restitution made to every one that had suffered; and accordingly with threats he commanded Fimbria to return forthwith to the owners whatsoever had been taken away from them. But Fimbria laid all the blame upon the soldiers, who did this without any commission from him; but covertly he advised them not to regard the consul's command, nor suffer that to be taken from them which they had got by the law of arms: upon this,

when Flaccus commanded restitution to be made of their rapine, adding threats to his commands, the soldiers refused to obey, so that there followed a great mutiny in the camp.

12. Fimbria, having again crossed the Hellespont, animated his soldiers to rapines and all kinds of villanies, exacted money from the cities, and divided it amongst the soldiers, who, having obtained an uncontrouled license, did what they pleased; and allured, moreover, with the hopes of a large income, loved Fimbria as one who had deserved extremely well of the whole army. Moreover, those cities that had stood out against him, when he had taken them, he gave them to the plunder of his soldiers, and so he dealt with Nicomedia.

13. The same Fimbria being admitted into Cyzicum, professing himself a friend to the place, as soon as he was got in, began to impeach all the wealthiest of them, and charge them with some crime or other. Two of these, the principal men of the city, after he had passed sentence on them, he caused to be whipped with rods, to terrify the rest, and afterwards struck off their heads, and set their goods to sale, and forced others, out of fear, to give him all they had, as a ransom for their lives.

14. Cn. Pompeius addicted himself to martial affairs, and inured himself to the hardships and fatigues of war, so that in a short time he became very expert in military matters: for, casting off all sloth and effeminateness, he was always, night and day, doing something or other that was useful and advantageous for matters relating to war: for he was very sparing in his diet, eat his meat sitting, and altogether forbore baths, and such like delights. He allotted but a few hours of the night for sleep, and spent the rest in the cares of a general, relating to what he was to put in execution the next day; so that, by his constant forethoughts of the uncertain events of war, he became a most expert commander. And therefore, whereas another could scarce in the same time fit himself to take upon him the charge of an army already raised, in that time, and much less, he raised them, trained, and disciplined them. And when the news of his famous exploits was brought to Rome, every body at first, reflecting upon his youth, more than thinking upon his valour, slighted him, supposing that the messengers stretched in their relations, and made things look bigger than in truth they were. But when the certain event confirmed the former report, the senate sent out Junius* against him, whom he routed, and put to flight.

15. Lucius Scipio's army being corrupted, revolted, and went over to Sylla: Scipio now looking upon himself as a lost man, Sylla sent to him a party of horse, to conduct him whithersoever he pleased.

* Junius Brutus.

Being therefore forced in a moment to lay aside the ensigns of his authority, he was forthwith, by the courtesy of Sylla, brought in a private habit to the place he desired. But presently after he resumed the ensigns of his authority, and again marched forth with a considerable army.

16. In the mean time the persons of the greatest quality at Rome, by false accusations, were put to death, amongst whom Quintus Mutius Scævola, the chief priest, a most honourable and virtuous person, came to an unworthy end, only the Romans were fortunate in this, that the high priest died not in the most sacred place: for the cruelty of the murderers was such, that they laid him upon the very altar*, and there cut his throat, so that by his own blood he extinguished that fire which, out of a religious devotion, from antient times was ever kept burning.

17. The names of those that were proscribed being fixed up in the market-place, on a sudden a multitude of people came flocking in to read it, of whom very many pitied those that were thus condemned to die. But one amongst the rest, a most malicious and insolent fellow, gloried over the miserable condition of the afflicted, and bawled out most spiteful words against them, whom some incensed deity forthwith repaid with a just revenge: for by chance reading his own name as one proscribed at the bottom of the roll, he presently threw his gown over his head, and began to fly through the thickest of the people; but, being known to one that stood next to him, who discovered him to be one condemned, he was instantly surrounded and seized, and then put to death, to the great joy of all that heard it.

18. Cneius Pompeius, being a long time pretor in Sicily, applied himself to the business of the courts of justice, and, deciding both public and private controversies, discharged his office with so much diligence and integrity, that none ever merited more commendation: for, though he was but two-and-twenty years of age, a time which might have drawn him off by foolish youthful lusts, yet he carried himself with so much gravity and sobriety all the while he was in Sicily, that the virtue of the young man was much admired by all the Sicilians.

* Of Vesta.

THE FRAGMENTS

OF

DIODORUS SICULUS,

CONCERNING

EMBASSIES.

PUBLISHED BY FULVIUS URSINUS.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

FRAGMENTS.

TO THE READER.

THESE few fragments, together with those of Polybius, Dionysius Halicarnassus, Dion Cassius, and Appian, were published in the year of our Lord 1581, by Fulvius Ursinus, a Roman born, and eminently learned: but for a further and more particular account of them, I refer the reader to the epistle to the fragments of Valerius, placed next before these; and therefore have now nothing further to add, but an acknowledgment of thanks due to a learned person in Oxford, through whose candour the book out of which the translation of these fragments was made was brought to hand for perusal.

BOOK XXXVII.

1. IN the reign of Tullus Hostilius, king of the Romans, the Albani, jealous of the growth of the Roman power, pretended that the Romans committed thefts and robberies in their country, and therefore sent ambassadors to Rome, to demand justice, with instructions, that if they did not hearken to them, to denounce war against them. Hostilius, the king of Rome, understanding that they sought occasion to pick a quarrel, and begin a war, commanded his friends and officers to entertain the ambassadors courteously, and persuade them to peace and amity. But the king, not willing hastily to give them audience, sent some in the mean time to the Albani, with orders and instructions like to those of the Albani to him; ordering this, as prompted thereunto by that antient custom, according to which the old Romans studied nothing more than that their wars should be just

and warrantable: for he was very cautious lest, not being able to find out the first authors of the depredations, or such as were to be delivered up to the demands of justice, he should be thought to be the first fomenter of an unjust war. But it falling out that the ambassadors that were sent to Alba were first denied justice, upon the thirtieth day they denounced war against the Albani. The Alban ambassadors, according to their desires, received answer—That they being the first that denied doing justice, the Romans were they who now denounced war against them. And these were the reasons that the people who were before allied by marriages, and at mutual amity one with another, now became enemies, and alienated one from another.

2. When Cambyses, king of Persia, was lord of all Egypt, the Libyans and Cyreneans, confederating with the Egyptians, sent presents, and promised entire obedience and subjection to their commands.

3. The ambassadors that were sent from Nabis and Flamininus* to Rome, concerning the terms of peace, after they had opened to the senate the matters given them in charge, the senate decreed the articles to be confirmed, and that all their garrisons should be removed, and their forces drawn out of all parts of Greece. When Flamininus heard of the senate's decree, he summoned all the nobility of Greece from all parts, to meet in a general council, where he rehearsed to them the great kindnesses and good will of the Romans towards the Grecians, and apologized for the matter relating to Nabis, because they did in that affair as much as they were able. He told them likewise, that, according to their desire, all the inhabitants of Greece should be free, and eased of all their garrisons, and, above all, be governed by their own laws. But he begged that the Greeks would so far gratify him as to inquire what Italian servants were among them, and to discharge them within thirty days; which was done accordingly.

4. The senate again gave audience to the Grecian ambassadors, and caressed them with very fair words, desirous to have them earnest and forward in the prosecution of the war against Antiochus†, which they suddenly expected. They gave answer likewise to the ambassadors of Philip‡—That because he maintained his fidelity, they would free him from tribute, and discharge his son Demetrius§. And to those that came from Antiochus they appointed ten of the senate to hear what they said they had in charge from the king.

* Titus Quintus Flamininus, not Flaminius, as Plutarch says: for Flaminius was of patrician extraction, but Flamininus of plebeian.—See Livy, lib. 32.

† The Great. ‡ King of Macedon. § Who was an hostage.—Liv. lib. 34.

When the commissioners sat, one of the ambassadors named Menippus, president of the embassy, declared, that they came to make up a league of friendship and confederacy between the Romans and Antiochus. But he said that the king greatly wondered for what manner of reason the Romans should lay their commands upon him, what parts of Europe he should make his concern; what cities he should not meddle with, nor collect the tributes of some that were in arrear; that it was not usual for those that are making a treaty upon equal terms, but for the conquerors, to impose in such a manner; and that their ambassadors who were sent to him to Lysimachia imperiously charged him with these things: that Antiochus was not at war with the Romans, and, if they had a mind to enter into an alliance and league with him, he was ready. Flamininus answered —There were two things propounded by the senate, let him choose which of them he would; and that is—If he would relinquish all his pretences in Europe, the Romans would not meddle with his concerns in Asia: and if this did not please him, then they were to let the king know, that the Romans would assist their friends and allies, when oppressed. The ambassadors replied—They could not agree to any thing that might impair the king's sovereignty. The next day the senate told the Grecians—That if Antiochus did busy himself, and intermeddle with any thing in Europe, the Romans would, with all the care and diligence imaginable, set free all the Greeks that were in Asia. The Grecian ambassadors hereupon approved of all by an applause; but the king's ambassadors entreated the senate that they would consider into what dangers and miseries both parties would be brought, and not to be rash in their resolves, but that they would give the king time to consult, and themselves to be better advised about these things.

5. As to the Ætolian ambassadors that sought for peace, the senate decreed—That they should either give up all their country to the Romans, or forthwith pay to them a thousand talents of silver. Upon this severe answer (never suspecting any such thing would have been enjoined) they were seized with great fear; and, seeing that they had adhered to the king*, they fell into inextricable straits and perplexities, not having any means left, or way open, to escape utter ruin.

6. Antiochus, hearing that the Romans had passed over into Asia, sent Heraclides of Byzantium to treat with the consul about a peace, with offers to bear half of the charges of the war, to give up Lampsacus, Smyrna, and Alexandria, upon the account of which cities he conceived the war broke forth: for those were the first of all the

* Philip of Macedon.

Greek cities of Asia that, by their ambassadors to the senate, prayed the assistance of the Romans for the regaining of their liberty.

7. Antiochus promised Publius Scipio, the president of the council, to release his son without ransom, whom he had taken prisoner when he lay about the island Eubœa; and besides this, that he would give him a great sum of money, upon the obtaining of a peace. Scipio answered—That he would return the king thanks for the release of his son, but that he did not want those sums; and in requital of so remarkable a kindness, he advised him as a friend not to withstand the Romans, of whose valour he had had experience. But Antiochus judging those terms to be harder than were fit to be complied with, rejected his advice.

8. In Rome, before the overthrow of Antiochus, the ambassadors from the Ætolians being brought into the senate, and not in the least excusing the faults, but setting forth the great services the Ætolians had performed to the Roman state, one of the senate rose up, and asked the ambassadors, whether the Ætolians had given up themselves to the protection of the Romans? The ambassadors being hereupon silent and dumb, the senate, suspecting that the Ætolians fixed their hopes in Antiochus, sent them back into Greece with a fruitless embassy.

9. Antiochus, laying aside all thoughts of war, sent ambassadors to the consul, to ask pardon for his miscarriages, and to procure a peace upon any terms that possibly might be had. The consul, keeping close to the moderation and clemency of his country, and advised likewise by his brother Publius*, agreed to a peace, upon these conditions—That the king should leave all Europe to the Romans, and part likewise with all the countries and cities lying on this side the Taurus: that he should give up all his elephants and long ships, and pay all the charges and expenses occasioned by the war, which were computed at fifteen thousand Eubœan talents: that he should deliver up into their hands Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Ætolian, and some others, and give twenty hostages, such as the Romans should nominate. Antiochus, out of a longing desire of peace, having accepted these conditions, was freed from the war.

10. After the overthrow of Antiochus, there came ambassadors from all the cities and states of Asia, some concerning the freedom of their cities, others relating to congratulations for the good services they had done for Rome, in joining in the war against Antiochus. To all which the senate gave great encouragement, and said they would send ten commissioners into Asia, who, with the generals†,

* P. Scipio.—Vid. Liv. lib. 38. † Prætors.

should bring all orders with them. When the ambassadors were returned into their own countries, the ten commissioners, with Scipio and Æmilius, met in council together, and decreed, that the regions on this side Taurus should be given to Eumenes, and the elephants. But Caria and Lycia they assigned to the Rhodians. They ordered likewise that such cities as paid tribute to Eumenes should be subject to him, but that such as were tributary to Antiochus should be freed from all tribute whatsoever.

11. When the Galatian* ambassadors came to Cneius Manlius the proconsul to treat for peace, he answered—He would come to terms of peace with them when their kings came to him.

12. The same coming into Lycaonia, brought corn that was due from Antiochus, and the yearly tribute of a thousand talents, according to the articles of peace.

13. The general assembly of the Achaians coming together in Peloponnesus, the Roman commissioners met them, and declared, that the senate was much displeased at the demolishing of the walls of Lacedæmon, which was done by the states of Achaia when they were lords of Sparta, and had brought the Lacedæmonians, as members, into the same commonwealth. To this assembly came the ambassadors of Eumenes, and brought along with them a present of twenty† talents, out of which the king intended that the charge of such as were members of the Achaian senate should be defrayed. But the Achaians, disliking the disposal of the money, refused the gift. Thither likewise came ambassadors from Seleucus, to renew the league formerly made between the Achaians and Antiochus, which league they renewed, and accepted the present sent from him.

14. Ambassadors coming to Rome from the kings and princes of Asia, those princes with Attalus had a noble reception; for they were met with great state and pomp, and presented with rich gifts, and other extraordinary marks of respect and favour: for these princes were fast friends to the Romans, and observant in every thing to the senate; and besides, having courteously entertained above all others those Romans that came to visit the queen‡, they were judged worthy of the most honourable reception. For these reasons the senate, having heard all the ambassadors, and especially desirous to gratify the princes that belonged to Eumenes, returned them a gracious answer; for they signified that they would send delegates from the senate to put a full end to the war with Pharnaces.

15. The defrauding of creditors in Thessaly setting all in a flame

* Gallogreeks. † Polyb. Leg. 41, one hundred and twenty talents.

‡ Stratonice, upon the news of Eumenes, her husband, being dead.—See Liv. lib. 42.

among the Ætolians, and every city being filled with seditions and tumults; the senate suspected that all this confusion was caused by Perseus*, and declared to his ambassadors that they would acquit him of other crimes whereof he was accused: but as to his ejecting of Abrypolis king of Thrace out of his kingdom, they commanded Perseus, to rectify† what he had done.

16. When Arpalus, Perseus's ambassador was silent, the senate so far honoured Eumenes as to present him with an ivory chariot‡, and conferred upon him other honours, and with special favour and respect sent him away into Asia.

17. The same day the senate decreed the war against Perseus, and declared it to the ambassadors, but returned no answer; and commanded the consuls expressly to reject them‖ in the assemblies, and ordered that the ambassadors and all the Macedonians should that very day depart out of Rome, and within thirty days out of Italy.

18. Ptolemy§, king of Egypt, knowing that his ancestors had been formerly lords of Cœlosyria made great preparations to gain that justly, even by the law of nations that was before lost by an unjust war. Antiochus¶ having intelligence of these preparations, sent ambassadors to Rome, commanding them to acquaint the senate, that Ptolemy had begun an unjust war against him; but he before named, sent ambassadors to make his defence, and to inform the senate how Antiochus, against all right and justice, lorded it over Cœlosyria, being Ptolemy's own inheritance, descended to him from his ancestors. But he ordered them to renew friendship with the Romans, and to endeavour to put an end to the war against Perseus.

19. Ambassadors came to Rome from Rhodes to clear themselves of those crimes that were charged against them; for in the war against Perseus they seemed in their hearts to lean to the king, and to be loose in their friendship towards the Romans; but perceiving the aversion and displeasure of the senate against them, they were greatly dejected; and when one of the pretors, who had called together an assembly, stirred up the people to a war against the Rhodians, they were exceedingly afraid upon the account of their country, and fell into that consternation, that they put on mourning habits, not any longer making their c[illegible]ands, or soliciting after the usual freedom of friends, but deprecating with tears, that nothing irremediable might be decreed agai[illegible]t them. But one of the

* King of Macedon.—Liv. lib. 42. † To mend his manners.
‡ Chair of state. ‖ Perseus's Ambassadors. § Ptolemy Philometor.
¶ Antiochus Epiphanes.—Ant. Ch. 166.

bunes* introducing them into the senate, and violently plucking down the pretor from the desk, who was stirring them up to the war, he caused them to speak, who saying many things in a way of humble supplication, received such an answer as altogether freed them from their excessive fears; but for some of their crimes they were sharply rebuked.

20. About this time came ambassadors to Rome from all parts to congratulate their victories: the senate courteously received them all, and returning them gracious answers, presently sent them back into their own country.

21. About this time there being many ambassadors arrived, the senate first despatched those that came along with Attalus. For the Romans were jealous of Eumenes, by reason of some letters that were intercepted, by which it appeared that he had confederated with Perseus against the Romans, being likewise accused by many ambassadors that came out of Asia, and especially by those that were sent from king Prussias†, and the Gallogreeks; those with Attalus readily answered to every article of the charge, and not only cleared themselves of all the crimes, but returned home with much honour and reputation However, the senate did not altogether lay aside the suspicion of Eumenes: but pitching upon Caius, sent him away strictly to observe his affairs and motions.

22 Prussias became unworthy of the royal dignity, spent his days basely and sordidly, in flattering his superiors; and when the Roman ambassadors came to him, he threw aside the ensigns of royalty, the diadem and the purple, and, imitating exactly the garb of the Roman libertines, met the ambassadors with his head shaven, and wearing a white cap, and, having on the gown and shoes of a manumitted slave, so saluted the ambassadors, declaring himself to be a libertine of the Romans, than which it is no easy matter to find a more dishonourable title; and many other such mean things he had done before. And when he came to the portico of the senate house, standing at the door straight over against the senators, he fell down prostrate upon both hands, kissing the threshold, and cried out with a loud voice to them as they sat, all health! ye gods! the saviours! not sparing any high-soaring compliments of unmanly flattery and effeminacy. And moreover, making a speech in the senate agreeable to his sordid deportment, he proceeded so far as is a shame for me to write. But the senate being offended at many things he said, returned him an answer suitable to his flatteries. For the Romans are eager chiefly to conquer a stout and courageous enemy.

* Marcus Antonius.—Liv. lib. 45. † King of Bithynia.

23. Ambassadors came to Rome both from the younger and the elder Ptolemy. An account of affairs being given to those in the assembly, the senate, upon hearing of part, decreed—That the ambassadors from the elder Ptolemy* should depart out of Italy within five days at most, and the confederacy be broken off. But that ambassadors should be sent to the younger Ptolemy† to declare to him the good will of the senate, and those things that had been signified to his brother.

24. About the one hundred and fifty-fifth olympiad, ambassadors came from Ariarathes‡ bringing a crown of the value of ten thousand pieces of gold, signifying the good will the king bore to the Romans, and that upon their account he had prohibited marriage and amity with Demetrius; which was attested and confirmed by the ambassadors from Greece. The senate commended Ariarathes, and accepted the crown, and sent back to him such presents‖ as were of greatest esteem among the Romans.

25. At the same time ambassadors came from Demetrius bringing likewise a crown of the value of ten thousand pieces of gold, and those prisoners that were guilty of the murder of Octavius: but the senate had a long debate, what was best and most advisable to do in these concerns; at last they accepted the crown, but would not receive Isocrates§ and Leptines¶ that were offered to be delivered up to them.

26. The Celtiberians,** after the victory, wisely foreseeing what would follow, sent ambassadors to the consul to treat for peace, but he looking upon it necessary to keep up the grandeur and magnanimity of his country, made answer—That they must either give up all to the Romans, or else be victors in the war.

27. When the Romans were at war with the Carthaginians, the Carthaginians hearing that they were sailing to Lilybæum, and not in the least making a descent upon them, sent ambassadors to Rome, and by them delivered up both themselves, and all the concerns of their country to the Romans. The senate accepting the surrender of their country, gave this answer—"Since the Carthaginians are so well advised, the senate returns them their country, their laws, their temples, their sepulchres, their liberties, and their estates;" (not at all mentioning their city Carthage, for that was concealed under

* Ptolemy Philometor. † Ptolemy Evergetes.
‡ King of Cappadocia.
‖ A staff and an ivory chariot, or chair of state.—Polyb. Leg. 121.
§ Isocrates, the grammarian, defended it.—Polyb. Leg. 122. 124.
¶ Leptines stabbed Cneius Octavius, the Roman legate, at Laodicea.
** Spaniards.

these kind concessions), if they would give three hundred sons of the senators as hostages, and obey the commands of the consuls. The Carthaginians, thinking hereby to be free from the war, sent the hostages*, not without great lamentation. Afterwards the consuls came to Utica†, and the Carthaginians again sent ambassadors to ask what further commands the Romans would lay upon them; but when the consuls told them they must deliver up their arms and engines without fraud, they at first (because of the war against Asdrubal‡) took it heavily: however, they brought in two hundred thousand arms of all sorts, and two thousand engines. Afterwards the Romans again sent commands to the Carthaginians, to send some persons of their senate, to whom they would declare their further command, who accordingly sent thirty of the noblest. Manilius the senior consul told them, that it was the senate's pleasure they should leave the city they inhabited, and build another eighty furlongs distant from the sea: but the ambassadors crying out for mercy and compassion, all of them cast themselves to the ground, uttering many lamentable complaints with tears, upon which great confusion was raised in the assembly; and when the Carthaginians were a little recovered out of their consternation, one only, named Blannus, delivering himself in the natural language of the auditory, debated the matter with great heat and earnestness, attended with an undaunted presence of mind, which moved the auditors to pity and commisseration.

28. The Romans being unmoveable in their decrees as to the razing of Carthage, the senate commanded them forthwith to depart to Carthage, and to declare to the citizens what things were decreed; but some of the ambassadors refusing to return to their country, fled each of them wherever they could; the rest, choosing rather to return, went home, having thus finished a doleful embassy. When the people came thronging together to meet them, they gave them not a word, but, beating their heads, stretching out their hands, and invocating their gods, they went on to the court, and informed the senate what things were commanded.

29. The Aradians, supposing they had got an opportunity to destroy those of Marathos§, sent privately to Ammonius, viceroy of the kingdom‖, and, with a bribe of three hundred talents, prevailed with him to deliver up Marathos; whereupon Ammonius sent Isadore to the Marathonians, who by his speech was to pretend some other matters, but in truth went to seize upon the city, and to deliver it up to the Aradians. The Marathonians, being ignorant that they

* To Lilybæum. † See Eutrop. lib. 4. Flor. lib. 2. c. 15. Livy, Epitom. lib. 49.
‡ Their general. § A city of Phœnicia.
‖ Of Syria, under Alexander Bala.

were designed for destruction, yet observing that the Aradians were higher in the king's favour than themselves, refused the king's soldiers entrance into their city, and resolved to make their addresses as suppliants to the Aradians. They forthwith therefore sent ten of the most eminent of their eldest citizens as ambassadors to Aradus*, who brought with them an humble address and supplication, and the oldest images of their gods which they had in their city, hoping that upon the account of their kindred, and moved with reverence to their gods, the Aradians would be appeased, and their anger diverted. As soon as they landed, according to the commands given, they addressed themselves as suppliants to the people: but the Aradians being incensed, they slighted the usual and common laws of suppliants, and cast off all reverence of their kindred's images, and their gods, and therefore broke the images, and trampled them most shamefully under their feet, and attempted to stone the ambassadors; but some of the senators interposing themselves between them and the rage of the people (scarce restrained from stoning them, notwithstanding the reverence they owed the senators) commanded them to be conveyed to prison. — —

30. The Numantians† and Termisians‡ sent ambassadors to the Romans, to treat of a peace, which was granted to them upon these conditions—That they should each deliver up their cities to the Romans, three hundred hostages, nine hundred soldier's coats, three hundred hides, eight hundred war-horses, and all their arms, and that they should be friends and allies to the Romans. There being a day appointed for the performance of these conditions by the cities, all was done according to the articles; but when at last it came to the delivering up of their arms, there arose a certain generous regret and lamentation, and a courageous resolution in the populace to regain their liberties. Therefore they were angry one at another that they should ever consent that they should, like women, strip themselves of their arms: wherefore, repenting of those things that were decreed, the fathers accused their sons, children their parents, and women their husbands; and so, coming to themselves again, resolving not to deliver up their arms, they renewed the war against the Romans.

31. Tryphon§ from a private man being made king, endeavoured all he could to establish the government in himself by a decree of the senate: wherefore, preparing a golden medal of victory weighing ten

* An island over against Phœnicia. † Numantia in Spain.

‡ Germissum in Spain —See Patercul. lib. 2. c. 4.

§ Called Diodotus, one of Alexander Bala's commanders, king of Syria.—1 Macc. 11, 39. c. 13. v. 31, 32. Liv. lib. 52, 55.

thousand crowns, he sent ambassadors to Rome, to present it to the people, not doubting but that he should obtain from them the appellation of king, considering that the present which he sent was not only very rich in itself, but one whose name carried along with it the happy prognostication of victory. But he found the senate far more subtle than himself, whose prudence prompted them to a dislike of those that deceitfully circumvent others: for they received the present, and the good omen, together with the profit; but, instead of Tryphon's name, the senate decreed that the title of the king* who was treacherously murdered should be engraven upon it; and by so doing they approved themselves haters of his wickedness in murdering of the child, and such as would not accept of the presents of wicked men.

32. There came with Scipio Africanus other ambassadors to Alexandria, to view the whole kingdom. Ptolemy† met them in pomp and state, with a great retinue, and feasted them sumptuously, and, going about with them, shewed them his palace and treasury. But they‡, being persons eminent for virtue, contented themselves with a spare diet, and such as was wholesome, scorning that rich provision, as prejudicial both to mind and body. As for those things which the king esteemed as rarities and admirable, they only glanced their eyes upon them, and looked on them as things of no value: but what was really worth their eyeing, those things they viewed most exactly; as the situation of the city, and its capacity, and particularly the Pharos§, and what belonged thereunto. Thence likewise they sailed to Memphis, and took notice of the goodness of the country, the conveniencies of the river Nile, the number of the cities, the infinite thousands of inhabitants, the fortification‖ of Egypt, and the excellence of the country, how well it was provided, both as to the security and extent of an empire: and, having admired both the populousness of Egypt, and the convenience of the places therein, they were of opinion that the kingdom of Egypt would easily swell into a vast empire, if it once had masters answerable. After the ambassadors had well viewed Egypt, they went to Cyprus, and from thence into Syria. In short, they passed through most parts of the world: and, carrying themselves soberly, to admiration in all places wherever they came, they gained exceeding honour and reputation; and, tra-

* Antiochus Theos, Alexander Bala's son, whose guardian Tryphon was. See Justin, lib. 36. c. 1.

† Ptolemy Evergetes, the second surnamed Physcon.

‡ P. Scipio Africanus, Spurius Mummius, L. Metellus.—See Cicero in Somnio Scip.

§ The Pharos at Alexandria, which gave light to seamen in the night.

‖ Natural fortification.—See Livy, Epit. lib. 59.

velling through most parts of the world, with the general applause of all, they returned home. For those that were at difference, they reconciled one to another; others they persuaded to do right and justice to those that complained against them; those that were impudently obstinate they were necessitated to curb and restrain by force; and such causes as were difficult to be determined they transmitted to the senate. Conferring both with kings and their people, and renewing all former leagues, they increased the love of all sorts to the Roman government; and so all applying themselves in their several countries to choose fit persons, they sent ambassadors to Rome, and highly applauded the delegates with Scipio, and the senate for employing such men.

33. Bocchus, king of Libya, having sharply rebuked those that would have persuaded him to make war upon the Romans, sent commissioners to Marius, craving pardon for his crimes, and desiring to enter into a league, made many promises to be serviceable to the Romans for the time to come. But Marius ordering him to send ambassadors to the senate, to treat of these matters, the king observed his directions, and sent accordingly. Upon which the senate answered—That Bocchus should in every respect be received into grace and favour, if he could prevail with Marius. Marius, desirous to have Jugurtha* the king his prisoner, Bocchus, willing to serve him, sent for Jugurtha, as if he would discourse with him about business of concern to them both, and by this means seized him, and delivered him bound to Lucius Sylla the questor, who was sent out for that purpose; and so, by the misfortune of this prince, he bought his own safety, and escaped punishment from the Romans.

34. Ambassadors came from king Mithridates to Rome, with a great sum of money, in hopes by that to corrupt the senate. Saturninus†, thinking that now he had an advantage against the senate, reproached and abused the embassy at a great rate; the senators instigated the ambassadors, and promised to assist them, who thereupon called Saturninus in question for this abuse. There being then raised a mighty popular tumult, by reason of the violation of the ambassadors, and of that constant abhorrence the Romans have of such notorious affronts, Saturninus (who was now condemned to die by the senate, his proper judges in such cases) fell into most racking fears and perplexities; and, because of the great commotions and tumults that were raised, in a consternation he betook himself for shel-

* King of Numidia, father-in-law of Bocchus.—See Liv. Epit. lib. 62, 64, 65, 66. Flor. lib. 3. c. 1.

† L. Appuleius Saturninus, a tribune of the people, hated the senate upon former grudges. See Flor. lib. 3. c. 16. Livy Epitom. lib. 69.

ter to the pity those commonly find that are unfortunate; therefore, throwing off his rich apparel, putting on a mean and sordid habit, and suffering his beard to grow, he ran up and down to the tumultuous throngs of people throughout the city, falling down upon his knees to some, catching others fast by the hands, begging with tears that they would assist him in his present calamities, declaring that he was factiously oppressed by the senate against all right and justice, and suffered all this for the good will he bore the people; that the senate were his enemies, accusers, and judges. The mob hereupon, being all in an uproar, (affected by his prayers and entreaties), many thousands of them ran to the tribunal, and unexpectedly for that time rescued him; and, with the assistance of the people, he was again declared tribune.

35. Mark Antony* made a peace with the Cretans, which they kept for some time; but afterwards, calling together a general council to consider what was most advisable for them to do in order to their advantage, the more antient and prudent amongst them counselled to send ambassadors to Rome, to make defence against those accusations† that were brought against them, and, by fair words and entreaties, to work upon the senate for a reconciliation. To this end they despatched thirty chosen out of the most eminent men as ambassadors, who, privately visiting the senators at their several houses, and courting them with fine words, secured those that made up the assembly; and, being introduced into the senate, they made their defence against the matters objected against them with great prudence, exactly setting forth their good services, and their associations with the senate, desiring that they might be restored to their former amity and confederacy. The senate, pleased with what they said, gave forth a decree, by which they not only acquitted the Cretans of the crimes laid to their charge, but declared them confederates and friends to the state. But Lentulus, surnamed Spinther, got the decree reversed; however, the Cretans were dismissed. But the senate had often debates concerning the Cretans, alleging, and at length concluding, that they joined with the pirates, and were sharers in the robberies; and therefore they decreed that the Cretans should send in all their ships to Rome, even to a skiff of four oars, and resign the three hundred famous hostages‡, and send away Las-

* The father of Mark Antony, who married Cleopatra.—See Liv. Epit. lib. 97, was routed at sea by the Cretans.

† The senate had decreed war against them, because they assisted Mithridates by their piracies.—Appian, leg. 30. Dio. leg. 37.

‡ These they had of the Romans.—See Dion. leg. 37.

thenes* and Panares, and amongst them pay four thousand talents of silver. The Cretans, hearing what was decreed, went into a consultation about these commands imposed upon them; and the more prudent amongst them advised that they should be observant in all things enjoined on them: but those that were of Lasthenes's party, and guilty of the same crimes, and fearing lest, being sent for to Rome, they should be there punished for their offences, stirred up the people to a sedition, advising them to maintain those liberties that they had ever, time out of mind, enjoyed.

* Lasthenes had fought with Antonius.

THE SUPPLEMENT

TO

DIODORUS SICULUS,

REFERRED TO

IN BOOK XVII.—Vol. 2. Pages 226, 227.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

SUPPLEMENT.

SUP. I.

Alexander, marching through a dry country, loses many of his soldiers for want of water.—Curtius, lib. vii. c. 5.

ALEXANDER himself, with a band of light-armed men, marching all the night, entered the deserts of Susiana*. The total want of water, with the thoughts of their desperate condition, (as is before declared), inflamed their thirst before they had a real desire to drink; for, for the space of four hundred furlongs, not the least lake, or any thing that was moist, appeared. The scorching sun fired the sands, which, when inflamed, burnt up all round about like a raging fire: hence, through the excessive heat of the earth, arose a mist which obscured the light, and all the plain seemed no other than as if it had been the vast ocean.

Their march in the night was tolerable, because their bodies were refreshed by the dew and coldness of the air, before the rising of the sun; but when light appeared, the heat began, and drought dried up all their natural moisture, so that both their mouths, and their very entrails, were altogether parched up with scorching heat; and therefore first their spirits, and then their bodies, began to faint. It was grievous to them either to stand still or go forward. Some few of them, by the help of those who knew the country, had got water, which quenched their thirst for a little while; but the heat increasing, their desire of drink was again the more inflamed; and therefore whoever had any wine or oil, it was instantly guzzled down, and the present pleasure of drinking was so great, that it banished all fear of thirst for the future. Those that had thus swelled themselves with immoderate drinking, could neither carry their arms, nor march forward; and those seemed to be in a far better condition who wanted

* Mistaken by Curtius for the deserts of Sogdiana.

water, than they who, by pouring it down to excess, were forced to vomit it up again. Those that were about the king, seeing him grieved and much perplexed with these misfortunes, entreated him to mind and take care of himself; for his courage was the only life and relief of his drooping army. While they were thus advising him, two of those that were sent before to mark out a convenient place where to encamp, came with water in their vessels for the use of their children who were in the army, and whom they knew were not able to hold out without drink: these meeting the king, one of them opened his vessel, and filled a cup which he had with him, and offered it to the king, who received it, but asked him for whom the water was brought, who answered—That it was for his children: upon which, returning the cup full as it was—"I cannot find in my heart," says he, "to drink it alone, and it is too little to be divided amongst them all; away therefore with all speed, and give it your children, for whom it was brought." At length he came to the river Oxus, about evening, but a great part of the army was left behind: he commanded therefore fires to be kindled upon a high mountain, that those who followed slowly after might know they were not far from the camp. He commanded likewise those that were in the van (having sufficiently refreshed themselves both with meat and drink) to fill all sorts of vessels wherein water might be carried, and help their companions that were behind. But those who drank immoderately quenched their natural heat by surfeit, and died presently, by which means he lost far more men than he had done before in any battle.

SUP. II.

Alexander destroyed all the Branchidæ, (as traitors to the Grecians), whom antiently the Persians forced to remove from their own habitations to the farthest part of the kingdom.—Curtius, lib. vii. c. 6.

HE came to a little town where the Branchidæ inhabited, who heretofore removed from Miletus, by the command of Xerxes, when he returned out of Greece, and settled themselves in this place: they were those who violated the temple called Didymæus*, to ingratiate

* Gave Xerxes the riches that were in it.—Strabo, lib. 14.

themselves with Xerxes. The customs and manners of their country were not as yet wholly laid aside, but they spoke a kind of broken language, neither perfect Greek nor barbarian. They therefore received the king very joyfully, and gave up themselves and their city into his hands. He thereupon called together the Milesians that were in his army, who bore an old grudge and inveterate hatred against the Branchidæ, and left it therefore to these Milesians, whose ancestors had been betrayed by them, to do with them what they thought fit, either to remember the injury, and so revenge themselves; or, considering the original of the Branchidæ, who were their countrymen, upon that account to spare them. When they could not agree amongst themselves what to resolve upon, the king told them, that he himself would take time to consider what was fittest to be done. The next day the Branchidæ meeting him, he ordered them to go along with him; and when he came to the city, he entered the gate with a select detachment, having in the mean time ordered the phalanx to surround the walls, and, upon a sign given, to raze the city to the ground, which had been a nest for the traitors, and to put them all to the sword, man, woman, and child. Hereupon, being all disarmed, they were knocked on the head in every place up and down, and no stop could be put to their cruelty by nearness of language, or the prayers and entreaties of the poor and miserable people.

At length they razed the walls to the very bottom of the foundation, that there might not remain so much as the least sign where it had once stood. Neither stopped they here; for they not only cut down, but rooted up the sacred groves, that they might leave all a vast and solitary desert, barren, without so much as a root in the ground; which executions, had they been inflicted upon the first actors of the treason, might have been judged a just revenge, and not the effects of cruelty, as they seemed to be; for now the posterity, who had never so much as seen Miletus, (and therefore could not betray it to Xerxes), suffered for the faults of their ancestors. — — —

SUP. III.

The king led his army against the Sogdians and Scythians.
Arrianus, lib. iv.

IN the mean time the barbarians that bordered next to the river, surprised the Macedonians who were placed in garrisons in Scythia, and put them all to the sword, and fortified the cities, for their greater security. Many of the Sogdians joined with them in the defection, being solicited thereunto by those that had seized upon Bessus, who likewise drew away after them some of the Bactrians, either because they were afraid of Alexander, or because (as they gave the reason for their rebellion) Alexander had summoned a senate of the governors of the province to meet at Zariaspa, the greatest city there, from which convention they saw no ground to hope for any good to themselves. When intelligence was brought to Alexander of these things, he forthwith commanded his foot in every regiment to prepare scaling ladders; and he himself marched away with his army to a city called Gaza, which was next to the camp, and lay first in his way; for it was said the barbarians had fled into seven towns of that country. He sent Craterus to Cyropolis, the greatest of all the cities, and in which a great number of the barbarians had sheltered themselves. The king commanded him to encamp near the city, and to fortify his camp with a trench and wall drawn round, and place such engines upon his bulwarks as he saw occasion to use, that the townsmen, being busy in assaulting Craterus, might have no leisure to come in to the assistance of other cities. The king himself, as soon as he came to Gaza, forthwith at the first approach commanded his men to set scaling ladders round the walls, which were but of earth, and not very high. Upon which the slingers, darters, and archers, together with the foot, made an assault, plied and galled them that defended the walls with their darts, and shot out of the engines; so that by showers of darts and arrows the wall was presently cleared of its defendants, and the scaling-ladders in a trice were set to the walls, and the Macedonians entered, and put all the men to the sword, (for so Alexander had commanded), but the women and children, with the rest of the prey, they carried away. Thence the king forthwith marched to another city, (fortified much like unto Gaza), which he took much after the same manner the very same day, and dealt with the prisoners after the same manner as with them at Gaza. After

this he made to a third city, which he took the next day, upon the first assault.

In the mean time, while he was reducing these cities with his foot, he sent away his horse to two other neighbouring cities, with orders to watch them, lest the inhabitants, hearing of the taking of the cities bordering upon them, and of the king's near approach, should fly and leave the cities, so that he should not be able to pursue with any hopes of overtaking them. And indeed it fell out as he thought, which evidenced the sending forth of the horse to be necessary: for the barbarians, who still were possessed of two other cities, seeing the smoke of the city which was burnt, and was over against them, (besides some who escaped out of the overthrow brought them news of the city being taken), with all speed in whole droves fled out of the cities, and fell in among the horse that were sent forth, and multitudes of them were knocked on the head.

The king having taken and razed these five towns in the space of two days, marched away to Cyropolis, the greatest of their cities. The walls of this city were higher than any of the rest, the town being built by Cyrus: and, forasmuch as there were many stout men and good soldiers, the inhabitants of the country were got together into this place. The Macedonians could not easily (like the other places) take it at the first assault; and therefore Alexander ordered, that with the battering-rams and other engines they should batter the walls, and wherever any breach was made, there forthwith to make an assault. But the king, observing the channel of the river (which ran through the city like a little brook) to be then dry, and not contiguous or near the walls, but affording a direct passage for his soldiers into the city, he took with him his guard, targeteers, archers, and the Agrians, (the barbarians being then busy in observing the engines, and those that managed them), and secretly with a few at first entered through the channel into the city, and broke down the gates that were in that part, and readily let in the rest of the soldiers: upon which the barbarians, perceiving the city to be entered, nevertheless fell upon Alexander's soldiers, and fought stoutly and resolutely, in which conflict Alexander received a blow on his head and neck with a stone. Craterus, and many others, were wounded with darts and arrows; but at length the barbarians were driven out of the market-place. In the mean time those that assaulted the walls entered, all being clear of those that should have defended them. In the first conflict, at the entering of the city, there were slain of the enemy about eight thousand, the rest (for they were above eighteen thousand who had put themselves there) fled into the castle, who, after one day's siege, for want of water, surrendered themselves. The

seventh city the king took at the first assault: Ptolemy indeed says that it was surrendered; but Aristobulus relates, that it was taken by storm, and that all in it were put to the sword. Ptolemy writes, that all the prisoners were distributed in the army, and ordered to be kept bound till the king left the country, lest any one of them that revolted should be left behind.

While these things were on foot, the army of the Asiatic Scythians came to the banks of the river Tanais*, because they heard that some of the barbarians inhabiting beyond the river had revolted from Alexander; and their aim therefore was, that if there were any considerable defection, they likewise might act their part in falling upon the Macedonians. At the same time intelligence was brought, that Spitamenes had besieged those that were left in garrison in the castle of Patachades. Alexander therefore sent Andromachus, Medemenus, and Caranus against Spitamenes, with sixty horse of the social band, and eight hundred of the mercenaries, who were under the command of Caranus; but of foot there were fifteen hundred mercenaries: with them the king joined in commission one Pharnuches for an interpreter, a Lycian by nation, who was well skilled in the language of the barbarians, and therefore was judged a fit person to transact matters with them.

The king having, in the space of twenty days, walled the city† he had before designed to build, gave it the Greek mercenaries, to be inhabited by them, and to such neighbouring barbarians as had a mind to remove their habitations, and dwell there, and to some of the Macedonians that were unable, and unfit to bear arms.

Afterwards, having sacrificed to the gods after the manner of his country, and exhibited the Gymnic sports and horse-courses, finding that the Scythians did not march back and leave the river, but threw their darts over, (for it was there very narrow), and, after their barbarous manner, gave out most opprobrious and railing language against Alexander, as, that he durst not fight with the Scythians; and if he did, he should find by experience how great a difference there was between the Scythians and the barbarous Asiatics. The king, being provoked at these things, resolved to pass the river, and fall upon them, and commanded leather boats to be made ready for that purpose. Having therefore sacrificed for his good success, the entrails of the beasts promised nothing that was prosperous, which made him very uneasy, but he bore it very patiently, and staid there. The Scythians still continuing their slight and contemptuous lan-

* Not Tanais, which falls into the Lake Mæotis, but another called Iaxartes.—See Pl. Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 16.

† Called Alexandria, upon the banks of Iaxartes, improperly called Tanais.

guage, he again sacrificed, and when Aristander the soothsayer declared that danger was portended, Alexander answered—It was better to undergo the most extreme hazard, than for him, who had conquered all Asia, to be a scorn, a mocking-stock to the Scythians, as Darius, the father of Xerxes, was heretofore. Aristander, on the other side, replied, that he would not declare any thing to the king, but what was portended by the gods, though Alexander had rather hear other things. However, Alexander's boats being now ready, and his army standing all in arms at the river's brink, he ordered, that upon a sign given they should discharge the engines against the Scythians that rode over against them from the other side; which done, some of them were wounded with the darts, and one of them especially was pierced with a dart through his buckler and breast-plate, and fell down dead from his horse. But the barbarians being terrified with darts that wounded them at so great a distance, and with the fall of that valiant man, by degrees drew off farther from the bank of the river. Alexander discerning them to be in disorder by the strokes of the darts, with sound of trumpet passed over the river at the head of his army; and the archers and slingers being first sent over, he commanded them to ply the Scythians with their slings and arrows, lest they should fall in upon the phalanx as they were passing over, before all his body of horse had recovered the other side. When all had now gained the farther bank of the river, he first fell upon the Scythians with one of the squadrons of the Social Regiment, and four regiments of those that were armed with sarissas*, whose shock the Scythians bravely bore up against, and surrounded them with their horse; so that many overpowering them, who were but few, the Scythians easily kept themselves whole and entire. Alexander thereupon mixing his archers and Agrians, and other select troops, (over whom Balacrus had the command), fell in upon the Scythians, and, being now on both sides mixed together, the king ordered three squadrons of horse of the Social Band, and all his horse that were darters, to charge in upon the Scythians; and he himself, at the head of the rest of the horse, made straight upon them, so that now they were not able any longer to keep their horse in a ring, as before; for the horse pressed sore upon them at the same time, and the light-armed men, being mixed with the horse, they suffered not the enemy with any safety to wheel about with their horse to surround them. Upon which the Scythians were put to a total flight, and about a thousand killed, and a hundred and fifty taken prisoners, amongst whom was Satrices, one of their two generals.

* Macedonian lances.

SUP. IV.

The Sogdian noblemen, being led forth to be put to death, were unexpectedly preserved.—Curtius, lib. vii. c. 10.

SOME of the prisoners of the Sogdians, of noble birth, and proper handsome men, were brought before the king; who, as soon as they understood by an interpreter that they were to die, they began to sing, skip, and dance, as men transported with joy, using many lascivious gestures of their bodies. The king admiring the greatness of their courage at the approach of death, commanded them to be brought to him, and asked them, why they were so excessively merry, when death was even before their eyes? who answered—That if they had been put to death by any other's command, they should have been as sad at the apprehension of death as other men; but since they were sent out of the world by so great a king, who was conqueror of the world, they celebrated their honourable death (which all valiant men wish for) with songs of mirth and jollity, after the custom and manner of their country. The king, wondering at their courage, asked them, whether they would not be his enemies, if he were so kind and generous as to suffer them to live: they answered—They never were his enemies, but, as invaded, opposed him to defend themselves; and if any made trial of them by fair means, and not by force and injury, they would exert themselves to the utmost, that none should exceed them in grateful offices of respect. Then he asked them what pledges they would give of loyalty? they replied—Their lives, which they had received from him, and which they would give him up again upon his demand. Nor did they fail, by breach of promise: for those that returned into their own country kept their countrymen in due obedience; four of them, whom he kept for squires of his body proved as true and faithful to the king as any of the Macedonians.

SUP. V.

Alexander punished the Bactrians, and subdued the Sogdians a second time, and built cities in convenient places to punish the revolters.—Arrianus, lib. iv.

ALEXANDER himself marched again to the river Oxus; for he resolved to march against the Sogdians, having heard that many of them had put themselves into forts and castles, and refused to obey the provincial governors the king had placed over them. At the time he was encamped near the river Oxus, two springs rose out of the earth, near to Alexander's pavilion, the one of water, and the other of oil: of which prodigy Ptolemy Lagus forthwith informed the king as soon as he heard of it: whereupon Alexander without delay, at the command of the priest, sacrificed. Aristander the priest told the king, that the fountain of oil portended labour, but victory at last, the fruit of toil and pain. Marching therefore away with part of his army against the Sogdians, he left in Bactria Polyperchon, Attalus, Gorgias, and Meleager, to be a guard in that country, both to keep them in obedience that were reduced, and to subdue the others who had fallen off from their allegiance. Having divided his army into five parts, he gave the command of three of them to Hephæstion; a fourth part to Cœnus and Artabazus; he himself, with the fifth, entered the country leading towards Maracanda. The rest entered wherever each of them could, and stormed the forts of those who had possessed themselves of them, and others they took in upon surrender. After all, the forces (having first ran over the greatest part of the country) joined together at Maracanda; he sent forth Hephæstion to bring colonies into the cities of the Sogdians: Cœnus and Artabazus he ordered against the Scythians, because he heard that Spitamenes was fled to them. He himself with the rest of the army entering into Sogdiana, easily reduced the rest of the cities that had revolted.

SUP. VI.

The Sogdians revolted a third time; and they that betook themselves to the top of the rock were taken.—Arrianus, lib. iv.

AFTERWARDS, at the beginning of the spring, he marched to a rock to which he heard many of the Sogdians had fled; and here it was said that the wife and daughters of Oxyartes* had sheltered themselves: for Oxyartes placed them here as in a hold that was impregnable, he himself being one that had revolted from Alexander. And the king was the more earnest, because that, when this rock was taken, there appeared no fort left in Sogdiana that could encourage them to a defection. When he came to the rock, he found it steep and inaccessible on every side, and that the barbarians had brought in provision for a long siege, and that the depth of the snow, as it made the approach of the Macedonians more difficult, so it furnished the barbarians with plenty of water. However Alexander resolved to assault the rock. The proud and contemptuous answer likewise of the barbarians stirred up rage and ambition in Alexander at one and the same time. For whereas at a parley with them he promised them, that if they would surrender, they should all have liberty to return safely home; they barbarously scoffed at him, and bid him seek some soldiers that had wings, who might thus take the rock, for they feared no other mortals. Upon which Alexander commanded proclamation to be made by an herald—That he would bestow twelve talents as a reward upon him that should first mount the rock, and so the second, and the third, in their due order, should every one receive a reward, till it came to the last that ascended the rock, who should receive three hundred darics; the hopes of which reward stirred up the Macedonians, who were eager before to fall upon them of their own accord. Three hundred, therefore, of those that were accustomed to climb rocks being drawn out, they furnished themselves with crampirons, (wherewith they fastened their tents), that they might fix them in the snow where it was hard frozen, and in other parts of the rock where there was no snow, and to them they tied strong cords, and in the night made to that part of the rock

* Curtius calls him Arimares, lib. vii. c. 11: for by Strabo, Oxyartes had placed his daughters in Sisimithræ, a rock in Bactria, where Alexander married one of them, named Roxana.—Strabo, lib. xi. p. 517.

that was steepest and highest, and therefore, as they conceived, least guarded; and with the cramps, some fastened in the rock, and others in the snow that was frozen, they scrambled up from place to place till they gained the top: but of these, thirty perished in endeavouring to get up, so that their bodies could not be found to be buried, being lost in the depth of the snow; the rest about break of day recovered the top, and by shaking of the linen clothes gave notice to the army that they had gained the place, for that sign Alexander had commanded them: upon which a trumpeter was forthwith sent out with command to the Barbarians that they should without any further delay surrender themselves, for that he had now found soldiers that had wings, who had possessed themselves of the top of the rock; and at the same time the soldiers that had gained the rock, presented themselves in view to the Barbarians, who being amazed at such an unexpected sight, supposing them to be more, and better armed than indeed they were, gave up themselves; the sight of a few Macedonians was so terrible to them. There were there taken prisoners many of the wives and children of the Barbarians, and amongst them the wife and daughters of Oxyartes: Oxyartes's son likewise, who was about the age of nine years.

SUP. VII.

Of the hunting in Bahastis, and the multitude of wild beasts there.
Curtius, lib. vii. c. 1.

HAVING given a gracious audience to the ambassadors, he stayed waiting for Hephæstion and Artabazus, who having afterwards joined him, he came into the country called Bazaria. Of the riches of the barbarians in those places, there can be no greater argument, than the multitude of stately wild beasts that range in large woods and forests in that country. The frequent spacious woods pleasantly watered with many refreshing springs. They are walled round, in which are built towers for stands to view the hunting of the beasts. One of these chases had remained free and untouched for the space of four generations, which Alexander entering with his army, he commanded the game in all parts to be rouzed; amongst which, when a lion of a vast bigness set upon the king, Lysimachus, who was afterwards king*, happening to be next to Alexander, offered to

* Of Thrace.

make at the beast with his hunting spear, the king put him by, and bid him be gone, adding that the lion might be killed by himself as well as by Lysimachus. This Lysimachus had before, in a hunting in Syria, killed an exceeding great lion with his own hand, but he had been even at the point of death, his left shoulder having been, in that encounter, rent and torn even to the very bone. The king, twitting him with this, shewed more valour afterwards in action than he did before in this expression; for he not only stood the beast, but killed him at one blow. The story that was foolishly spread abroad, that the king gave up Lysimachus to be devoured by a lion, rose, I believe, from this accident before related, but the Macedonians, though the king was thus happily delivered, yet according to the custom of their country, established a decree, that he should not hunt on foot without a guard of his captains and friends. The king having killed four thousand brave wild beasts, feasted with his whole army in the forest.

SUP. VIII.

Alexander's offence against Bacchus, and his murder of Clitus in his cups.—Arrianus, lib. iv.

TO declare in this place the death of Clitus, and the foul act of Alexander in that matter, though it happened some little time after, yet I judge it not altogether out of course. The Macedonians, it is said, have a certain day sacred to Bacchus, and Alexander was accustomed to sacrifice to Bacchus every year upon that day; but at that time he neglected Bacchus, and sacrificed to Castor and Pollux; and from that time he appointed sacrifice to them, with feasting always at that day. And whereas, now the company had been a considerable time quaffing and carouzing, (for Alexander had now learned to imitate the Barbarians in his cups,) and all were heated with wine, a discourse happened concerning the Dioscuri*, how to derive their original from Jupiter, and set aside that of Tindarus; some who were present to flatter the king, which sort of creatures are ever pernicious both to the persons and concerns of kings, and are ever at hand, delivered their judgment that Castor and Pollux were not in the least respect to be compared [illegible] his brave

* Castor and

and noble actions: others in their cups did not spare Hercules himself, but said that envy was the cause that debarred mortals from the honours that were due to them from those among whom they conversed. But Clitus who ever heretofore hated Alexander's imitation of the manners of the barbarians, and the discourses of his flatterers, having now his spirits something raised with wine, was not able to bear those contempts cast upon the gods, nor that by undervaluing those acts of the ancient heroes, so thankless a piece of service should be paid to the king. And declared that Alexander had neither done such wonderful things as they cried him up for, neither did he do any of them himself alone, but the praise of a great number of them was due to the valour of the Macedonians. But Alexander was much enraged at these words of Clitus; neither indeed, can I commend him in what he said, for I am of opinion it had been much more prudent for him in this time of carouzing to have held his peace, as well as to forbear joining with others in this sordid vice of flattery: and whereas some called to mind the acts of Philip, and did all they could most unjustly to bear down and make slight of all he did as nothing at all memorable, in the mean time caressing and extolling of Alexander, Clitus now not himself, began to advance the actions of Philip, and vilify Alexander and his achievments: and cast it in the kings teeth, now raging like a madman, amongst other things, how he had at the river Granicus, in the charge, in the horse engagement preserved him, and impudently stretching out his right hand, cried out—"This hand, O Alexander, preserved thy life in that battle:" Alexander not being able longer to endure the unbridled passion of Clitus, or his base language, or his reproaches cast upon him, in a rage leaped out towards him, but was held back by them that were round about him; on the other hand Clitus let fly all the reproachful words he could devise, surpassing all bounds. The king with a loud voice called out for the Argyraspides, and no man regarding him, he cried out again that he was now in the same condition Darius was in, when he was seized and led away by Bessus and his accomplices, and that there was nothing left him but the name of a king. His friends then could not hold him any longer, but springing from them, some say he snatched a lance out of the hands of one of his guards, and with that run Clitus through, and killed him; others report it was with a sarissa delivered to him by one of the guard; Aristobulus gives no account when this mad fit of Alexander's arose; but says all the fault was wholly in Clitus; for that when Alexander in a rage rushed up and made at him to kill him, he at a back door shifted out of the way, and got quite out of the trenches into the fort to Ptolemy the son of

Lagus, a squire of the body, yet could not contain himself, but must needs come back again; and lighting upon Alexander when he was calling out for Clitus—"Here is Clitus, Alexander," said he; upon which the king ran him through with a sarissa: as I cannot but greatly blame Clitus for his insolence to the king, so I am troubled for Alexander on the other side, because at that time he exposed himself as guilty of two vices together, anger and drunkenness; to be overtaken with either of which, did not in the least become another man. But yet again I must praise Alexander upon another account, that presently he repented of the foul act he had committed. For some who write of the affairs of Alexander, say, that he set the end of the spear against the wall, and attempted to run himself upon the point, because his life seemed hateful to him, having through his drunkenness destroyed his friend. But many writers do not mention this. But when he was upon his bed he lay lamenting, calling and repeating still the name of Clitus. Lanices, the daughter of Dropidus, who had brought up Alexander, received from him now he was a man, a large reward for his education; she had lost two sons in the war, fighting for the king, and had her brother now killed by his own hand: he cried out he was the murderer of his friends, and would neither eat nor drink for three days space, nor take any care of himself what became of him. Some of Bacchus's priests told him that these misfortunes befel him because he had neglected to sacrifice to Bacchus. His friends had much ado to persuade him to eat or drink any thing to refresh him. But at last he sacrificed to Bacchus; since it was not displeasing to him that that misfortune should be imputed rather to the anger of the god, than to his own wickedness.

SUP. IX.

Of the death of Calisthenes.—Arrianus, lib. iv.

AS to the adoration of Alexander, how Calisthenes opposed him, and what relates to it, it is reported, that it was agreed between Alexander and the sophisters, and some of the nobility of the Medes and Persians that attended upon him, that in the time of their feasting a discourse should be started concerning this matter. Anaxarchus was the person that began, and declared, that Alexander had more

right to be accounted a god, than either Bacchus or Hercules, not only for the greatness of his noble actions, but because Bacchus was a Theban, a meer stranger, having no communication with the Macedonians; and Hercules was of Argos, as much a stranger as the other, save that Alexander was of the same stock, being from the Heraclidæ; and it is far more just and equal for the Macedonians to adore their own king with divine honours than any other. And on doubt, he said, was to be made but they would pay to him divine honours when he was dead; therefore it is much better to adore him as a god while he was alive, than when he was dead, when their divine worship of him would be of no advantage to him. When these and other things to the same purpose were said by Anaxarchus, those who were of the same pack praised all that was spoken, and declared they would forthwith adore* him: but many of the Macedonians, who condemned Anaxarchus's speech, held their peace. But Callisthenes in the midst of the silence spoke thus:—

"Indeed, Anaxarchus, I count not Alexander unworthy of any honour, how great soever it be, that is fit to be ascribed to men; but there are prescribed differences amongst men between divine and human honours, amongst many others in the building of temples and erecting of statues; for to the gods we consecrate oratories, and offer sacrifices and drink offerings: to the gods are sung hymns; men are praised but not adored: kisses in salutations are given to men, but the gods are placed on high, and it is not lawful to touch them; and therefore they are worshipped with adoration. Solemn times of dancings are performed to the gods, and Pæans sung to them. Neither is it to be wondered at, insomuch as the honours given to the gods are various; some sort of honours given to one, and others to another, especially those honours of later times. Nay, those honours given to some of the heroes differ from divine honours. It is not therefore fit to confound these things, nor to advance men above themselves and all mankind besides, and to degrade the gods, by worshiping them with the same worship wherewith we adore men. Alexander himself would not suffer any private man to usurp the regal dignity and honours due to himself, though he gained them by the unjust suffrages of the people: much more justly therefore may the gods be angry if any mortal man assume to himself divine honours, or accept them from others. However, let Alexander be esteemed, as in truth he is, by many degrees the most valiant of them that are valiant, the greatest king amongst all other kings, and amongst generals the most worthy to command. But as for thee, naxarchus, it is thy du ty above any other to instruct Alexander in these things that have been spoken, and to deter him from the con-

* This adoration was by prostration.

trary; for thy conversation he daily makes use of, in order to improve in wisdom and learning. Neither does it become thee to be the beginner of this discourse, but rather to remember that thou art not advising Cambyses or Xerxes, but the son of Philip, descended from Hercules and Achilles, whose ancestors came out of Argos into Macedonia, and maintained their empire not by arbitrary power, but by ruling according to the laws and customs of the Macedonians. But divine honours were not conferred upon Hercules himself by the Grecians while he was living, nay, nor when he was dead, before the oracle at Delphos commanded that he should be worshipped as a god. But if there be but few that are in the country of the barbarians, we ought to entertain the same sentiments with them. And I earnestly entreat thee, Alexander, to remember Greece, for whose sake this expedition was undertaken by thee, in order to add Asia to Greece: And now consider whether, when you return thither, you can be able to compel the free people of Greece to adore you as a god, or, excepting them of Greece, you can impose this dishonour and slavery upon the Macedonians only, or whether it be fit that quite different honours be there allowed you, since the Grecians confer only those that are human, according to the custom and manner of the Greeks, when at the same time only the barbarians worship you as a god after the manner of the barbarians. But if it be objected, that Cyrus, son of Cambyses, was the first of all mortal men that was adored by men as a god, and that since that time this adoration has continued amongst the Medes and Persians; yet you are to consider how his pride was curbed by the Scythians, a poor and indigent people. And how other Scythians again reduced Darius to more sober thoughts of himself, and the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, Xerxes; and Clearchus and Xenophon, Artaxerxes, with only ten thousand men; and Darius now overcome by Alexander, when at that time no divine honours were decreed to him."

When Callisthenes had spoken these, and other things to the same purpose, Alexander took it very heinously; but what he said was very grateful and acceptable to the Macedonians; which being known, Alexander sent some to urge the Macedonians to remember the adoration of the king; upon which there being a great silence, those among the Persians that were most eminent for birth, and honourable for age, all rose up together, and adored* him. But Leonatus, one of Alexander's friends, when he saw one of the Persians sordidly prostrating himself, he fell a-laughing at the poor and mean gesture of the Persian; at which Alexander was at first very angry, but was afterwards pacified. Some write, that the king drank in a golden bowl to them with whom he had made the compact to

* Prostrated themselves.

adore him in a ring as they sat, and that the first that pledged him, presently arose and adored him, and then kissed him, and so in order the rest did the same, one after another. But when it came to Callisthenes's turn, he rose up, and drank off the bowl, and when he had done, (without adoring him,) drew near to the king to kiss him. Alexander was then accidently discoursing with Hephæstion, and therefore did not mind whether he omitted the adoration or not. But Demetrius the son of Pythonax, one of Alexander's friends, observing when Callisthenes approached to kiss Alexander, informed him that Callisthenes had not adored him, upon which the king turned away from him; and therefore Callisthenes said, he must now be discarded with the loss of a kiss.

I cannot indeed praise either any of these things that tended to Alexander's dishonour, or the moroseness of Callisthenes; for I conceive it had been enough for him modestly to have carried himself, and for him who would serve the king, to promote his affairs to the best advantage, as far as ever he was able: and therefore I am of opinion, that Callisthenes was not without just cause hated by Alexander by reason of the unseasonable liberty of his speech and foolish malepertness. For which reason, I believe, credit was more easily given afterwards to his accusers, by whom he was charged to be in the conspiracy with the pages against the king's life, and to others who affirmed that they were put on to it by him.

The conspiracy was thus: there was an order formerly made by Philip, that from among the sons of the Macedonian nobility, when they grew up to men's estate, choice should be made of some, from time to time, to attend upon the king, both to be squires of his body, and gentlemen of his bedchamber: these youths, when the king was about to ride, received the horses from the querries, and led them to the king, and after the Persian manner helped him to mount, and waited upon him whenever he went forth a-hunting: among these, there was one Hermolaus, the son of Sopolides, who studied philosophy, and was scholar to Callisthenes. The report is, that a wild boar in the course of hunting meeting Alexander, this Hermolaus prevented the king, who was aiming at him, and killed the boar. The king hereupon being in a rage to have the opportunity of killing the boar snatched out of his hand, commanded that the youth should be whipped in the presence of all the other pages, and have his horse taken from him: which disgrace he not being able to bear, opened his mind to Sostrates, the son of Amyntas, one of his companions, of the same quality, and his bosom friend, and declared to him that his life would be but a burthen to him, unless he could revenge the injury done him upon Alexander; and it was no difficult matter to persuade Sostrates, being his special friend, to join with him in this

traitorous conspiracy. Antipater likewise, the son of Asclepiodorus, lord lieutenant of Syria, Epimenes the son of Arseus, and Anticles the son of Theocritus, together with Philotas, the son of Carsides the Thracian, were all brought in by him to join in the same treason. The night that it came to Antipater's turn to wait in the bedchamber, was the time pitched upon to kill Alexander when he was asleep. But it happened, as some write, that Alexander that very night sat up drinking till morning. But Aristobulus says, that a certain woman of Syria, pretending to be divinely inspired, still followed Alexander from place to place, whom Alexander and his courtiers at first ridiculed; but when what she had foretold was still verified by the event, she was no longer despised by Alexander, but was freely admitted to the king both by night and by day, and often was in his bedchamber when he was asleep. It is said at that time this prophetess by chance met the king as he came from his cups, and entreated him to return to his companions, and spend the whole night in drinking. Alexander judging it might be a divine warning, returned, and by that means disappointed the traitorous designs of the pages.

The next day, Epimenes the son of Arseus, one of the conspirators, discovered the whole matter to his friend Caricles, the son of Menander, Caricles to Eurylochus, the brother to Epimenes; Eurylochus going into Alexander's tent, revealed all to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, the squire of the king's body, and he to Alexander, who forthwith ordered all that Eurylochus had named to be seized; who being apprehended, upon their examination confessed their treason, and discovered some others.

Aristobulus indeed says, that they declared Callisthenes stirred them up to undertake this piece of villany, which Ptolemy likewise confirms: but there are some others that give another account of this matter, viz. That Alexander perfectly hated Callisthenes, and because there was a great intimacy between him and Hermolaus, he was easily wrought upon by the informers to suspect Callisthenes.

Some likewise say, that Hermolaus being brought before the Macedonians, confessed that he himself plotted the treason, and that it was not in the power of any free-born man to endure the disgrace and dishonour Alexander had brought upon him; and then reckoned up all that Alexander in that kind had done; to wit, the unjust death of Philotas, and with far more injustice his putting to death Parmenio, Philotas's father, and the rest that were then killed; the murder of Clitus through his drunkenness, his assuming the habit of the Medes, the edict for his adoration, not yet recalled, his carousing and drunken dozing; which vile courses he not being able further to endure, was earnest to regain liberty both for himself and the rest of

the Macedonians. Hereupon Hermolaus and the rest that were seized were stoned to death by the by-standers. But Aristobulus says, that Callisthenes was carried about with the army in chains, and died. Ptolemy says he was first racked, and afterwards hanged. o that these authors, though of great credit and repute, and who were themselves present in the army, and attending upon Alexander at the very time when these things were acted, yet cannot agree about a matter whereof there could be no doubt at all at the time when it was done.

SUP. X.

The king's expedition against the Nauticans, or Naurans; and the destruction of many of his army by a great snow.
Curtius, lib. viii. c. 4.

THESE things being thus set in order, the third month he marched* out of his winter-quarters towards a country called Gabaza†. The first day he had an easy march; the next day was not as yet stormy or gloomy, but something darker than the day before, not without some threatening of a storm at hand. The third day the whole heavens flashed with lightning, sometimes light, then presently dark which not only amazed the eyes, but terrified the hearts of the distracted army. The air resounded with continual thunder, and thunderbolts up and down seemed to be shot from the clouds; the army, even struck deaf with the thunder, as men astonished, durst neither march nor stand still. Then on a sudden fell down a storm of hail like a violent torrent. At first they covered themselves with their shields, but presently their benumbed and frozen hands let fall their arms, neither did they know towards what place or country to move themselves, the violence of the storm being greater than could possibly be avoided, turn themselves which way soever they would. Their ranks and order therefore being broke, they wandered through the wood‡ in parties as they could; and many fainting rather with fear than through weariness, fell down upon the ground, although the fierceness of the cold had frozen the hail; others leaned themselves to the bodies of trees, which was to many both a support and defence. Neither were they deceived in choosing out a place to die in, when their natural heat, overcome by the cold, left them immoveable.

But it was a grateful sloth to them that were tired out, neither did

* From Naura, or Nautica. † In Sogdiana. ‡ Or forest.

they count it irksome to find rest by death; for the cold was not only intense, but also not likely to abate, and the dark shades of the wood, besides the storm, which was as the night, suppressed and kept out the light, that common comfort and refreshment. The king only was patient under this sad misfortune, and walked round his camp, and brought together the dispersed, and lifted up them that were down, shewing them the smoke that came from chimneys afar off, advising every one to take the nighest refuge. Neither did any thing conduce more to their safety, than to see the king, who had taken more pains than they, yet most unwearied of any, and therefore were ashamed to leave him. But necessity, more forcibly than reason in their distresses, found out a remedy for the cold: for hewing down the trees with their axes, they set the heaps of wood up and down on fire, so that you would have thought all the wood had been in a flame, and scarce any place left for the army to lodge. This heat presently enlivened their benumbed limbs, and by degrees their spirits, which the cold had even closed up, began freely to pass. Some were entertained in the houses of the barbarians which were hid from them in the late wood; but now their necessity had discovered others lodged in their tents, which though wet, yet were more tolerable, the fury of the storm being somewhat abated. This unhappy accident sweeped away a thousand soldiers, and other mean attendants* upon the camp. It is reported, that some were found standing at the side of the trees, and seemed not only as if they had been alive, but as if they had been discoursing one with another in the same posture as they were in when they died.

SUP. XI.

How Alexander falling in love with Roxana, married her, and induced many of his friends to marry the daughters of the chief men among the barbarians.—Arrianus, lib. iv.

ROXANA, the daughter of Oxyartes, was there† likewise, a virgin ripe for marriage, whom Alexander's fellow-soldiers judged to be the most beautiful lady of all Asia, next to the wife of Darius. Upon sight of her Alexander fell deeply in love, yet would not by any means use her dishonourably as a captive; neither did he disdain to

* Scullions, horse-boys, &c.

† In the rock before mentioned, in Sogdiana; but Strabo says, it was at the rock in Bactria. See before.

take her for his wife; which act of Alexander, I conceive, was more worthy of praise than reprehension. And as for Darius's wife, who was esteemed the most beautiful lady of all Asia, he neither was tainted with so much as an unlawful desire towards her, nor did he, as a domineering lord, command her to his bed, though he was then in the heat of his youth, and the highest pitch of worldly prosperity; which two conditions are apt greatly to provoke men to be very injurious to others: but he, out of a reverence to her person, spared her; herein evidencing his great continency, and prompted likewise thereunto by a desire of his own honour and reputation.

SUP. XII.

His breaking into India, and his putting all to the sword in the first country he entered, to be a terror to the rest.

Arrianus, lib. iv.

IN the middle of the spring Alexander removed with his army out of Bactria towards India, and left Amyntas there with three thousand five hundred horse, and ten thousand foot. Having passed the Caucasus, in ten days he came to Alexandria, which he had built in Paropamisus at his first expedition into Bactria, and put out the governor there for his bad behaviour in the place, and then peopled the city with more inhabitants out of the neighbouring countries, and such of his Macedonians as were grown unserviceable for the war, and made Nicanor, one of his associates, governor of the city; but appointed Tyriaspes commander of the whole region of Paropamisus, and of all that territory or province as far as the river Cophas. Thence he went to the city of Nicæa, and there offered sacrifice to Minerva, and then marched to the river Cophas, and sending a herald, commanded Taxiles and the rest of the governors of the countries lying beyond the river to come to him. Taxiles and other petty princes came first and met him, bringing him large presents, such as were most esteemed in India, promising likewise to send him five-and-twenty elephants. He there divided his army, and sent Hephæstion and Perdiccas into the country called Peucelaotis, towards the river Indus, together with the troops of Gorgias, Clitus, and Meleager, and half the horse of the Social Band, and all the mercenary horse, commanding them to take in by fair means or foul all the towns which lay in their way, and that when they came to the bank of the river Indus, they should prepare all things that were necessary to pass over. And with them was sent Taxiles and other

commanders of those parts, to put in execution, when they came to the river Indus, what Alexander had commanded.

Astes, the governor of the country of Peucelaotis, offering to revolt, lost both himself and the city which he put himself into: for Hephæstion came and besieged it, and after thirty days time took it, and, killing Astes, made one Sangæus governor of it, who a little before, forsaking Astes, had fled over to Taxiles, which made Alexander the more confide in him ever after.

Alexander, with his band of silver targeteers, and the horse of his fellow-cavaliers that went not with Hephæstion, and the troop of horse called Asseteri, together with his archers, Agrians, and horse-lancers, marched into the countries of the Aspians, Phyræans, and Arasacans; and, going on his way to the river Choaspes, (which was for the most part mountainous and rocky), and having at last passed that river, he commanded Craterus to come after him fair and softly with the foot; and himself, taking with him the whole body of his horse, and eight hundred Macedonian foot-targeteers on horseback, marched away at a great rate, because he heard that the people of the country were fled, some to the mountains, others to fenced cities, and all to make head against him. Having attacked the first of these cities that lay in his way, those which came forth to oppose him he routed at the first charge, and drove them back into the town, but was himself wounded with a dart in the shoulder, which pierced through his breast-plate; but the wound was but slight, the breast-plate repelling the force of the dart. Ptolemy Lagus, and Leonatus, were likewise wounded. Then Alexander, observing what part of the wall was fittest to pitch upon for an assault, encamped close to the city, just against that part. The next day, early in the morning, the Macedonians took the outward wall with little difficulty, for the city was doubly walled. At the inner wall the inhabitants made some resistance; but when the Macedonians had once scaled the walls, and the townsmen felt the arrows showering down about their ears, not being able longer to endure, the soldiers within broke out of the gates, and ran every man his way to the mountains, many of whom the Macedonians killed in the pursuit; and all the prisoners (being in a rage because the king was wounded) they put to the sword. Many escaped to the mountains, which were not far off from the city. Having laid the city level with the ground, he marched away with his army to Andaca, another city.

SUP. XIII.

kindness to the city of Nysa, upon the account of his descent from Bacchus.—Arrianus, lib. iv.

is region, into which Alexander entered, lying between the Cophas and Indus, is situated Nysa, a city built (as is re-) by Dionysius*, at that time when he commanded in India. his Dionysius was, and when, or from whence he brought in nies against the Indians, I cannot conjecture: whether it was ieban from Thebes, or he from Tmolus in Lydia, who led an rom thence against the Indians. But, though he passed into ny warlike nations, at that time altogether unknown to the , yet he subdued none of them but the Indians. This only I isfied in, that those fables which the antients have written con- g the gods are not too curiously to be pried into: for such s as do not otherwise deserve much credit, yet when they to speak of the gods, they seem not to be altogether in- e.

oon as Alexander came with his army to Nysa, they sent Acu- he chief man of the city to him, with thirty others of the g men of the place, entreating him to leave the city free to d Bacchus. When the ambassadors were introduced into the pavilion, and saw him as yet dusty with his march, clad in all iour, with his helmet upon his head, and his lance in his hand, d at the sight of him, they fell flat upon the ground, and were a long time together: but after Alexander had commanded to rise, and cheer up, Acuphis thus began—"The Nysæans t, O king, that in reverence to Bacchus you would leave the ee, and the inhabitants to govern by their own laws: for Dio- , after he had conquered the Indians, and was about to return Grecian sea, built this city for those soldiers who were unser- le for war, (being of Bacchus's family), as a perpetual monu- to posterity of his expedition and victory; as your majesty has lexandria at mount Caucasus, and another in Egypt, and many , some finished, and others now in building, having now per- d much more than our Dionysius did: and he called the city from his nurse so named, and the country Nysæa; and the ain which hangs over the city he was pleased to call Meros, is a thigh), because, according to the fables, he was cherished iter's thigh. Since that time we have dwelt in Nysa as a free nd have lived at ease under the use of our own laws. And

* Bacchus.

that this place was built by Bacchus, this one thing may be a demonstration—That ivy grows no where in India, but in this city." This speech of Acuphis was very pleasing to Alexander; for he had a great desire that those things should be believed which were related concerning Bacchus's peregrination, and would have none to doubt but that Nysa was built by Bacchus, because that he himself was now come as far as Bacchus ever came, and was still desirous to go farther than he ever did; and he was of opinion that the Macedonians, out of emulation to the acts of Bacchus, would willingly with himself undergo further toils and labours. He granted therefore liberty to the Nysæans, and that they should govern according to their own laws. And when he understood what their laws were, and how they were under the government of an aristocracy, he commended their constitution, and commanded them to furnish him with three hundred horsemen, and send him a hundred of those that were of the aristocracy, (who were three hundred in all), such as he would choose. Acuphis was one of the number of them that were picked out, whom the king had made governor of the whole province of Nysæa. It is reported that Acuphis smiled at these demands, and that Alexander asking him why he laughed, Acuphis answered—"How is it possible, O king, for the city to be well governed, when it is stripped of a hundred good men all at once? But if your majesty have a kindness for the city, be pleased to accept of three hundred horsemen, (and more, if you think fit); but, as for a hundred of the best men of the city, which you desire, be pleased to be content with two hundred of the worst, that whensoever you return hither again, you may find that the city has maintained and kept up her antient state and grandeur." With these words (because he judged them prudently spoken) Alexander was persuaded, and commanded only the three hundred horsemen to be sent him; and, as for the three hundred of the chief of the city, he neither desired them, nor any others in their stead. But Acuphis's son, and nephew by his sister, were sent to Alexander.

Afterwards Alexander had a longing desire to see that city, in which the Nysæans boast that there are some monuments of Dionysius; and to go likewise, accompanied by some horse of his friends, and a regiment of foot, to the mountain Meros, that he might see the hill grown over with ivy and laurel, and the shady groves, which abounded with all sorts of wild beasts. The ivy was a very pleasant sight to the Macedonians, not having seen any for a long time; for India bears no ivy, neither those places where vines grow. Of the ivy they wore garlands on their heads, singing praise to Bacchus, with all his titles and appellations. Alexander there sacrificed to Bacchus, and feasted with his friends.

SUP. XIV.

How, having taken a strong city called Massaga, he put to the sword all the mercenary soldiers that had fought valiantly.
Arrianus, lib. iv.

WHEN the barbarians heard of Alexander's coming, they durst not abide him in a body, but broke up their army, and dispersed themselves, every one as they could, into several cities, purposing there to stand upon their guard.

Alexander marched first with his army to Massaga*, the greatest city of that country†. Approaching therefore with his army close to the city, the barbarians (having got into the town for their assistance seven thousand mercenary Indians from the inner parts of India) made a fierce sally upon the Macedonians as they lay encamped. Alexander, perceiving that the fight was likely to be under the city walls, designed to draw off the enemy to a farther distance, lest when they fled (which he clearly foresaw they would) they might with ease (being so very near) get into the town, and so escape: perceiving therefore the barbarians pouring out upon them, he forthwith commanded his Macedonians to wheel about, and make to a hill about seven furlongs distant from the river Guræus, where he had purposed to encamp. The enemy hereupon emboldened, (the Macedonians seeming to give back), in great confusion and disorder hotly pursued them. But when they were got within the cast of a dart, upon a sign given by Alexander, the phalanx furiously turned upon them: but first indeed the horse that were darters, the Agrians, and archers, made an excursion, and engaged with the barbarians; but Alexander led the phalanx in battalia himself. The Indians, amazed at the sudden and unexpected turn, when it came to the sword's point, fled back into the city. Two hundred of them were killed in the pursuit, but the rest got within the walls.

Alexander presently drew up his main division of Macedonians before the walls, and from thence was slightly wounded by an arrow struck into his heel‡. The next day the engines being brought up to the walls, part of them were easily battered down, upon which (the Macedonians endeavouring to force their way through the ruins the Indians stoutly withstood them, insomuch that Alexander for that day sounded a retreat, and called off his men. But the next day the Macedonians renewed the assault with greater vigour, bringing up a wooden tower to the walls, out of which the archers pouring showers

* Mazaga. † The country of the Assacenians.
‡ Curtius, l. 8. c. 10, says the calf of the leg.

of darts and arrows, grievously galled the Indians. But yet with all these devices they were not able to enter. The third day the main body of the Macedonians being again led up to the walls, a bridge was cast out of the wooden tower over that part of the wall that was broken down, upon which bridge the king ordered the Argyraspides, who had before taken Tyre after the same manner; but when with great courage and resolution they had got upon it, with too much weight, it yielded and broke, and it and the Macedonians tumbled down together. The barbarians rejoicing at the accident, set up a great shout, and plied the Macedonians with stones, and all sorts of darts and arrows, or whatever was at hand, or that they could come at; and others issuing out through narrow sally-ports that were placed between the turrets, knocked them on the head while in that disorder and confusion. Alexander sent Alcetas with a party to take care of the wounded men, and to call the besiegers off into the camp. The fourth day he cast another bridge, with other devices, upon the walls; but the Indians (as long as the governor of the place was alive) valiantly repulsed the Macedonians: but when he was killed by a dart from the engines, and many of their men lost by continual assaults, and others wounded and become thereby unserviceable, they sent to Alexander, who was very ready and willing to spare such stout and valiant men. He agreed therefore with the mercenary Indians, that they should take up arms with him, and join themselves to his army. Hereupon they marched out of the city by themselves, and encamped on a hill opposite to the Macedonians, with a design to fly away in the night to their own country, because they would not fight against the other Indians. When Alexander was informed hereof, the same night he surrounded the hill with his forces, and put them every one to the sword, and took the city, now without these that should defend it, by storm, and in it the mother and daughter of Assacenus. On Alexander's side there were only twenty-five killed during the whole siege.

FINIS.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

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Chap. 1. The Athenian fleet rigged out for Sicily, Alcibiades accused; flies; is condemned; goes out of Italy to Sparta. The Syracusans send for aid to Lacedæmon. Gylippus is sent to them. The battle at Syracuse.——2. The Lacedæmonians invade Attica. The fight at sea between the Syracusans and Athenians. Eurymedon and Demosthenes arrive in Sicily. A plague in the Athenian camp. Another fight between the Syracusans and Athenians. The latter routed at sea. The Athenians ruined in Sicily. Nicholaus's long oration Gylippus's answer.——3. Diocles instituted laws for Sicily: suffered by one of his own laws. Three hundred appointed to govern in Athens. The Athenians beaten at sea by the Lacedæmonians at Oropus. Alcibiades recalled from banishment.——4. The government by four hundred abrogated in Athens. The victory by the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians at sea, between Sestos and Abydos. The Persian garrison driven out of Antandros by the help of the Lacedæmonians. Twenty-two years of the Peloponnesian war ended. Here Thucydides ends his history.——5. Commotions in Sicily. The Carthaginians invited thither by the Egesteans. A sea-fight at Dardanium between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. A sedition in Corcyra. The sea-fight at Cyzicum; and at Clarus by land, wherein the Athenians were victors.——6. The Spartans sue for peace. The speech of Endius. The Athenians refuse.——7. Hannibal the Carthaginian invades Sicily. The miserable destruction of Selinus. The ruin, likewise, of Himera. The acts of Hermocrates in Sicily.——8. Thrasybulus assaults Ephesus. The Lacedæmonians besiege Pylos; surrender Chalcedon, besieged by Theramenes; and afterwards Byzantium, which was betrayed to Alcibiades.——9. Theramenes and Alcibiades return to Athens; are admired by the people. Lysander made general by the Lacedæmonians. Antiochus, one of the Athenian generals, beaten at Ephesus, in a sea-fight. Agis surprises part of the walls of Athens; but was beaten off. Alcibiades accused for assaulting Cuma, a confederate city. Conon made admiral in his place.——10. Hermocrates killed at Syracuse, attempting to surprise it.——11. The acts of Callicratides, the Lacedæmonian general. The fight at sea, in the harbour at Mitylene, between Conon and Callicratides.——12. Therma built in Sicily by the Carthaginians. They raise forces to invade Sicily. The noble temple at Agrigentum. The antient grandeur of that city The riches of Gellias, a citizen there, and some others. Agrigentum besieged. The Syracusans under Daphnæus rout the Carthaginians near Agrigentum. Amilcar seizes the Syracusan fleet, and takes all the provisions going to Agrigentum, which was afterwards quitted by the inhabitants. Their miserable condition. The Phalarian bull.——13. The Syracusan officers accused. Dionysius made general of the Syracusans. He moves to have the exiles recalled. He is invested with the sole command. At length, by several artifices, he gains the sovereignty.——14. The famous battle of Arginusæ at sea, wherein the Athenians were victors. The officers accused for not burying the dead. The speech of Diomedon. The death of Sophocles.——15. Lysander made sole admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet. He takes Caramium. The ruin of the Athenian fleet at Ægos Potamos. Athens taken by Lysander. The end of the Peloponnesian war.——16. Agrigentum sacked by Amilcar the Carthaginian. The Carthaginians besiege Gela. Dionysius goes to the aid of Gela. The skirmishes before Gela. Camarina deserted by the order of Dionysius. The soldiers enraged at Dionysius; he hastens to Syracuse. Amilcar makes peace with Dionysius, and returns to Carthage. The end of the first Carthaginian war against Dionysius.

BOOK XIV.

CHAP. 1. A peace between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The Athenians disagree about the manner of their government. The government by thirty. The cruelty of the thirty tyrants; and especially towards Theramenes.——2. Dionysius's projects to strengthen himself in the sovereignty of Sicily. The Syracusans revolt. They are dispersed.——3. The Lacedæmonians establish an oligarchy in every city. Dionysius disarms the Syracusans. Alcibiades killed; the manner of his death. Clearchus's tyranny in Byzantium. The battle of Porus against his countrymen the Lacedæmonians. Lysander projects to deprive the Heraclidæ of the sovereign power. ——4. Dionysius's actions in Sicily. The Oropians subdued by the Thebans. The Lacedæmonians quarrel with the Elei. Dionysius fortifies the Epipolæ.——5. The war between Cyrus and his brother Artaxerxes, king of Persia. Cyrus routed. The Grecian forces in difficulties; their brave behaviour, and long and troublesome march out of Persia into Greece.——6. Thrasybulus opposes the thirty tyrants. The cruelty of Psammetichus, king of Egypt, towards his old friend Tamos, who fled to him for succour from the Persians. Dercyllidas sent general against the Persians into Asia. Conon made admiral of the Persian fleet.——7. The war between the Rhegians and Dionysius: he prepares to make war upon the Carthaginians. Most of the cities submit to Dionysius. He returns to the siege of Motya. It is taken. Forces sent from Carthage against Dionysius. A sea-fight between the Carthaginians and the Sicilians. Syracuse besieged. The speech of Theodorus against Dionysius. A grievous plague in the Carthaginian army. A great destruction of the Carthaginian fleet in the harbour of Syracuse. The miserable condition of Amilcar in his own country. The troubles of the Carthaginians.——8. Agesilaus made general against the Persians by the Lacedæmonians; goes to Ephesus. They send to the king of Egypt for assistance. The Persians routed at Sipylus by Agesilaus. Tissaphernes's head cut off in a bath at Larissa. The war between the Phocians and Bœotians. ——9. The confederate war by the Argives and others against the Lacedæmonians. The battle at Aricas. The fight at Nemæa. Pisander the Lacedæmonian admiral routed in a sea-fight at Cnidus by the Persian fleet, commanded by Conon the Athenian. Corinthian war against the Lacedæmonians and the great sedition there.——10. Quarrel between the Rhegians and Dionysius. Mago the Carthaginian settles affairs in Sicily. Routed at Abacene by Dionysius. Rhegium nearly surprised by Dionysius. Acts of Iphicrates at Corinth, Phlius, and Sicyon. Amyntas lost his kingdom of Macedonia, but was restored. The Romans take Veii; dedicate a golden cup to Apollo. Their ambassadors are taken by the pirates of the Lipari islands, but discharged by Timasitheus.——11. Acts of Thrasybulus, the Athenian general. The Carthaginians, under Mago, begin a new war in Sicily against Dionysius. Peace concluded. Rhodes falls off from the Athenians. Evagoras becomes king of Salamis, in Cyprus. Makes war against the Persians. Acts of Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian general, in Asia.——12. Dionysius's expedition against Rhegium. War between the Lucanians and Thurians, in Italy. The Thurians cut off by their own rashness. Leptines generously saved those that swam to his ships, though he was a friend to their enemies. Dionysius's second expedition into Italy: besieges Caulonia, and routs Heloris. Makes peace with the Rhegians. Razes Caulonia to the ground, and transplants the inhabitants to Syracuse. Watches an occasion to be revenged on them of Rhegium. Besieges it. He sends rich chariots to the Olympic games. His poetry ridiculed.——13. Peace of Antalcidas. War by the Persians against Evagoras in Cyprus. Miserable condition of Rhegium. Its surrender. Cruel usage of Philo, the governor of Rhegium, and of his son. Expedition of the Gauls against Italy. The Romans routed by the Gauls at the river Allia. Rome taken by the Gauls. The Romans besieged in the Capitol. The Volsci revolt from the Romans. The Gauls routed by Marcus Furius in their return. All cut off afterwards in the plains of Trausium.

BOOK XV.

CHAP. 1. Artaxerxes's expedition against Evagoras, in Cyprus. The actions there at sea and land. The Lacedæmonians begin new quarrels in Greece: as first with Mantinea. Dionysius gives himself to poetry. Peace concluded with Evagoras by Orontas the Persian general. Teribazus brought to his trial. Judgment upon corrupt judges.

Toribazus acquitted.——2. Mantinea besieged by the Lacedæmonians. Dionysius aims to gain the islands of the Adriatic sea. The Parii build Paros. Dionysius's expedition into Etruria. Prepares for war against the Carthaginians. The Sicilians routed at Cronium. Quarrel between the Clazomenians and those of Cuma, about Leuce. War between Amyntas and the Olynthians. The Lacedæmonians seize the citadel of Cadmea at Thebes. Eudamidas breaks into the country of the Olynthians. ——3. Pelopidas sent general by the Lacedæmonians against the Olynthians. A great plague in Carthage. Bœotian war. Cadmea re-taken. Confederacy of the cities against the Lacedæmonians. Cleombrotus attempts to surprise the Piræus at Athens. The Athenians seize Acta in Eubœa. Agesilaus enters Bœotia. Sea-fight at Naxos. ——4. The Triballians make incursions into Thrace. Chabrias the Athenian general assassinated. The Thebans rout the Spartans at Orchomenus. Artaxerxes seeks to make peace among the Grecians. Peace concluded. The Thebans only disagreed. Commendation of Epaminondas. Seditions in several cities of Greece.——5. The Persians send an army into Egypt, to reduce the revolters. Iphicrates a skilful commander. Sedition at Zacynthus. Platæa razed by the Thebans. The Lacedæmonians seize upon the island Corcyra: relieved by the Athenians under Ctesias. Evagoras murdered in Cyprus by an eunuch. Dreadful earthquakes and inundations in Peloponnesus. Great comet seen in Greece.—— 6. Artaxerxes sends again to make peace among the Grecians. All comply except the Thebans. The Spartans raise an army against the Thebans. Epaminondas made the Theban general. Famous battle of Leuctra. Terrible seditions and cruelties in Argos. Jason of Pheræ stirs up the Thessalonians to gain the sovereignty of Greece. Pollydorus, prince of Pheræ in Greece, poisoned by his brother Alexander. A plot to depose Alexander. King of Macedonia treated with to that purpose.——7. The Lacedæmonians send Polytropus into Arcadia; who is slain, and his party routed by Lycomedes. An invasion by Epaminondas and Pelopidas into Peloponnesus. Sparta besieged. Antiquity and history of Messenia, in Greece. Pellene taken by the Arcadians. A wall drawn between Cenchreæ and the Lechæum, to hinder the inroad of the Thebans into Peloponnesus. Epaminondas breaks through into Peloponnesus: assaults Corinth.——8. Dionysius sends Gauls and Spaniards to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians. Pelopidas and Ismenias imprisoned by Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. The Bœotians pursued by the Pherean: brought off by Epaminondas, then a private soldier. Fight between the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians. Dionysius falls upon the Carthaginian territories in Sicily. Dionysius dies. Cause of his death. Cruelty of Alexander the Pherean at Scotussa. Epaminondas breaks again into Peloponnesus. Coos peopled and walled. End of the Laconic and Bœotian war, by the mediation of the Persian king.——9. New quarrels in Greece. Battle between the Elians and Arcadians near Lassia. Quarrel between the Pisates and them of Elis about the Olympic games. A fight at the time and place of the games. The Thebans prepare a fleet in order to gain the dominion at sea. Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium brought over to the Thebans by Epaminondas. The Thebans make war upon Orchomenus: the reason. Orchomenus razed. The Thessalians war with Alexander the Pherean. Peiopidas killed: his praises.——10. War between the Tegeans and Mantineans. The Bœotians side with the Tegeans. Epaminondas made general. Battle of Mantinea, where Epaminondas was killed; but the Lacedæmonians routed. Commendation of Epaminondas.——11. Defection from the Persians in Asia. Tachos, king of Egypt, declares war against the Persians. The war between Tachos and his son Nectanabis. Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Agesilaus routs the Egyptians that pursued him, and restores Tachos to his kingdom. Quarrels again in Greece, after the battle of Mantinea, between the Megalopolitans and the neighbouring towns. Peparethos besieged by Alexander of Pheræ. He routs Leosthenes at sea. Chares, the Athenian admiral: his villanies.

BOOK XVI.

CHAP. 1. Philip, a hostage at Thebes, makes his escape; beats the Athenians, and afterwards makes peace with them. Subdues the Pæones; and routs the Illyrians, and makes peace with them.——2. Actions of Dionysius the younger in Sicily and other parts. Dion's flight to Corinth, and his return to Sicily. Andromachus peoples Taurominium. Civil wars in Eubœa. Social war between the Athenians and other nations. Philip takes Amphipolis and other cities. His policy to gain the Olynthians and other places in Greece.——3. Dion's march and entry into Syracuse. Dionysius

comes to the Island, a part of Syracuse: assaults the wall erected from sea to sea: is beaten by Dion. Alexander of Pheræ murdered by his wife and his two brothers. Philip relieves the Thessalians from the two brothers.——4. First rise of the Brutii in Italy. Dionysius's admiral invades the Leontines. A fight at sea between Heraclides and Philistus, admirals, the one of Dionysius, the other of Dion. A faction in Syracuse. Dion leaves the Syracusans. Their sad condition. Relieved by Dion.——5. Continuance of the Social War. Iphicrates and Timotheus joined admirals with Chares by the Athenians. Iphicrates and Timotheus accused by Chares, and fined and removed. Chares joins with Pharnabazus, and routs the Persians. End of the Social War. Philip subdues the confederates.——6. Beginning of the Sacred or Phocian war. Philomelus seizes the temple at Delphos, after he had routed the Locrians. How the oracle at Delphos was first discovered; and the beginning of the Tripod. The Athenians and others join with Philomelus.——7. Battle at Phædus, between Philomelus and the Locrians. Parties engaged in the Phocian war. Battle between the Bœotians and Phocians. Philomelus killed. Onomarchus made general: his dreams, successes, and death.——8. Phayllus continues the Phocian war. Aryca razed. Phayllus dies of a consumption. War between the Lacedæmonians and Megalopolitans. Chæronea taken by Philomelus. War between the Persians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians. Salamis, in Cyprus, besieged. Cruelty of Artaxerxes Ochus towards the Sidonians. Calamity of Sidon ——9. Evagoras beheaded in Cyprus. Artaxerxes marches against Egypt, and gains it all by the policy of Mentor. Loses many of his men at the lake of Sorbon. Mentor advanced. Mentor's stratagem to subdue Hermeas, prince of Atarnea. Zena razed by Philip. King of Egypt abdicates his kingdom, and flies to Ethiopia.——10. Philip takes Olynthus, and other cities in the Hellespont. The Athenians jealous of Philip, and instigated by Demosthenes. Philip's policies. Value of the riches taken out of the temple at Delphos. Dionysius sent presents to Delphos, which were taken by the Athenians. His letter to the Athenians. Temple burnt. End of the Phocian war. Punishments decreed by the Amphictyons against the Phocians. Miseries of the sacrilegious persons. Timoleon sent to Syracuse.——11. Timoleon's expedition into Sicily. Carthaginian army in Sicily. Dionysius returns into Syracuse: is beaten by Hicetas. Hicetas gains Syracuse. Timoleon's escape from Rhegium. Timoleon routs Hicetas, and gains Syracuse. Philip invades the Illyrians. Dionysius expelled. Timoleon makes good laws. Philip invades Thrace.——12. Acts of Timoleon in Sicily. Preparations of the Carthaginians against Timoleon. Remarkable siege of Perinthus by Philip. Pexodorus expels his brother Adam from the principality in Caria. Byzantium besieged by Philip.——13. The Athenians aid Byzantium. Philip raises the siege. The Carthaginians transport forces into Sicily. Remarkable victory of Timoleon over the Carthaginians. Acts of Timoleon in Sicily. Works of Hiero in Sicily.——14. Elatea taken by Philip. Great consternations in Athens for fear of Philip. The Bœotians join with the Athenians, through the solicitations of Demosthenes. Python, a famous orator. Battle of Chæronea, between Philip and the Athenians. Lysicles the Athenian general put to death. Philip rebuked by Demades: made general of Greece. Timoleon dies.——15. Philip consults the oracle at Delphos. Marries his daughter Cleopatra to the king of Epirus. Encouraged to the Persian war by Neoptolemus's verses. Philip's pride. His murder. Cause of it, how it was done, and by whom.

BOOK XVII.

CHAP. 1. Conspiracies of the cities against Alexander. The Athenians send ambassadors to Alexander, to beg pardon. He is made general by the Amphictyons. Attalus killed by Alexander's command. Wickedness of Bagoas. Darius commended. Raises forces. Description of mount Ida. Alexander invades the Illyrians and others. Thebes besieged by Alexander, and razed. Miseries of Thebes. Prodigies. Alexander demands Demosthenes and others to be delivered up to him by the Athenians: their answer. He returns into Macedonia, and feasts his soldiers.——2. Alexander lands his army in Asia. Battle at Granicus. Forces of the Persians and of Alexander. Alexander kills Spithrobates; near being killed by Rhœsaces. Miletus besieged and taken. Ada, queen of Caria, meets Alexander. Halicarnassus besieged, taken, and sacked. Strange act of the Marmarenses.——3. Mitylene taken by Memnon, Darius's general. His successes. He dies. Charidemus the Athenian unjustly put to death by Darius. Alexander falls sick: is recovered by Philip. Alexander seizes Alexander of Lyncestes, on account of his mother's letters. Alexander takes Lycia,

Memorable battle at Issus, where the mother, wife, two daughters, and son of Darius were taken Alexander's noble behaviour towards them. Darius's letters and offers to Alexander Darius prepares another army.——4. Alexander marches towards Egypt: besieges Tyre. Prodigies at Tyre The Tyrians bind Apollo with golden chains. Inventions of the Tyrians to defend themselves. Advancement of Ballominus, a poor man, to be king of Tyre. Acts of Agis and Amyntas. Amyntas killed, and all his soldiers. Alexander takes Gaza by storm: is presented by the Grecians.——5. Alexander makes a journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. He is presented by the Cyreneans. Description of the place about the temple. Wonderful properties of the fountain Solis. Building of Alexandria. Alexander's answer to Darius's ambassadors. Alexander passes over the river Tigris with great hazard. Preparations on both sides for battle. The Persians routed at the famous battle at Arbela.——6. The Grecians conspire to revolt. Memnon rebels in Thrace. Antipater marches against him. The Lacedæmonians raise an army; are routed by Antipater, and Agis their king killed.——7. Alexander comes to Babylon. Wealth found there. Views his troops at Situcana. Riches there. Thence goes into the country of the Uxians. Marches towards Persepolis. Company of maimed Greeks meet Alexander: his bounty to them. He takes Persepolis: gives it up to the plunder of the soldiers. Riches of the citadel of Persepolis. Alexander's feast at Persepolis. Persepolis burnt at the instigation of Thais. Darius murdered——8. Bessus stirs up the Bactrians. Alexander discharges the Greek auxiliaries with rewards. River Stiboetes. He enters Hyrcania; its richness. Enters the Mardian country. Loses his brave horse; which is restored. Thalestris the Amazonian queen meets him. He falls into the effeminacy of the Persians. Enters Drangina. Plot against Alexander. Philotas and others put to death. He marches against the Arimaspi. Subdues Arachosia.——9. Alexander marches against the Paropamisades. His troublesome march. Comes to mount Caucasus. Battle in Aria by Alexander's officers against Satibarzanes, who is killed in a single combat by Erigyus. Bessus brought to Alexander; his punishment. Alexander kills some barbarians unexpectedly, after they had surrendered their city He marches to the river Indus. Mophis's remarkable delivery up of himself and his army.——10. Alexander overcomes Porus. How apes are taken. Strange serpents for venom. Large trees. He marches against the Andrastians, Cathari, and against Sophithes. Custom of them under Sophithes. Indian dogs. Alexander entertained by Phigeus. The Macedonians refuse to march against the Gandaritæ. Alexander leaves monuments behind him at the river Hydaspes. Nicæa and Bucephalus built. The Iberians present Alexander. He routs the Agalasses. Is in danger in the river Indus, by whirlpools. Marches against the Oxydracæ and Malii. The king leaps off the wall into the town. Duel between Coragus and Dioxippus. The Sambestæ submit to Alexander; and also the Sogdiani and Massani. Subdues Musicanus, Porticanus, and Sambus. Poisoned weapons. The king's dream. Comes into the main ocean. Comes into Gedrosia. Savageness of the people. His army near perishing in Gedrosia. Comes into Carmania. Punishes the Bormeian Goremours. Nearchus returns. Islands covered at high tides. Strange death of Calanus. Alexander marries Statira. Harpalus's luxury. Alexander seizes with his own hand them that had mutinied.——11. Alexander mixes twenty thousand Persian darters with his army. Marches from Susa. Bagistane breeds abundance of horses. Hephæstion dies at Ecbatana. The Lamian war. He invades the Cossæi. Marches towards Babylon. The Chaldean astrologers dissuade him from coming thither. He enters Babylon.——12. Ambassadors come to Alexander from all parts. He buries Hephæstion with great state. Prodigies before Alexander's death. His death. Darius's mother starves herself.

BOOK XVIII.

Chap. 1. Quarrels about a successor to Alexander. Aridæus made king. The provinces divided amongst the chief commanders. Matters contained in Alexander's note-books. Meleager executed by Perdiccas. The Grecians revolt. Description of Asia. Python sent against the revolting Grecians, who were all cut off. The Lamian war: the cause of it. Alexander's epistle to the exiles. Leosthenes, the Athenian general. Lamia besieged. Leosthenes killed: Antiphilus placed in his room.——2. Ptolemy gains Egypt. Leagues with Antipater. Lysimachus enters Thrace. Leonatus comes to relieve Antipater, and is routed. The Grecians beaten at sea. Perdiccas conquers Ariarathes, prince of Cappadocia; crucifies him; delivers the province to Eumenes. The Grecians quite routed by Craterus and Antipater. The

Athenians at length submit, after all the rest but the Ætolians. End of the Lamian war. War in Cyrene by Thimbron. Ophelas routes Thimbron. Cyrene gained by Ptolemy. Larissa sacked. Destruction of the Isaurians by themselves. Perdiccas affects the kingdom of Macedon; is opposed by Antigonus. The Ætolians blocked up by Craterus and Antipater. Antigonus discovers Perdiccas's design. Peace made with the Ætolians. Perdiccas marches against Ptolemy, into Egypt.——3. Description of Alexander's funeral chariot. Ptolemy honoured in Egypt. Perdiccas prepares for going into Egypt against Ptolemy. Eumenes beats Neoptolemus, who deserted. Battle between Eumenes and Craterus, who was killed with Neoptolemus. Combat between Neoptolemus and Eumenes. Perdiccas comes into Egypt; assaults the fort called the Camel's Wall; his miserable loss in the river Nile; is killed. Ptolemy makes Aridæus and Python protectors of the kings. Eumenes condemned to die. The Ætolians invade Thessaly. Polyperchon routs the Ætolians. The provinces again divided by Aridæus. Antigonus routs Eumenes, who flies to Nora. Antigonus besieges Nora. Eumenes's invention to exercise the horse. Ptolemy gains Syria and Phœnicia by Nicanor.——4. Antigonus routs Alcetas in Pisidia, and takes Attalus. Alcetas received into Termessus, and there protected. He is murdered there treacherously: his body inhumanly used by Antigonus. Antipater's death. Antipater puts Demeas, one of the Athenian ambassadors, to death. Polyperchon made chief in Macedonia. Cassander conspires to put him out. Antigonus's plots to be sovereign of all. Aridæus secures himself in Phrygia: besieges Cyzicum. Antigonus goes to relieve it. Eumenes got out of Nora by Antigonus's order. Antigonus's further acts. Various fortunes of Eumenes. Council in Macedonia called by Polyperchon against Cassander. Decree of the council. Polyperchon invites Olympias out of Epirus into Macedonia. Writes to Eumenes to join with the kings.——5. Polyperchon courts Eumenes to assist the kings. Eumenes's prudence amongst the Macedonian captains. Ptolemy sends to the captains and others not to assist Eumenes. Antigonus contrives to kill Eumenes; who marches into Phœnicia. Nicanor deceives the Athenians, and still keeps Munychia, and subtilely gets the Piræus. Ordered by Olympias to deliver the Piræus and Munychia to the Athenians; but he shifts it off. Alexander, son of Polyperchon enters Attica; secretly corresponds with Nicanor, and displeases the Athenians. Phocion's hard usage at his trial in Athens; is condemned and executed. Cassander arrives at the Piræus. Polyperchon comes against him, but returns. Besieges Megalopolis; but is there completely baffled, and his elephants destroyed by a stratagem. Sea fight between Clitus and Nicanor. Nicanor beaten. Clitus afterwards routed by Nicanor, is killed in his flight to Macedonia. Antigonus goes after Eumenes. Eumenes near losing his army by the breach of a dyke in Babylonia. The Greek cities revolt to Cassander. The Athenians make peace with him. He kills Nicanor.

BOOK XIX.

Chap. 1. Agathocles's parentage and education: his rise: his stratagems: his bloody massacre at Syracuse. He gains the sovereign power. The affairs of Italy. Olympias returns into Macedonia by Polyperchon's means. The armies revolt to her. Her cruelties. She murders Eurydice, and Aridæus her husband. Affairs in Asia. Eumenes and Seleucus. Eumenes joined by many of the captains. Number of their forces. He comes to Susa. Attalus and others imprisoned by Antigonus in a strong castle, seeking to escape are afterwards besieged, and taken.——2. Antigonus marches to the Tigris after Eumenes. Eumenes cuts off a great many of his men there. Antigonus goes into Media. Eumenes comes to Persepolis. Description of Persia. Peucestes's great feast. Eumenes's policy. His tale of the lion. Battle in Paretecene, between Antigonus and Eumenes. Antigonus returns into Media. Story of Cetæus's two wives, striving which should be burnt. Eumenes marches to Gabene; Cassander to Macedonia. Olympias goes to Pydna; is there besieged. The Epirots forsake their king, and join with Cassander. Antigonus designs to surprise Eumenes, who stops his march by a stratagem. Last battle between them in Gabene. Eumenes basely delivered up. Antigonus returns to Media. Dreadful earthquakes in the country of Rhages.——3. Inundations at Rhodes. Antigonus kills Python, getting him out of his power by dissimulation. Then he marches into Persia. Revolters from Antigonus cut off in Media. He divides the provinces of Asia, and contrives to destroy all the Argyraspides. Gets great treasure in Susa. Cassander besieges Olympias in Pydna: the great distress to which it was reduced. Amphipolis surrendered to Cassander. He kills Olympias. Marries Thessalonice. Builds Cassandria. Im-

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BOOK XX.

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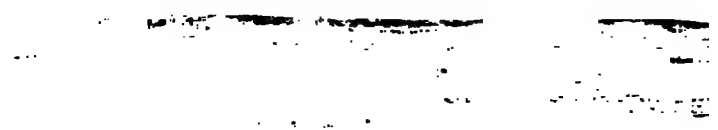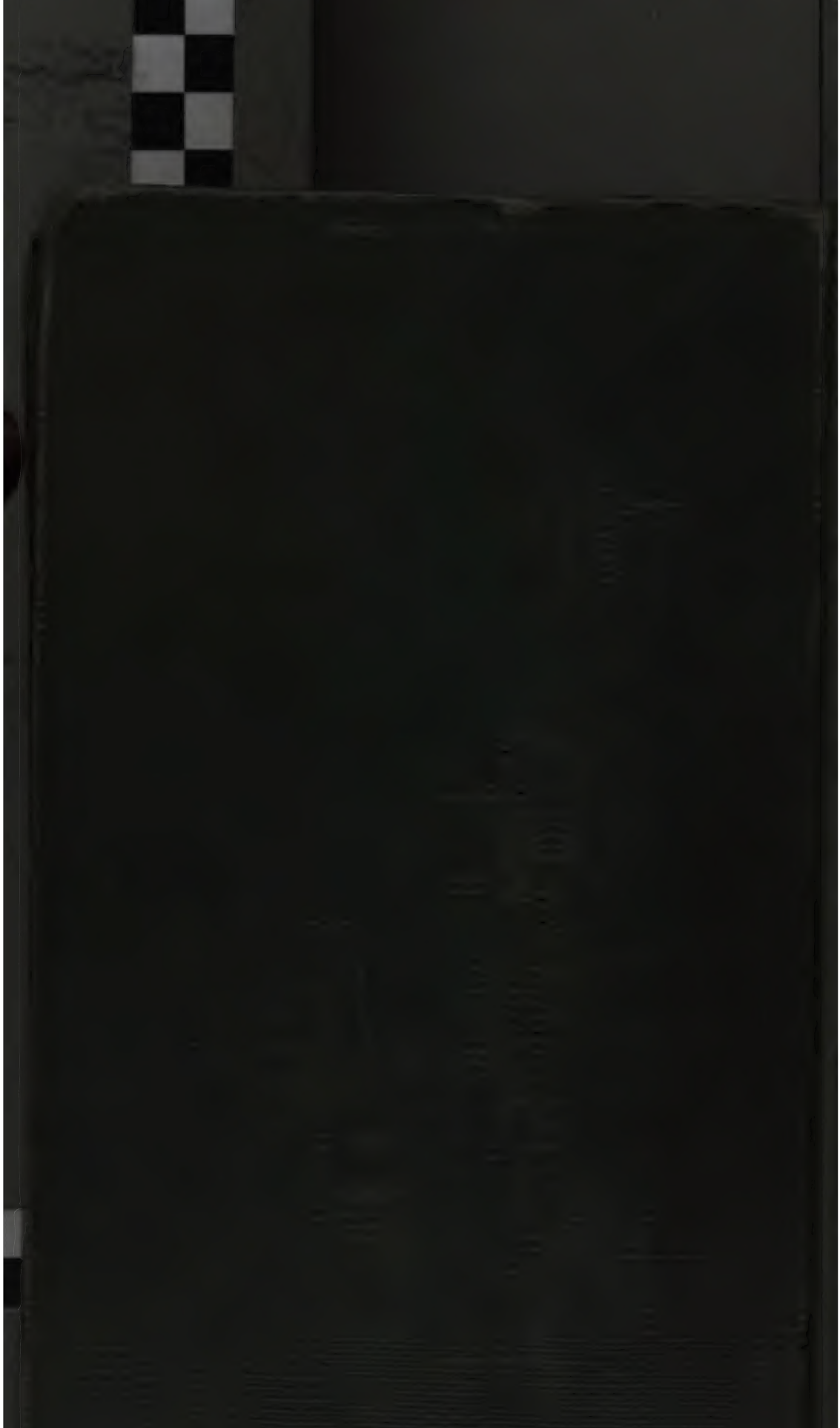
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